

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS

# Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc

*Edition and Translation of  
Toulouse Inquisition Depositions,  
1273-1282*



*Edited by*

Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi

✶ Shelagh Sneddon

SERIES EDITOR

Robert J. Bast

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Inquisitors and Heretics in  
Thirteenth-Century Languedoc

# Studies in the History of Christian Traditions

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*On the cover:* Château Narbonnais, Toulouse—in which some suspects were held prisoner and interrogated—as it appeared in the later middle ages (lower left part of illumination, *Histoire de la Ville*, an. 1516–17, Archives municipales de Toulouse, BB273/17).

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## PART TWO: EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF DOAT 25–26

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## PREFACE

The origins of the project lie in a visit paid to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in 1976, when Peter Biller read the inquisition materials in Collection Doat 21–26 and transcribed parts of them. His translations from D25–26 were used as documents in an undergraduate Special Subject on heresy taught at York from 1978 onwards. Peter Biller is grateful to generations of students who took this course for their comments on Doat 25–26, and to the Department of History, University of York, for its help in purchasing microfilms of Doat 21–26.

Caterina Bruschi came from the University of Bologna to the University of York to work on these microfilms. She and Peter Biller are grateful to the University of York for a four month Research Pump-Priming Grant in 2000, that enabled her to continue reading the Doat registers and to lay the foundation for articles and a monograph based on them.

The editors of the volume are grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Board for awarding a two-year research assistantship (2000–2002) for the editing and transcribing of Doat 25–26. Caterina Bruschi was the nominated research assistant, but before she could take up this post she was appointed to a lectureship at the University of Birmingham. She was still able to assist in the edition, but the research assistantship was taken up by the Latin and romance language scholar Shelagh Sneddon, who is currently a member of the editorial team of the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, University of Oxford.

In the edition presented here Caterina Bruschi wrote the first section of chapter 3 and compiled the index of medieval persons. Shelagh Sneddon provided the Latin text and its apparatus, the English translation and the calendar of depositions, and she compiled the index of persons post-1500. She wrote the second section of chapter 3 and the first two sections of chapter 4, and jointly with Peter Biller she wrote the third section of chapter 4. Peter Biller provided the apparatus to the English translation and he compiled the index of place-names. He wrote chapters 1 and 2, the third section of chapter 3, and, jointly with Shelagh Sneddon, the third section of chapter 4.

The editors thank the Bibliothèque nationale de France, for permission to reproduce two illustrations of Doat 25, and the Archives Municipales de Toulouse for permission to reproduce the image on the book's cover of the Château Narbonnais.



They thank the *conservateur* of the manuscript department of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dr Clément Pieyre, and Dr Maaïke Van der Lugt, for helping with the physical description of the manuscripts. They are grateful for advice received from Professor Edward Peters, Professor Peter Spufford, Fr Simon Tugwell, Dr Christopher Tyerman, and the late Professor John H. Mundy. They thank Dr Christopher Sparks for technical help and compiling the bibliography. They are grateful to Professor Dame Janet Nelson for her early support of the project, and to Professors John Arnold and Anne Hudson for their encouragement throughout. The editors thank the series editor, Professor Robert J. Bast, for his comments on the draft. They are grateful to the type-setter (TAT Zetwerk), and Ivo Romein, Gera van Bedaf, and others at Brill for the great care, dedication, patience and professional skill they have brought to the design and production of this book.

The editors would like to dedicate this book to their families.

Peter Biller

## PRELIMINARY NOTE

Throughout this book, references to the edited text of Doat 25 and 26 are not by this book's page numbers. Rather, they are by the number of the folio number, and recto (r) or verso (v). An upright number indicates a folio in Doat 25, an italic number indicates a folio in Doat 26. Thus 20<sup>r</sup> indicates Doat 25, folio 20, recto. 38<sup>v</sup> indicates Doat 26, folio 38, verso.

In the edition and translation, the passages printed in upright font contain the copy made in 1669 of depositions that were contained in a no-longer extant medieval manuscript. The passages printed in italics—preliminary to a deposition or set of depositions that are printed in upright font—are the summaries composed and written in French in 1669 by the Doat team. The editors have not emended the mistakes of detail or interpretation that are sometimes present in these summaries.

Within the edition and translation, unidentified place-names are given in a type-face the opposite of the type-face of the surrounding text (upright within the italicised translation of the French text, and italics within the upright translation of the Latin). They continue to be printed in italics within the preliminaries, the introductory chapters and the apparatus.

The Dominicans and the Dominican Order are referred to within the edition as Brothers Preacher and Order of Preachers, the Franciscans and Franciscan Order as Brothers Minor and Order of Minors.



## ABBREVIATIONS

folio number in upright script  
folio number in Doat 25

folio number in italic script  
folio number in Doat 26

### ACP

C. Douais, ed., *Acta capitulorum provincialium ordinis fratrum praedicatorum. Première province de Provence, province romaine, province d'Espagne. 1239–1302*, (Toulouse, 1894)

### Borst, *Katharer*

A. Borst, *Die Katharer*, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 12 (Stuttgart, 1953)

### Bruschi, *Wandering*

C. Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* (Cambridge, 2009)

### CaF

*Cahiers de Fanjeaux* (Toulouse, 1966–)

### Cazenave, 'Ms 124'

A. Cazenave, 'Les cathares en Catalogne et Sabarthès d'après les registres d'inquisition: la hiérarchie cathare en Sabarthès après Montségur' and 'Confession de Stéphanie Pradier, parfaite de Sabarthès, Arch. Dép. de la Haute-Garonne, ms. 124, fol. CXCVI', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1 (1972 for 1969), 387–429 and 429 (bis)–36.

### D

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Doat Mss

### DHGE

*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1912–)

### *Doctrina de modo procedendi*

*Doctrina de modo procedendi contra haereticos*, ed. TNA, v. 1795–1814

### Dossat, *Crises*

Y. Dossat, *Les crises de l'inquisition Toulousaine au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1233–1273)* (Bordeaux, 1959)

### Douais, *Documents*

C. Douais, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'inquisition dans le Languedoc*, 2 vols (Paris, 1900)

Douais, *Gascogne*

C. Douais, *Les Frères Prêcheurs en Gascogne au XIII<sup>e</sup> et au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Chapitres, couvents et notices. Documents inédits* (Paris, 1885)

Douais, *Sources*

C. Douais, *Les sources de l'histoire de l'inquisition dans le Midi de la France, aux xiii<sup>e</sup> et xiv<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1881)

## DTF

*Dictionnaire des toponymes de France*, CD-Rom, Institut Géographique National (Paris, 2005)

Duvernoy, *Histoire*

J. Duvernoy, *L'Histoire des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1979)

## Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne'

J. Duvernoy, 'La vie des prédicateurs cathares en Lauragais et dans l'Albigeois d'après un registre de l'Inquisition consacré aux aveux de parfaits convertis (Ms 124 et 202 des Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne)', *Revue du Tarn* 121–123 (1986), 25–54, 256–277, 454–506

Duvernoy, Puylaurens, *Chronique*

J. Duvernoy, ed. and trans, *Chronica Magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii*, Sources d'Histoire Médiévale Publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Paris, 1976)

Duvernoy, *Registre*

J. Duvernoy, *Registre de l'inquisition de Toulouse (1273–1280)*, Traduction, [jean.duvernoy.free.fr/sources/sinquisit.htm](http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/sources/sinquisit.htm).

Duvernoy, *Registre de Bernard de Caux*

*Le Registre de Bernard de Caux, Pamiers: 1246–1247*, ed. and transl. into French J. Duvernoy (Saint-Girons, 1990).

Fawtier, *Comptes royaux*

R. Fawtier, ed., *Comptes royaux 1285–1314*, Recueil des historiens de la France, Documents financiers 3, 3 vols (Paris, 1953–1956)

Feuchter, *Ketzer, Konsuln*

J. Feuchter, *Ketzer, Konsuln und Büsser: die städtischen Eliten von Montauban vor dem Inquisitor Petrus Cellani (1236/1241)* (Tübingen, 2007)

## Font-Réaulx

*Pouillés des provinces d'Auch, de Narbonne et de Toulouse*, ed. C.-E. Perrin and J. de Font-Réaulx, Recueil des Historiens de la France, Pouillés 10, 2 parts (Paris, 1972)

## Gallia Christiana

*Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa; qua series et historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et abbatum Franciæ vicinarumque ditionum ab origine ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur, et probatur ex authenticis instrumentis ad calcem appositis*, ed. D. de Sainte-Marthe, 16 vols. (Paris, 1715–1865)

## Gérard, 'Sources'

P. Gérard, 'Les sources de l'histoire bénédictine conservées dans les archives du Grand Sud-Ouest', *CaF* 19 (1984), pp. 23–51

Gui, *De fundatione*

Bernard Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provinciarum Tolosanae et Provincia Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. P.A. Amargier, *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* 24 (Rome, 1961)

Gui, *Livre des sentences*

Bernard Gui, *Le livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui*, ed. A. Pales-Gobilliard, 2 vols, *Sources d'Histoire Médiévale* publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Texts 30 (Paris, 2002)

Gui, *Practica*

Bernard Gui, *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, ed. C. Douais (Paris, 1886)

Gui and Salagnac, *De quattuor*

B. Gui and S. de Salagnac, *De quattuor in quibus Deus praedicatorum ordinem insinavit*, *Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historica* 22 (Rome, 1949)

Guiraud, *Histoire*

J. Guiraud, *Histoire de l'Inquisition au moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1935–1938)

## HGL

C. de Vic and J.J. Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc, avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, ed. A. Molinier and others, 16 vols (Toulouse, 1872–1905)

## IGN

Institut Géographique National, 1:25000 (1 cm = 250 m) maps

## Layettes du trésor

*Layettes du trésor des chartes*, ed. A. Teulet and others, 5 vols. (Paris, 1865–1909)

Maisonneuve, *Études*

H. Maisonneuve, *Études sur les origines de l'inquisition*, L'Église et l'État au Moyen Âge 7, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1960).

## 'Mort des prieurs'

J.-L. Lemaitre, 'Mort et sépulture des prieurs de la première province de Provence', *CaF* 36 (2001), pp. 123–198

## Mundy, 'Hospitals'

J.H. Mundy, 'Hospitals and leproseries in twelfth and early thirteenth-century Toulouse', in *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought Presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans*, ed. J.H. Mundy, R.W. Emery and B.N. Nelson (New York, 1955), pp. 181–205

Mundy, *Men and Women*

*Men and Women at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts 101 (Toronto, 1990).

Mundy, *Royal Diploma*

J.H. Mundy, *The Repression of Catharism at Toulouse: The Royal Diploma of 1279*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts 74 (Toronto, 1985)

Mundy, *Society*

J.H. Mundy, *Society and Government at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts 129 (Toronto, 1997).

Pales-Gobilliard, *Geoffroy d'Ablis*

A. Pales-Gobilliard, *L'Inquisiteur Geoffroy d'Ablis et les Cathares du Comté de Foix (1308–1309)*, Sources d'Histoire Médiévale Publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Paris, 1984)

Pelhisson, *Chronique*

Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, ed. J. Duvernoy, (Paris, 1994)

*Ordo processus Narbonensis*

*Ordo processus Narbonensis*, *Texte zur Inquisition*, pp. 71–72.

## Potthast

A. Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum 1198 ad a. 1304*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1873–1875)

## RHGF

*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet, 24 vols (Paris, 1840–1904)

Roche, *Église Cathare*

J. Roche, *Une église cathare, l'évêché du Carcassès: Carcassonne, Béziers, Narbonne, 1167–début du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Cahors, 2005)

*Saisimentum*

Y. Dossat, ed., *Saisimentum comitatus Tholosani* (Paris, 1966).

Sibly, *William of Puylaurens*

W.A. and M.D. Sibly, ed and transl., *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens: The Albigensian Crusade and its Aftermath*, (Woodbridge, 2003)

## SOPMA

T. Kaeppli and E. Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1970–1993)

Spufford, *Handbook*

P. Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 13 (London, 1986)

*Texte zur Inquisition*

K.-V. Selge, ed., *Texte zur Inquisition*, *Texte zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte* 4 (Gütersloh, 1967)

## TNA

*Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, 5 vols (Paris, 1717)

## To

B. and J.-J. Fénié, *Toponymie occitane* (Bordeaux, 1997).

## Toulouse 609

Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 609

Vidal, *Bullaire*

J.-M. Vidal, *Bullaire de l'inquisition française au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle et jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme*, (Paris, 1913)

Wakefield, *Heresy*

W.L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250* (London, 1974)

## Wakefield, 'Mas-Saintes-Puelles'

W.L. Wakefield, 'Heretics and Inquisitors: the case of Le Mas-Saintes-Puelles', *Catholic Historical Review* 69 (1983), 209–226.

## Wildhaber, 'Catalogue'

B. Wildhaber, 'Catalogue des établissements cisterciens de Languedoc aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles', *CaF* 21 (1986), pp. 21–44





PART ONE

INTRODUCTION



## CHAPTER ONE

### THE HISTORY OF DOAT 25–26

Between 1665 and 1670 a group of scribes under the direction of an official called Jean de Doat made copies of manuscripts in archives and libraries in southwestern France.<sup>1</sup> They produced 258 large volumes that are now housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, where they constitute the ‘Collection Doat’. Numbers 21 to 26 in the Collection Doat contain texts produced during the thirteenth century by the two centres of inquisition in Languedoc, Toulouse and Carcassonne, and the edition we present here is of one sub-set within these volumes, containing inquisition records from Toulouse between 1273 and 1282. While this sub-set is a copy of one original manuscript, the material was too large to be contained within one of the Collection Doat volumes. It occupies not only all of Doat 25—a volume of 331 folios (plus folio 55 bis)—but also the first 78 folios of Doat 26. Both Doat 25 and Doat 26 are paper manuscripts, large in size, 410 mm high and 280 mm wide,<sup>2</sup> and they were simply rebound in the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> At that point they lost their earlier binding of red morocco, bearing the arms of Jean-Baptiste Colbert.<sup>4</sup> They are written in early modern cursive script by several hands. The characteristics of the scribes are analysed below in chapter 4.i.

The manuscript which was copied into Doat 25–26 no longer survives. The main direct evidence about this lost original and how it was copied is a note at the end of the copy in Doat 26, on folio 78<sup>r</sup>. This states that the original was one ‘parchment book—whose first leaf is marked with the number 4 and the last 244—found in the archives of the brothers preacher [Dominicans] of Toulouse’. The two Doat volumes were ‘drawn from and collated with’ this book; the precise meaning of these words is discussed later in this chapter, in section iv.

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter was written by Peter Biller.

<sup>2</sup> The *conservateur* Clément Pieyre has provided this information.

<sup>3</sup> We are grateful to Maaïke Van der Lugt for this information.

<sup>4</sup> See below, section iv of this chapter.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to the history of the text. Doat 25–26 are important above all because of the light they cast on inquisition and heresy. It is therefore overwhelmingly important to investigate as far as possible their relationship to the lost original from which they were drawn. Accordingly the first section of this chapter (i) describes the milieu within which the original parchment book was first produced and kept, the depot of books and records of the Dominican inquisitors in Toulouse. Hereafter the book is referred to as a ‘register’. The second section (ii) puts together what we know about the original register from early fourteenth century evidence, while the third section (iii) examines testimony from Toulouse in the seventeenth century about the original register, at a period when it was still extant. The fourth section (iv) describes the Doat commission and its copying of the register in 1669.

The final section (v) turns away from the original register and follows its Doat copy, looking at the history of the location of Doat 25–26 in libraries and their use by modern scholars.

As we shall see, Doat 25–26 is a collection of texts in which some selection, arrangement and omissions can be discerned. When did this editing take place? Viewed purely as a logical problem, these features of Doat 25–26 might seem to have three possible solutions, not one. That is to say, it could be suggested that they resulted from inquisitorial selection and copying, or from the Doat commission’s copying in 1669, or from both. In fact, as we shall see, the contents of Doat 25–26 can be identified with those of a ‘register 6’, which was still extant in the archive of the Dominicans of Toulouse in the seventeenth century, when it was read and analysed by the Dominican theologian Antonin Reginald. Further, the peculiar features of Doat 25–26 exactly fit the characteristics of copying, selecting and re-arranging in the inquisition archive which gave birth to the original register, while they do not fit the known practices of the Doat commission.

### i. *‘The archives of the brothers preacher of Toulouse’*

The Vatican Archive contains a series of accounts presented by inquisitors in Lombardy between 1292 and 1318.<sup>5</sup> Their details plunge the reader

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<sup>5</sup> *Rationes inquisitorum hereticae pravitatis in Lombardia, Marchia Tarvisana et Romandiola (1292–1318)*, ed. G. Biscaro in his ‘Inquisitori ed eretici Lombardi (1292–1318)’, *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, series 3, 50 (1922), pp. 503–557.

immediately into the everyday world of an inquisitor, among them writing and books. There are the expenses of sending letters or books, hiring notaries, and having inquisition proceedings copied.<sup>6</sup> And there is an inventory of the property of the inquisition in Pavia, where, alongside the prison and the stables, there are such objects as a chest and small coffer to keep writings and books, and some tiny books which had belonged to heretics, containing their doctrines. Another inventory included books containing refutations of heretical doctrines.<sup>7</sup>

These accounts illuminate the material side of the production and preservation of texts among inquisitors in Lombardy.<sup>8</sup> Inquisitors in Languedoc lived in a similar world. Like the Lombard inquisitors, they employed notaries, kept records of depositions and sentences, had copies made, and sent letters. They possessed books, books containing the formulae used in their office and law relating to inquisition, treatises against heretics, and heretics' books they had seized. One of John XXII's bulls, from 1324, describes the two main depots in Languedoc. 'The two inquisitors—that is, one at Toulouse and one at Carcassonne, have and operate a special building, having there their houses and their proceedings [or records of proceedings] and books and prisons for the custody of individuals.'<sup>9</sup>

What can be reconstructed about the Toulouse depot? In his handbook for inquisitors, Bernard Gui included the form of a letter for the protection of the building of the Toulouse inquisitors, which refers to it as their 'house or hospice', *domus seu hospicium*. The letter spelled out its two functions. It was first intended for the carrying out of the office of inquisition, and for the 'safer keeping of the books and acts of the inquisition' (*ad conservandum libros et acta inquisitionis tucius*).

<sup>6</sup> *Rationes*, ed. Biscaro, pp. 508, 509, 522, 528, 529, 533, 535, 541, 552.

<sup>7</sup> *Rationes*, ed. Biscaro, pp. 527, 557; a chest for books, p. 508.

<sup>8</sup> See further on inquisitors' libraries G.G. Merlo, 'Problemi documentari dell'Inquisizione medievale in Italia', in *I tribunali della fede: continuità e discontinuità dal medioevo all'età moderna* (Atti del XLV Convegno di studi sulla Riforma e sui movimenti religiosi in Italia, Torre Pellice, 3–4 settembre 2005), ed. S. Peyronel Rambaldi, *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 200 (2007), pp. 19–29 [also on-line at [http://www.cromohs.unifi.it/11\\_2006/merlo\\_problemi.html](http://www.cromohs.unifi.it/11_2006/merlo_problemi.html)], and M. Benedetti, 'I libri degli inquisitori', in *Libri, e altro: Nel passato e nel presente*, ed. G.G. Merlo (Milan 2006), pp. 15–32.

<sup>9</sup> Vidal, *Bullaire*, p. 101: duo inquisitores ... unus videlicet Tholose et alius Carcassone specialem habent et faciunt mansionem, habentes ibidem domos suosque processus ac libros et carceres ad personarum custodiam. The fundamental account of the two archives in Languedoc is in Dossat, *Crises*, ch. 1. The account of Carcassonne is fuller than that of Toulouse.

Bernard Gui's concern for the building led him to forbid handing over the building to anyone or letting anyone live in it during the absence of the inquisitor.<sup>10</sup>

There will have been early losses of such texts, most clearly at the time of the killing of the inquisitor William Arnold and members of his household at Avignonet in 1242, when books were taken and sold to heretics.<sup>11</sup> But preservation is attested by later inquisitors' use of the records in the archive. As we shall see in chapter 2:iii below, when interrogating in 1278 Hugh of Bouniols made careful use of a register containing a deposition made in front of the inquisitor Ferrier in 1244.<sup>12</sup> This register survived to be copied in 1669—Doat 23—and the early date of some of the material that has survived suggests that concern for preservation in the inquisitors' depot at Toulouse went back to the beginning. One of the volumes copied in the seventeenth century contained inquisition sentences from as early as 1235.<sup>13</sup> Consequently, when Bernard Gui came to write his inquisitors' manual, which he finished in 1323–1324, Toulouse inquisitors had been producing texts and keeping records of them for nearly ninety years. He was very conscious of a tradition stretching back in time, containing earlier inquisitors and old books. He provided forms for the making of an authenticated extract that could be used in law from something in a 'book of the inquisition ... in which are written and contained the acts of penance and sentences of our predecessor inquisitors'.<sup>14</sup> He looked at these books of inquisitions in the depot, comparing the forms adopted in older and newer ones. Thus, when providing a form for the sentence of imprisonment he advised that, when there were a large number of people being sentenced, one could put the statements of their guilt before the sentence itself. He added, 'it has often happened thus, in practice, as can be found equally in *recent* books of the inquisition and in *ancient* ones' (*et frequenter contigit sic, de facto prout invenitur in libris inquisitionis novis pariter et antiquis*).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Gui, *Practica*, ii.47 (pp. 66–67).

<sup>11</sup> For example, one of the participants in the killing, Bertrand of Quiriès, confessed in 1245 that 'he got eight shillings from the aforesaid heretic (Bertrand of Maireville) for a certain book which had belonged to the killed inquisitors' (*habuit VIII solidos a predicto heretico pro quodam libro qui fuerat inquisitorum interfectorum*); Toulouse 609, f. 140<sup>v</sup>. Another book fetched 40 shillings; *CaF* 6 (1971), p. 353.

<sup>12</sup> See below, 50<sup>r</sup>–54<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> D21.

<sup>14</sup> Gui, *Practica* ii.40, 41 (p. 63).

<sup>15</sup> Gui, *Practica* iii.16 (p. 103).

In his own practice as an inquisitor, he dealt occasionally with people who had appeared before a Toulouse inquisitor at an earlier date. In these cases, he consulted the books in the depot. He looked for the written evidence of the person's deposition, abjuration, sentence, and their release from prison or the wearing of crosses. On one occasion only he notes that consulting the records had failed: a woman had confessed, but written evidence of her abjuration could not be found.<sup>16</sup> Otherwise Gui seems to have found what he wanted when looking up the books in the depot. On various occasions his *Book of Sentences* notes briefly the fact of consulting the books, alongside a terse statement of what had been found: the name or names of the inquisitor(s), what had been done, and the date. The earliest was a confession to the inquisitor Bernard William of Dax, followed by an abjuration dated January 23 1263.<sup>17</sup> This was a remarkable moment. The person who had appeared in 1263 was now appearing before Bernard Gui forty-nine years later! Perhaps because of this, Bernard Gui's notary added the precise reference. 'Look at the 16th book, 33rd folio' (*Require libro sexto decimo, folio XXXIII<sup>o</sup>*). There are only two references of such precision.<sup>18</sup>

The sixteenth book: clearly the books of inquisition in the Toulouse depot carried numbers. Can we use these to gain some idea of the original size of the depot? At some stage one of the Toulouse books, or a copy, which was kept in the depot at Carcassonne, bore the number three: 'the third book of confessions of Toulouse'.<sup>19</sup> One volume in the depot at Toulouse, a copy transcribed 'from the books of confessions of Brother Bernard of Caux' (*de libris fratris Bernardi de Cautio transcripta*), still contains references to two of their numbers. These are to 'confessions from the fifth book of the Lauragais of Brother Bernard ... from the fourth book' (*confessiones de V<sup>o</sup> libro Laurag- fratris Bernardi ... de quarto libro*).<sup>20</sup> These came from the great inquisition of 1245–1246.

A useful parallel is found in the larger number still extant of copies of volumes originally preserved in the depot of the inquisitors at Carcassonne. There are a lot of references within these to numbered volumes,

<sup>16</sup> Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.444.

<sup>17</sup> Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.736.

<sup>18</sup> The other is found in *Livre des sentences*, i.588; another example, with reference by folio number and leaf (in this case verso), in G.W. Davis, *The Inquisition at Albi 1299: Text of Register and Analysis* (New York, 1948), p. 121: folio octogesimo quarto in secunda pagina. Further examples: Dossat, *Crises*, p. 42.

<sup>19</sup> Davis, *Inquisition at Albi*, p. 121.

<sup>20</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, p. 57.



and it is clear that there was not one series of numbered volumes but several.<sup>21</sup> This is clearly the inference also to be drawn from the sparser references to numbered volumes in Toulouse—that they were in several numbered series. The systematic numbering of books in different series adds to the picture we find elsewhere of inquisitors' concern for efficient data-retrieval, for example, in the two alphabetical indexes that are set at the front of Gui's own *Book of Sentences*, a list of places, followed by a very long index of persons listed by place.<sup>22</sup> At the same time it gives us a ballpark view of the size of the holdings in the Toulouse depot. Accretions will not have been steady. The ups and downs in inquisition will have meant much greater accessions in some periods than others. But by Gui's time records had been accumulating for ninety years. The numbers 4 and 5 in Bernard of Caux's sub-series and the number 16 in another series, allocated to a volume containing material from 1263, suggest that by the time of Gui the depot in Toulouse will have contained at least several dozen volumes, some of them numbered in different series. A figure to compare comes from the other depot, at Carcassonne, where an inventory of 115 items—registers, books, quires—includes over forty dated to before 1300.<sup>23</sup>

What can be said about the range and variety of the texts? The chest and coffer at Pavia contained both texts produced by the office of inquisition and heretics' books. The depot at Carcassonne contained a Cathar text, the *Questions of John* or *Secret Supper* (*Interrogatio Johannis*); treatises against heresy, including the *Dialogue between a Catholic and Paterine heretic* and Rainier Sacconi's treatise against Cathars and Waldensians; and a chronicle of inquisition. The depot at Toulouse is likely to have contained a similarly wide range of material, including the chronicle of inquisition in Toulouse written by William Pelhisson. Those texts that are clearly attested are, however, those that arose directly from the carrying out of the office of inquisition.

There is a formulaic doublet within the references made in Bernard Gui's sentences to these texts—as appears through (i) the acts and (ii) the processes in the books of the inquisition' (*sicut constat per acta et processus in libros inquisitionis*). This is a useful reminder of the formal

<sup>21</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 42, 45, 47.

<sup>22</sup> Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i. 84–174.

<sup>23</sup> A. Germain, 'Inventaire inédit concernant les archives de l'inquisition de Carcassonne', *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Montpellier* 4 (1855), pp. 287–308 (295–308).

variety of the documents that were transcribed into these books of the inquisition. They included records of interrogations (confessions, depositions, *processus*), abjurations, extracts containing the main elements of a person's guilt (*extractiones culparum*), sentences (*penitentie, sententie*), letters of penance, acts of release from prison and the wearing of crosses, and a miscellany of other 'acts' of inquisition. A book could be dedicated to the transcription of one type of text. For example, a note in Gui's *Book of Sentences* refers the reader to a book of 'extractions' (meaning extracts from depositions of items bearing upon guilt), in a way that suggests a book dedicated just to these.<sup>24</sup> Bernard of Caux's books were designated as containing 'confessions' and the Toulouse volume kept in Carcassonne was 'the third volume of confessions'. But one book could also contain a mixture. Examples include the chronologically earliest Toulouse book copied by the Doat scribes, Doat 21, and Bernard Gui's *Book of Sentences*, both of which contained a combination of 'extractions of guilt' and sentences.

Copying texts and processing them helped to produce the considerable formal variety of the volumes in the depot. It is useful to distinguish here between two sorts of copying. The first is the writing and copying that went on at the time of the inquisitor's enquiry and sentencing. This has been reconstructed by Yves Dossat on the basis in particular of the language and practice found in the manuscripts of the inquisitions of Bernard of Caux and Jacques Fournier.<sup>25</sup> During an interrogation, a notary wrote a record of depositions into his 'protocol'. At a later stage a notary or notaries transcribed the records of these depositions into a book which was regarded as the 'original'. At this stage there could be arrangement of material, the most obvious example being the copying together of several pieces relating to one deponent. Then 'extractions of guilt' were made from this, and then in turn the 'extractions' of guilt were used for the sentences. These in turn were recorded. They were the objects of practical advice in Gui's inquisitors' manual, where Gui was concerned with the form of what was *written* for preservation as well as the form of what was read out.

There was another reason for copying. There was legislative reaction to the stealing of books from the inquisitors killed at Avignonet in 1242. The Dominican provincial chapter held in Narbonne in the following year,

<sup>24</sup> Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i, 588: Culpa istius plenius continetur in libro extraccionum secundo folio XVI<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 58–59.

1243, forbade the carrying of the books of the inquisition. The presence of copies of Toulouse confessions in Carcassonne suggests that the ban applied to originals, and that it stimulated copying.

Copies could be made at a time perceptibly later than the dates of the inquisition acts in question. The outer chronological limits of a copy made on the instructions of the two inquisitors William Bernard of Dax and Reginald of Chartres are late 1258 and August 1263. But the majority of the confessions transcribed in the copy were of acts of inquisition carried out in 1245–1246.<sup>26</sup> The maximum possible time-gap between the copy and the last item copied was four years and ten months, but obviously it could have been only months. More significant is the gap between the majority of the contents and the copy, which is about fifteen years.

The immediate processes of inquisition led to the collection of texts in books that were exclusive and specialised. Later copying encouraged further re-arrangement, selection, and the inclusion of generically different material. Thus the copy just mentioned mainly contained confessions from 1245–1246, extracted from Bernard of Caux's books of confessions, but it also contained copies of a miscellany of acts by later inquisitors extending from 1251 to 1258. This copy provides a useful example both of the relative generic freedom of this second type of copying, and of the confusions that could result. Yves Dossat's close study of this copy shows that re-arrangement at one or other or both stages led to disorder. Nine depositions were repeated, a few depositions were amputated, and the grouping of various pieces around one person, regardless of date, led to wider chronological confusion.<sup>27</sup>

## ii. *What do we know about the original register?*

The original register from which the Doat 25–26 copy was 'drawn' contained mainly the records of interrogations between 1273 and 1282, many of them conducted by the inquisitors Pons of Parnac and Ranulph of Plassac. Some of its features, discussed later, indicate that it was not an original 'book of confessions'. Rather, it was an example of the second type of copying that we have just been discussing. That is to say, it was characterised by selection, omission and re-arrangement, and it drew mainly on an earlier and fuller 'book of confessions'.

<sup>26</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, 57.

<sup>27</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 79 and 80–82.

Outside Doat 25–26, our knowledge of Pons of Parnac and Ranulph of Plassac and the written materials their inquisitions generated comes from the later inquisitor Bernard Gui. In his history of the convents in the province of Toulouse Bernard Gui provided a short account of Pons of Parnac's career, and he refers to Pons three times in his *Book of Sentences*. Pons also appears in the acts of the provincial chapters that Gui compiled. Although Ranulph is a more shadowy figure, Gui names him twice in his *Book of Sentences*.<sup>28</sup>

Gui's references indicate the existence of other books in the depot, containing the records of these inquisitors and their immediate collaborators and successors, that are other than the volume copied into Doat 25–26. 'From books and acts of the inquisition' Gui knew that Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac had condemned Philippa of Tounis to wearing double crosses and small pilgrimages, on May 13 1274, and Arnalda of Roquevidal to imprisonment, on November 4 1274.<sup>29</sup> The latter sentence spelled out as having been delivered at St Stephen's cathedral in Toulouse. He also knew from these sources that Philippa had been allowed to stop wearing these crosses by Hugh Amiel and John Galand, at a later date, unspecified.<sup>30</sup> Gui also knew that on April 25 1277 Pons of Parnac and Hugh of Bouniols had conceded to Petrona of Saint-Martin-Lalande the grace not to wear crosses that had been imposed on her in 1269 by Pons of Pouget, and he knew this not only from books and acts but the letter that had been granted to her.<sup>31</sup> It is clear from Gui's consultation of evidence about Philippa and Arnalda that the depot held a book of inquisition containing the sentences of Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac. There was also a book—it could have been the same book—containing the letter granted to Petrona.

Gui's references to Arnalda of Roquevidal bear upon the 'book of confessions'. Arnalda was sentenced to imprisonment by Bernard Gui on April 23 1312, at which date she is described as the widow of Raymond Hugh of Roquevidal and now living in Toulouse. As already mentioned, she had previously confessed to participation in heresy and had been sentenced to imprisonment by the inquisitors Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac in 1274. After being freed from prison, the cross and

<sup>28</sup> See ch. 2 below.

<sup>29</sup> Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.184, 746.

<sup>30</sup> Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.184.

<sup>31</sup> Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.922.

pilgrimage had been imposed on her by the inquisitor Peter of *Mulceone*, and he had later released her from wearing the cross. A grandson, child of her son William Hugh, had died earlier in 1311. Conversation in August about the fact that the grandson had not been hereticated had led to negotiation to find heretics to hereticate Arnalda herself—she was ill—and she had been taken prisoner in February 1312. There followed her interrogation by Gui and his consultation of a book or books in the depot, including one or more arising from the inquisitorial activities of Pons of Parnac and Ranulph of Plassac.<sup>32</sup>

The volume copied into Doat 25–26 contained records of the interrogations of Arnalda's husband Raymond Hugh and her brother-in-law Bernard Hugh by Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac.<sup>33</sup> These interrogations mentioned Arnalda often. But, though we know Ranulph and Pons also interrogated and sentenced Arnalda, her interrogation is not recorded in this book. She is not the only case. Bernard Hugh's wife Tolsana was also often mentioned during these interrogations. Gui also dealt with her, releasing her from prison on March 3 1308 and allowing her to stop wearing crosses on May 25 1309. Her name and the date of her original imprisonment—1274—show that she was also interrogated around the time when her husband, brother-in-law and sister-in-law were interrogated. She was sentenced seven months earlier than her sister-in-law Arnalda, on May 13 1274.<sup>34</sup> In the case of Arnalda, Gui was explicit, spelling out the basis for his statements—'as is clear to us lawfully according to the books and acts of the inquisition' (*sicut legitime nobis constat per libros et acta inquisitionis*)—and naming the inquisitors Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac. In the case of Tolsana, Gui does not name the inquisitors nor spell out the fact that he had consulted the books and acts of the inquisition, but it is clear from the precision of the date that he had done so.

Bernard Gui's *Book of Sentences* demonstrate, first, that there was in the depot at Toulouse a 'book of confessions' of Pons of Parnac and Ranulph of Plassac, containing more interrogations than those in the register copied into Doat 25–26, and, secondly, that there was also a book containing their sentences.

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<sup>32</sup> Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.746–750.

<sup>33</sup> 68<sup>r</sup>–82<sup>r</sup>, 90<sup>r</sup>–125<sup>r</sup>. See below, pp. 45–47, for further discussion of these two deponents.

<sup>34</sup> Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.178, 206.

This much is certain. By contrast, the sequence tabulated below is a conjectural reconstruction, based on putting together (i) the generically varied range of the books in the Toulouse and Carcassonne depots, (ii) the production of later copies that had elements of selection, re-arrangement and anthology, and (iii) the data provided by Bernard Gui. Here we apply Ockham's razor, presenting the most economical model that covers the facts, while recognising that the sequence of texts in the now irrecoverable past reality may well have been more complex.

- (i) The interrogations of Ranulph and Pons, and their immediate collaborators and successors, were recorded in notaries' protocols.
- (ii) These were then transcribed into the 'originals', the *Book* or *Books of Confessions* of these inquisitors, including the no-longer extant interrogations of Arnalda of Roquevidal and Tolsana.
- (iii) There is likely to have been a *Book of Extractions*, on the lines of the earlier *culpe* of Peter Sellan and the later *culpe* of Bernard Gui.
- (iv) These 'extracts of guilt' (*extractiones culparum*) formed the bases for sentences. We know the exact dates of two of these 'public sermons' in 1274, one spelled out as being in the Cathedral of St Stephen's in Toulouse. These sentences will have been recorded in a *Book of Sentences* of these inquisitors. Alongside (ii) above, this was the book Bernard Gui will have consulted.
- (v) Under the instructions of a later inquisitor or pair of inquisitors, a scribe will have copied into another register a selection from the *Book* or *Books of Confessions*, together with some other pieces.

Although we shall never be able to establish much about the selection made in stage (v) above, we need to repeat the one certain point about exclusion. As we have seen, the selection excluded the records of the depositions of two women, the wives of the two brothers from Roquevidal. We can also conjecture the inclusion of material drawn from 'originals' other than this *Book* or *Books of Confessions*. The volume contains letters about the mandating of inquisition to the prior of the Dominicans at Montauban,<sup>35</sup> and these are likely to have been copied from a book of 'acts' pertaining to Ranulph's and Pons's inquisition. The depositions of Burgundian Waldensians contain a date, but no note of inquisitor or place of interrogation.<sup>36</sup> They are also sketchier than other depositions in the register. We have only shadowy knowledge of Burgundian

<sup>35</sup> 231<sup>r</sup>–233<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> 9<sup>v</sup>–10<sup>v</sup>.

inquisition. An otherwise unknown Gui of Rheims was ‘inquisitor of heretics in Burgundy’ in the 1290s, and dealing with Waldensians.<sup>37</sup> Extrapolating from this later fact, we could suggest the possibility that the Burgundian depositions in Doat 25 were drawn from another source that had come into the Toulouse depot, and ultimately from a book of depositions made in front of the inquisitor or inquisitors of Burgundy. Against this is the fact that their dates fit into the chronology of surrounding depositions. The wide chronological span of the volume and the transition from confessions in front of Pons and Ranulph in the mid-1270s to confessions in front of Hugh Amiel and John Galand around 1280 suggest the possibility of the material being drawn from two—or from two groups of—*Books of Confessions*. Finally, we can also discern occasional problems and mistakes, especially near the beginning of the enterprise, which are reminiscent of the errors found by Dossat in the copy of an earlier register that he studied. For example, in the Doat copy of his confession, the deponent’s first appearance is as the ‘afore-said’ Bernard of Rival: clearly the earlier part of his deposition has been amputated.<sup>38</sup> Shortly afterwards there is another example of amputation, when another deponent makes his first appearance, this time unnamed, as ‘the aforesaid’.<sup>39</sup>

The latest date in the volume copied into Doat 25–26 is January 26 1282. In the earlier discussion of a copy and selection executed on the orders of inquisitors, the gap between most recent originals and the copy was somewhere between a few months and four years ten months, and the outer limits of the gap between the copy and the earliest originals were thirteen and eighteen years. If there was a similar gap here, we should think of dates between 1282 and the late 1290s for the assembling of this selective register. But a slightly later date is not excluded.

### iii. *Seventeenth-century evidence, and the ‘sixth register’*

During the mid- and later seventeenth century several Dominicans paid considerable attention to the inquisition archives of Toulouse and Carcassonne: Antonin Reginald, Jean-Jacques Percin and Jean Benoist. These

<sup>37</sup> Gui, *Le livre des sentences*, ii.1040, 1128, 1130, 1170. Later histories of inquisition add nothing to these references.

<sup>38</sup> 11<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> 17<sup>r</sup>.

men used registers as sources for historical works, Reginald for a chronicle of medieval inquisitors, Percin for a history of the Dominican convent in Toulouse and Benoist for an account of medieval heresies. Demonstrating the growth of interest in the reading and scholarly use of these materials, they provide an interesting local parallel to the Doat enterprise. They also provide precious information about the state of these archives, and the register upon which Doat 25–26 was based.

The earliest of them was Toulouse Dominican, Antonin Reginald, also known as Regnault (c. 1605–1676). An academic theologian at Toulouse and the author of a monumental account of the Council of Trent, Antonin Reginald's life and work is mainly known to us through a short biography written by Percin, included in his history of the convent,<sup>40</sup> and the short biography and bibliography compiled by the Dominicans Jacques Quéatif (1618–1698) and Jacques Échard (1644–1724).<sup>41</sup> Reginald turned to the inquisition registers in the convent to compile two works, one containing data about inquisitors killed at Avignonet, the other an account of the inquisitors of Toulouse.<sup>42</sup> While the former was noticed and discussed by Yves Dossat, the latter has escaped modern attention. It is possible that the marginalia in one of the volumes in the convent library containing depositions mainly from 1245–1246—later Toulouse Bibliothèque municipale MS 609—are traces of the preliminary research work. In a seventeenth-century hand the laconic 'inq' appears over two dozen times to mark the appearance of an inquisitor.<sup>43</sup> Quéatif and Échard provide the title of the resulting work, *Chronicon Inquisitorum Tolosanorum*, noting that it was not published, that its manuscript was preserved by the Dominicans in Toulouse, and that it contained interpolations by Percin.<sup>44</sup> It did not go with other manuscripts from this convent into the Bibliothèque Municipale, and our efforts to find this manuscript have been unsuccessful. However, it had a long afterlife through extensive copying

<sup>40</sup> J.-J. Percin, *Monumenta conventus Tolosani ordinis F.F. Praedicatorum* (Toulouse, 1693), pp. 169–173.

<sup>41</sup> J. Quéatif and J. Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti notis historicis et criticis illustrati ad annum 1700*, 2 vols (Paris, 1719–1721), ii. 661<sup>a</sup>–663<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Percin, *Monumenta*, p. 170: *Is ipse Chronicon Inquisitorum compilavit & plura pro Historia trium Fratrum Avenionetti occisorum anno ut retuli, 1242.*

<sup>43</sup> Toulouse 609, f. 31<sup>v</sup>, 36<sup>r</sup>, 65<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup> (bis), 74<sup>v</sup>, 75<sup>v</sup>, 78<sup>v</sup>, 79<sup>v</sup> (bis), 80<sup>v</sup>, 82<sup>v</sup>, 84<sup>r</sup>, 89<sup>v</sup>, 97<sup>v</sup>, 126<sup>v</sup>, 135<sup>v</sup>, 137<sup>r</sup>, 142<sup>v</sup>, 143<sup>r</sup>, 161<sup>v</sup>, 162<sup>v</sup>, 165<sup>v</sup>, 166<sup>v</sup>, 193<sup>v</sup>. The first, on f. 1<sup>r</sup>, is longer: *F. Ferra. Inquis.*

<sup>44</sup> Quéatif and Échard, *Scriptores*, ii. 663<sup>b</sup>. The ninth in the list of Reginald's works was this: *Chronicon Inquisitorum Tolosanorum*. *Extat apud nostros Tolosae MS, quod in suam conv. Tol. Historiam identidem tamen interpolatam congegissit Jacobus Percin citatus.*



and interpolation into the history of the Toulouse convent which Reginald's fellow Toulouse Dominican, Jean-Jacques Percin, wrote between 1688 and 1690 and published in 1693.<sup>45</sup>

Percin seems at first sight to have made considerable use of manuscripts in Dominican libraries and archives, especially those of Toulouse and Prouille. He includes quite a few references to 'registers of inquisition', doing this in order to support his listing of the names and dates of the inquisitors of Toulouse. On one occasion, in part of a short work on the 'Martyrs of Avignonet', he refers to the deposition of a particular witness, Ermesendis Pellicier, and what she had said about the killing of the inquisitor William Arnold; this is discussed further below. Most of Percin's references specify the register further, once referring to an 'old register', but most of the time referring to them by number: register one, register two, register four and register six. There are no references to registers three and five. Percin also cites by folio number, using 'pag. II' to refer to the verso of a folio.

Although Percin did make some direct use of medieval manuscripts, much of the time he was also avowedly and heavily dependent on Reginald's manuscript history of the inquisitors of Toulouse, as Quétif and Échard pointed out. When citing the registers Percin usually makes his dependence plain, citing the *Chronicon* or *Catalogus Inquisitorum*, using phrases like 'in the Catalogue of Inquisitors compiled by our brother Antonin Reginald' or 'these things (are from) brother Reginald'.<sup>46</sup> Percin added to his history of the convent in Toulouse a little work (*Opusculum*) on the heresy of the Albigensians, into which is incorporated another little work on the inquisition, and into the latter he incorporated a two-page list of Toulouse inquisitors entitled *Names of Inquisitors (Nomina Inquisitorum)*.<sup>47</sup> While the dependence of this on Reginald's earlier work is no more than a plausible conjecture, we can be confident that most of Percin's references to the inquisition registers of Toulouse come from Reginald: and most probably all of them did.

This is very important. Antonin Reginald was using the registers in the archives in Toulouse at around the time of the Doat commission or perhaps a few years before. There is no question of his using temporarily

<sup>45</sup> B. Montagnes, 'L'historiographie de saint Dominique en pays Toulousain de Rechac à Tournon (1640–1740)', *CaF* 36 (2001), pp. 448–478 (450).

<sup>46</sup> Percin, *Monumenta*, p. 52: In catalogo inquisitorum a Fr. nostro Antonino Reginaldo compilato; haec F. Reginaldus.

<sup>47</sup> Percin, *Opusculum de haeresi Albigensium*, pp. 109–110. This work follows after the *Monumenta* and is separately paginated.

available Doat copies. For example, Doat 21 contains the penances of Peter Sellan, which may be the sentences of Peter Sellan to which Reginald refers. Whereas they start on folio 2 in what is described as an ‘old register’, they start on folio 185<sup>r</sup> in the physically new Doat 21.<sup>48</sup> Consequently, Reginald’s is the only testimony about the medieval registers, as they were preserved at this time, which we can try to use as a control on the Doat mission. Of outstanding interest is the congruence between one of the registers and Doat 25–26. All of the principal inquisitors of Doat 25–26 appear also in Reginald’s / Percin’s references to register six.

Before looking at these, we should bear in mind errors that may have crept in at several stages: errors made by Reginald in using the registers, by Percin when copying and extracting from Antonin Reginald’s manuscript, and by the printers when Percin’s history was published. Percin’s apology for not being able to correct printer’s errors and his list of a few major *errata* indicate that the published work contains many uncorrected slips.<sup>49</sup> But there is more than this. Percin was an unusually careless scholar. Quétif and Échard’s near-contemporary biography contains a scathing denunciation of his proneness to error,<sup>50</sup> and this is confirmed by the principal modern historian of the early Dominicans, Simon Tugwell.<sup>51</sup> An example is the unique precise reference to the deposition of Ermesendis Pellicier, referring to a detail from the killing of inquisitors at Avignonet. Though very short, it manages to make two errors. One is that the detail does not occur within her deposition: it comes just after her deposition. The other is the folio reference, given as 8: it should be 85.<sup>52</sup> Consequently, we have to be prepared for more errors, especially numerical ones. One of Percin’s references which appears at first sight to be to the sixth register has clearly suffered from his (or Reginald’s) slipshod ways.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Percin, *Monumenta*, p. 52: In catalogo Inquisitorum a Fr. nostro compilato, de quo saepius in decursu, fit mention hoc eodem anno Fratris Cellani seu Syllani, cujus in veteri Registro ponuntur sententiae folio II.

<sup>49</sup> Percin, *Opusculum*, p. 284.

<sup>50</sup> J. Quétif and J. Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti notis historicis et criticis illustrati ad annum 1700, Ab anno 1701 ad annum 1750 perducti*, ed. R. Coulon and A. Papillon, 2 vols (Rome, Paris, 1901–1934), i.142.

<sup>51</sup> Private conversation.

<sup>52</sup> Percin, *Opusculum*, p. 202: in 4. Inquisitionis Registro folio 8 in depositione Ermesindis Peliceriae. The deposition is Toulouse 609, f. 85<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Percin, *Monumenta*, pp. 57–58, writes that that it is clear from register 6 that Stephen of Gâtine succeeded William of Montreuil as the inquisitor of Toulouse, and that he was active as inquisitor in 1273, 1274 and 1275. Since Stephen’s career as an

The table below shows the register that Antonin Reginald examined somewhere between the 1650s and his death in 1676, and the volume that the Doat commission copied in October 1669.

<i>Names</i>	<i>Register 6.</i>	<i>Doat 25–26</i>
Ranulph and Pons together, first mention	fol. 4 <sup>r54</sup>	Doat was based on ‘a parchment book—whose first leaf is marked with the number 4 and the last 244’. Ranulph and Pons may have appeared in a title not copied by the Doat scribes: see comment at the end of this table.
Ranulph and Pons together		from 14 <sup>r</sup>
mention of earlier inquisitor, William of Montreuil	fol. 125 <sup>r55</sup>	184 <sup>r</sup>
mention of Hugh of Bouniols	fol. 133 <sup>v56</sup>	230 <sup>r</sup>
Peter Arsieu	fol. 148 <sup>57</sup>	from 265 <sup>r</sup>

inquisitor in Toulouse started probably around 1263, we would expect evidence about the commencement of his career to be found in an earlier register. The precise references provided by Percin usually include (a) register number, (b) folio number, and (c) pag. 1 and pag. 2 to indicate recto or verso. In this case the reference—*ut constat ex Registro 6. pag. 2*—is clearly erroneous. Providing verso (*‘pag. 2’*) makes no sense if there is no folio number. *‘Fol.’* and a number are missing. The most probable explanation is that 6 is the folio number, of a register whose number Percin omitted: the original will have been *‘ut constat ex Registro (missing no., possibly 5, fol.) 6. pag. 2’*. An alternative conjecture is *‘ut constat ex Registro 6. (folio, missing no.) pag. 2’*. But this is rendered implausible by the chronological lag between the beginning of Stephen of Gâtine’s career and the rest of the material cited from register 6.

<sup>54</sup> Percin, *Monumenta*, p. 58: *successit in Officio Inquisitoris ex Registro 6. fol. 4. Frater Raymundus seu Raynulphus de Placiato, pro ut compertum est ex citato Registro 6. fol. 4 [sic] qui etiam expresse Inquisitor dicitur anno superiori 1273. & quia Frater Pontius de Parnaco Caturcensis vocatur etiam Inquisitor citato Registro 6. fol. 4. simul exercuisse sanctum officium probabile est.*

<sup>55</sup> Percin, *Monumenta*, p. 57: in 6. Registro fol. 125. pag. 1. in fine, idem F. Revelli vocatur quondam Inquisitor.

<sup>56</sup> Percin, *Monumenta*, p. 58: folio 133. pag. 2. fit mentio Fratris Hugonis de Boniolis. The register number is not given here, but register 6 is given in the previous sentence.

<sup>57</sup> Percin, *Monumenta*, p. 62: De eo in Registro sexto Inquisitionis folio 148 agitur.

<i>Names</i>	<i>Register 6.</i>	<i>Doat 25–26</i>
Hugh Amiel	fol. 160, ‘and often up to the end of the register’ <sup>58</sup>	251 <sup>v</sup> (acting), 271 <sup>r</sup> , 282 <sup>v</sup> , 289 <sup>v</sup> , 322 <sup>v</sup> , 324 <sup>v</sup> , 328 <sup>r</sup> , 330 <sup>v</sup> , 331 <sup>v</sup> ; 2 <sup>r</sup> , 36 <sup>r</sup> , 42 <sup>v</sup> , 44 <sup>r</sup> , 48 <sup>r</sup> , 48 <sup>v</sup> , 49 <sup>r</sup> , 55 <sup>v</sup> , 57 <sup>v</sup> , 58 <sup>r</sup> , 59 <sup>v</sup> , 61 <sup>v</sup> , 65 <sup>v</sup> , 68 <sup>r</sup> , 72 <sup>r</sup> , 77 <sup>r</sup> , 78 <sup>r</sup> .
Hugh of Bouniols and Pons of Parnac together	mention of him in 1275; together with brother Pons of Parnac, folio 185 <sup>59</sup>	230 <sup>r</sup> , 251 <sup>v</sup> , 252 <sup>v</sup> , 255 <sup>v</sup> (all with Pons)
John Galand	fol. 179 <sup>v60</sup>	from 271 <sup>v</sup>

This table begins with an interesting coincidence. Numbering in the old register that Doat copied began at 4, and Reginald’s first reference to Pons of Parnac and Ranulph of Plassac together is at folio 4. Although the number in ‘folio four’ may be one of Percin’s errors, the more likely explanation is that the Doat copyists omitted a title on the first leaf (numbered four). Following the model of one manuscript in the convent, bearing the title *Confessiones ... Bernardi de Caucio*,<sup>61</sup> register six probably started with a title such as *Confessiones ... Pontii de Parnaco et Ranulphi de Plas-saco*.

Percin’s carelessness means that there are almost certainly other errors of folio numbers. But there are sufficient parallels to show that the register 6, which Reginald knew, was the volume copied into Doat 25–26.

Two more features of the original register can be conjectured. A comparison of folio numbers in register 6 and Doat 25–26 and the very small number of words per leaf in Doat 25–26 indicates that it was a small manuscript. References to other confessions within depositions in the Doat copy—see the passages in parentheses in 18<sup>r</sup> and 21<sup>r</sup>—suggest that it had cross-references noted in its margins.

<sup>58</sup> Percin, *Monumenta*, p. 62: De eo in Registro Inquisitionis 6. folio 160. & deinde sub finem dicti Registri pluries fit mentio ejus ex F. Reginaldo.

<sup>59</sup> Percin, *Monumenta*, p. 62: *F. Hugo de Boniolis* fuit circa haec tempora Inquisitor, ut constat ex Registro 6. in quo de eo fit mentio anno 1275. una cum Fratre Pontio de Parnaco & folio 185.

<sup>60</sup> Percin, *Monumenta*, p. 62: Anno eodem [1281] *F. Joannes Galandi* fuit Inquisitor ut notatur in 6. Registro, 179, pag. 2.

<sup>61</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, p. 57.

iv. *The Doat commission*

The volumes edited here are numbers 25 and 26 in a series of 258 volumes containing copies of documents held in various archives in Languedoc, executed between 1665 and 1670 under the direction of Jean de Doat and sent off to Paris for Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683).<sup>62</sup>

Minister of finance to king Louis XIV (1665–1683), Colbert was a great patron of learned academies and the arts, and above all the proud owner of the magnificent private library, into which the volumes went.<sup>63</sup> He left at his death about 50,000 printed books and 15,000 manuscripts. There was a tradition of great ministers having grand libraries—Richelieu, Mazarin and now Colbert. The grandeur of these libraries, Lothar Kolmer has suggested, bore upon the prestige both of the state and of the individual ministers in question. Colbert himself said that his main pleasure in royal service lay in forming his library. He was clearly good at appointing talented librarians, one of whom, Pierre de Carcavy, left behind a succinct and penetrating account of the Doat project.

Louis XIV's commission to Jean de Doat spelled out the two aims of copying: for the conservation of the rights of the crown and to serve history (*pour la conservation des droicts de nostre couronne et pour servir à l'histoire*). The contemporary context of the first of these was provided by war, politics and debate: the French war against the Spanish Netherlands (1667–1668), general interest in French royal rights, and Louis XIV's personal interest in the renewal of the Carolingian Empire. Concern with crown rights to possessions had been given particular impetus by contemporary lawyers' arguments that crown rights, once acquired, could never be removed.

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<sup>62</sup> There is no detailed formal catalogue. For an inventory of all the collection, see P. Lauer, *Collections manuscrites sur l'histoire des provinces de France: Inventaire*, 2 vols (Paris, 1905–1911), i.156–192, and for the volumes concerning heresy and inquisition, Doat 21–37, C. Molinier, *L'inquisition dans le Midi de la France au XIII et au XVIe siècle: Étude sur les sources de son histoire* (Paris, 1880), pp. 34–40. More detailed analysis and identification of these volumes is found in Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 37–42 and 44–55.

<sup>63</sup> The following account is based mainly on the documents published in H. Omont, *La collection Doat à la Bibliothèque Nationale: Documents sur les recherches de Doat dans les archives du sud-ouest de la France de 1663 à 1670* (Paris, 1917), and the account by L. Kolmer, 'Colbert und die Entstehung der Collection Doat', *Francia* 7 (1979), 463–489. Kolmer's description of the Doat mission, pp. 465–473, is based on more exhaustive use than Omont's of the materials collected in Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Nouvelles Acq. Fr. 22765.

The context of the second aim was the remarkable range of monumental enterprises in antiquarian, editorial and historical scholarship that were being undertaken in France during these decades. Another of Colbert's librarians, Étienne Baluze (1630–1718), was publishing many medieval texts. The two Maurists Luc d'Achery (1609–1685) and Jean Mabillon (1632–1707) were laying the foundations of the great *Acta Sanctorum* series. Its first volume appeared in 1668. And Charles du Fresne du Cange (1610–1688) was engaged in the research for his great dictionary of medieval Latin, whose first edition appeared in 1678. The second part of Doat's commission, to copy documents in Languedoc 'to serve history', can be seen as an example of a medium-scale enterprise from this remarkable period of scholarship.

Jean de Doat was born around 1600, the son of a lawyer.<sup>64</sup> He was Président of the Chambre des Comptes of the Parlement of Pau from 1646, he bought the lordship of Doat, near Montaner, in 1663,<sup>65</sup> and he died a little before 24 August 1683. The commission which bears his name lasted from 1663 to 1670, and it is conveniently divided into two phases. The first phase began with Doat bringing an inventory of *titres* (material bearing upon rights) from Béarn to Paris in 1663. Colbert's librarian Pierre de Carcavy marked the ones to be copied, and on May 26 1664 Doat got orders from Colbert to go ahead.<sup>66</sup> More inventories were sent to Carcavy, and many copies were executed between July 1664 and August 1666. According to the crisp historical aide-memoire drawn up by Carcavy, Colbert was pleased with Doat's care and his researches, and he obtained for him two royal commissions.<sup>67</sup> One of them (April 1667) extended his work to Guyenne and the other (October 1667) extended it to the whole of Languedoc. By 1670 the cost of the project had passed 50,000 *livres*. Colbert could no longer stand the cost, and the commission's work came to an end.

In the Languedoc phase of the project, Doat established his bureau of copyists successively in Foix, Rodez, Foix again, Carcassonne, and L'Isle-en-Albigeois. He settled it in the latter on August 11 1668, to escape the heat of Carcassonne. There was a set procedure for obtaining material. A member of the commission would go to the archive, with the royal

<sup>64</sup> R. Le Blant, 'Doat (Jean de)', *Dictionnaire de biographie française* 11 (1967), cols 407–408.

<sup>65</sup> He already bore the name Doat, which has no connection with this lordship of Doat.

<sup>66</sup> On Carcavy, see R. d'Amat, 'Carcavy (Pierre de)', *Dictionnaire de biographie française* 7 (1956), cols 1114–1115.

<sup>67</sup> Omont, *Collection Doat*, pp. 27–28.

patent, to announce Doat's impending visit. He then looked at original documents, assisted by two scribes. Doat would then visit and choose. Scribes would make out two lists of the documents that they took away. One list was left in the archive, to facilitate checking when the documents were returned.

Doat visited Toulouse, staying there between November 5 and 27 1668, and it is during these three weeks that he will have visited the archives of the Dominicans. A little later the Dominican Jean Benoist was visiting the archives of his Order in Languedoc in order to gather material for the history of medieval heresies that he was to publish in 1691. Benoist looked mainly at the Carcassonne archive, among other things using it for an edition of the whole of text of the Cathar *Interrogatio Johannis*. But he also looked at the Toulouse archive, describing its contents thus. 'If there was need for it, twelve old Registers preserved in the Convent of the Friars Preacher in Toulouse would provide yet more proofs. One sees in them the procedures mounted by Inquisitors on various occasions against the Albigensians, and the avowal of their doctrine. These Acts are attested by Inquisitors, witnesses, Notaries public, and sometimes even by Bishops, in whose presence the Inquisitors carried out the proceedings.'<sup>68</sup>

Most significant is the evidence here of the wasting away of the archive by the late seventeenth century. The extensiveness of the archive of the Dominicans at Carcassonne is reflected in Doat's choice—seventeen 'Doat' volumes contain his scribes' copies of Carcassonne materials. In Toulouse, by contrast, Doat was confronted by a much smaller archive. He chose only three volumes he found there, 'a parchment book, covered with wood and a skin',<sup>69</sup> a collection of 'twenty parchment quires bound together, the first of which was marked no. 2 and the last 168',<sup>70</sup> and the volume whose copy is edited here, 'a parchment book—whose first leaf is marked with the number 4 and the last 244'. If the archive's holdings in 1668 were the same as when Benoist visited—in the 1680s?—Doat chose to copy a quarter of the inquisition registers that were there, three out

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<sup>68</sup> 'Douze anciens Registres que l'on conserve dans le Convent [sic] des Freres Prescheurs de Toulouse fourniroient encore des preuves s'il en étoit besoin. On y voit les procédures que les Inquisiteurs firent en différentes occasions contre les Albigeois, & l'aveu de leur doctrine. Ces Actes se trouvent signez des Inquisiteurs, des témoins, des Notaires publics, & souvent même des Evêques, en presence desquels les Inquisiteurs instruisoient les procès'; J. Benoist, *Histoire des Albigeois et des Vaudois ou Barbets*, 2 vols (Paris, 1691), i.44.

<sup>69</sup> Copied into Doat 21, f. 143<sup>r</sup>–323<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Copied into Doat 22, f. 1<sup>r</sup>–106<sup>r</sup>.

of twelve. The size of the volumes Doat chose is striking. The first two of these registers were rather small, one copied into 180 folios by Doat scribes, the other into 106. Register six was larger, copied into 410 folios. There was one volume we know Doat did not decide to copy, Toulouse MS 609, and its very great size is its most striking feature. One of Doat's selection criteria in Toulouse seems to have been manageable size: he chose small to medium size registers.

At this period, documents were being removed to L'Isle-en-Albigeois. Through an extract made by Carcavy, we have the last account Doat presented, which runs from May 1 1669 to February 13 1670.<sup>71</sup> It covers, therefore, the period late in 1669 when one of the Toulouse registers was being copied into Doat 25–26. In addition to five named copyists paid annually, there were five paid according to their work at 3 *sous* per leaf and seven at 2 *sous* per leaf.<sup>72</sup> The variety of names sported by one of the annually paid scribes—Bugarel, Burgarel and Bugard—closely parallels the variety of names present in the copy for one man who appears in the depositions.<sup>73</sup> Doat's scribes were not intended to leave their names on the copies they made. But it is *possible* that this particular scribe circumvented this, wittily interpolating into the copy various forms of his own name, imposed on the 'Johannes de Bu-' found in the original. Such a jape might well have appealed to louche individuals in Doat's employ.<sup>74</sup> If so, it escaped notice. For, in addition to the scribes, there were four men to correct the copies. Finally one of the clerks of the Chambre des Comptes at Pau, Gratian Capot, compared the copy in Doat 25–26 with the original, looking for errors. He then authenticated it, doing this in Albi on October 16 1669.

It would be easy to construct a cloud of doubt to envelop the Doat volumes. The majority of inquisition materials copied by the Doat commission are unique documents, not otherwise attested. The authenticating note states that the copy was *extrait*—if 'extracted' means 'selected', how was the selection made? If even Doat complained about his copyists and their errors, what trust can be placed in these texts?

<sup>71</sup> Omont, *Collection Doat*, pp. 37–40.

<sup>72</sup> Omont, *Collection Doat*, p. 38: Bugarel, Bonté, Dubuisson, Latapie and Saint-Martin, paid by the year; Dufaur, Jamin, Cathelan, Rebelle, Besse, Sahuc and Labastide Diseste, paid 2s per leaf; Segure, Sassus, Courreges, Cassenave and Labastide de Bielle paid 5s per leaf.

<sup>73</sup> Omont, *Collection Doat*, pp. 36, 38. Bagairal, Bugairal, Bugaralh, Burgaria; 30<sup>r</sup>, 30<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>r</sup>, 14<sup>r</sup>, 30<sup>v</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Doat referred to 'la desbauche et le libertinage des copistes', Omont, *Collection Doat*, p. 49.



It is useful here to repeat and add to the comments of the principal modern student of the Collection Doat, Lothar Kolmer. He begins his analysis of the trustworthiness of the Doat copies when used as historical sources, their *Quellenwert*, by stating that there is no doubt that they go back to originals in various archives.<sup>75</sup> Kolmer noted that the system of identifying provenance was rudimentary, and that Doat chose what to copy, pointing to the fact that it is now no longer possible to establish the relationship between what he chose to copy and what he did not. Alluding to the difficulties of transcribing medieval texts, he observed that the Doat copyists sometimes expanded abbreviations wrongly. These copyists' errors were irritating to Doat, for whom the worth of the copies lay in their being verbatim copies of originals. Effort was expended in checking, and Kolmer concludes that conscious abbreviation or falsification of the originals can be completely excluded.

The first point of significance to us is Doat's choice. We need to distinguish between selecting large tranches of material, usually by book, to copy, and selecting *within* any given tranche of material. We know Doat did the first, when selecting the volumes of inquisition trials to be copied, but there is no indication that he did the second, selecting within particular tranches of trials. Here we need to clear out of the way an unfortunate misunderstanding that may arise from the literal translation (preferred in our edition) of Gratian Capot's note in Doat 26. According to this, Doat 25 and the first part of Doat 26 were 'extracted and collated from' the register in Toulouse. In modern English *extracted* is used often to suggest selection, whereas the original French *extrait* is neutral on whether there has or has not been selection and therefore exclusion of some material. The irreducible meaning is 'drawn from and checked against' the original volume. There is no positive indication here of deliberate cherry-picking.

The second area of concern is copyists' errors and corrections. They are discussed in detail later, but a general comment is needed here. The memoranda and accounts dwell on the difficulty of obtaining good copyists, and the errors they made. For example, according to the account presented by Doat and summarised by Carcavy, the four men employed to correct the copies were there 'because old deeds cannot be read easily by all copyists, and quite often the first copies are so faulty that they

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<sup>75</sup> Kolmer, 'Colbert', p. 488.

can only serve as drafts.<sup>76</sup> The comments about poor scribes and errors are there precisely because Doat and the commission had an overriding concern to make the copies as accurate as possible. They wanted not to be like Jean-Jacques Percin. A secondary concern was money: Doat was writing like this in part to justify the expense of employing four men as correctors.

The volumes copied under Doat's instructions do include a fair number of texts that are otherwise attested. Examples are the Cathar text known as the *Interrogatio Johannis*,<sup>77</sup> and the Catholic polemical treatise *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum Hereticum*,<sup>78</sup> which survive also in medieval manuscripts. Even though the extant manuscripts may represent manuscript traditions that are different from that represented by the lost original of a Doat copy, comparison can still be used to investigate the broad character and fidelity of the copy. Edina Bozóky, editing the Cathar *Interrogatio Johannis*, is able to treat the Doat copy of a lost manuscript as a useful text to supplement lacunae in an earlier, fifteenth-century, copy of the same lost manuscript.<sup>79</sup>

Despite Doat's and the correctors' efforts, there were of course errors. But their proportional insignificance needs to be kept in mind.

Spelling was changed and French summaries were inserted. But the biggest change was physical. On the one hand we should envisage a parchment leaf containing perhaps three hundred or more words in thirteenth or early fourteenth century calligraphy, with many abbreviations, in a manuscript of probably medium size. On the other hand what we have in the copy is a very large paper leaf, written in seventeenth-century cursive script, generally not abbreviated, very clear and legible and so large that, despite the size of the page, each leaf contains only about 140 words. The numbers of folios bear this out. For example, one manuscript from the archives of the Carcassonne inquisition, containing

<sup>76</sup> 'parce que les titres anciens ne puvoyent estre leus facilement par tous copistes, et assés souvent les premieres coppies estoyent si fautives qu'elles ne servoyent que de minutes'; Omont, *Documents*, p. 38.

<sup>77</sup> Doat 36, f. 26<sup>v</sup>–35<sup>r</sup>, also extant in two medieval manuscripts, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms Lat 1137, f. 158<sup>v</sup>–160<sup>r</sup>, and Dôle, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms 109, f. 44<sup>r</sup>–46<sup>r</sup>; ed. E. Bozóky, *Le livre secret des Cathares: Interrogatio Johannis, apocryphe d'origine bogomile* (Paris, 1980).

<sup>78</sup> Doat 36, f. 242<sup>v</sup>–308<sup>v</sup>, also extant in over sixty medieval manuscripts, ed. C. Hoécker, *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum hereticum: Untersuchungen zum Text, Handschriften und Edition* (Tavarnuzze, 2001).

<sup>79</sup> *Livre secret des Cathares*, ed. Bozóky, pp. 24–25.

94 folios, occupies 250 folios in the copy, volume 27 in the Doat series. The Toulouse register contained 240 folios, and became 410 folios in Doat 25–26. Although the medieval register that was copied no longer survives, it is reasonable to assume that its physical characteristics reflected the aim of the inquisitor or inquisitors who commissioned it—the aim to have a book that was an efficient aid in carrying out their job. The volume that now emerged from the Doat scribes and the binders was physically very different. The size and strength of the paper used by the Doat copyists followed a norm for Colbert's library. The volumes were planned to be of the same size as the registers of Parlement and the Chambre des Comptes. Originally most of them were bound in red morocco, and bore the arms of Colbert.

The register that had once been a functioning instrument for an active inquisitor has disappeared. What survived were two very large volumes, luxuriously bound and shelved in a library of grandeur and prestige belonging to a great royal minister.

#### *v. Libraries and modern scholarship*

The volumes copied by the Doat team were sent to Paris, and entered Colbert's library. Along with the majority of Colbert's library they entered the Bibliothèque Royale in 1732. Since 1720 the royal library had been situated in the Palais Mazarin in the Rue de Richelieu, and it stayed there while its name changed and it became France's national library. Although the main part of the national library, now the Bibliothèque nationale de France, moved away in 1996, the manuscripts (including the Collection Doat) stayed in the Rue de Richelieu.

They have long been displayed on shelves in a gallery in the reading room of the department of manuscripts, visible to scholars at their desks on the ground floor. Earlier historians of heresy and inquisition who were French or able to easily to work in Paris made considerable use of the Doat volumes. That they displayed no interest in editing them is not surprising, given the accessibility of the volumes and their easy legibility. On the other hand, early historians of inquisition and heresy who were not French or able to travel easily to Paris made little or no use of Doat 25–26. This changed with the American Henry Charles Lea (1825–1909). When preparing to write his three volume history of the inquisition, eventually published in 1888, Lea made use of a network of librarians, scholars and copyists to provide him with materials. While

he never worked in Paris, he acknowledges fulsomely help given to him in correspondence by Charles Molinier, a professor at the University of Toulouse who knew the Doat volumes very well, and also the help of Louis Sandret.<sup>80</sup> Louis Sandret had copies made for Lea, who was in possession of transcripts of Doat 25–26 by spring 1874. Although Lea printed extracts from some volumes, these did not include Doat 25–26, to which there is little reference in the text of his history.<sup>81</sup> Lea's energy and money helped, but his case was unusual.<sup>82</sup>

More frequent use of the Doat volumes by non-French scholars came about with the photography and microfilming of medieval manuscripts. Photographic copies became available in the library of the University of Columbia in New York, and were used by heresy historians of the so-called 'Columbia School', such as John Hine Mundy,<sup>83</sup> while microfilm copies have been used in several British universities in the last two decades of the twentieth century, including Birmingham, Oxford, Reading, and York.

The history of the reading of Doat 25–26 belongs in part to the broader history of the study and use of texts relating to medieval heresy. The broadest pattern in this history is the dominance in the earlier post-medieval centuries of the use of literary and polemical sources. In his *Histoire des variations des Églises protestantes* (1688), Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet made use of a repertoire of such literary sources that is scarcely narrower than that used by scholars today: but he did not use trial evidence. The picture does have important exceptions, but Bossuet's was typical of most histories written up to the mid-nineteenth century. Thereafter, trial records began to be used regularly, and by the closing decades of the nineteenth century very consistently and heavily. During this century and a half, the exploitation of these trial records use has been influenced by the concerns of successive historians or schools of historiography: religious polemic, Languedoc, Marxism, feminism, and the epistemological problems of inquisition evidence.

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<sup>80</sup> H.C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols (New York, 1888), i.iv–v; E.S. Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea: a Biography* (Philadelphia, PA, 1931), pp. 150, 155–156.

<sup>81</sup> Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, i.375, ii.56.

<sup>82</sup> I owe the information about Lea's correspondence to Professor Edward Peters, who will provide a more detailed account in his forthcoming biography of Lea.

<sup>83</sup> Mundy, *Royal Diploma*, p. 309.

We turn now to the particular case of Doat 25–26, and milestones in their reading and use. The modern pioneer of the Doat volumes was Charles Schmidt (1812–1895), Professor in the Faculty of Theology in the University of Strasbourg, and interested in the antecedents of Protestant reform.<sup>84</sup> Schmidt provided a note on the Doat volumes in the bibliography of his history of the Cathars, published in 1848–1849,<sup>85</sup> and he cited Doat 25, for example on the emigration of Cathar bishops from Languedoc to Italy.<sup>86</sup>

Thereafter, new and major general surveys of the Cathars of Languedoc made considerable use of Doat 25–26. Notable among these were, first of all, the account provided by Jean Guiraud (1866–1953) in the long historical introduction to his edition to the cartulary of Prouille in 1907. There were many (and sometimes inaccurate) references in this to Doat 25–26,<sup>87</sup> as also in the two volumes he published in the 1930s of his general history of the inquisition.<sup>88</sup> Unable to recover from the destruction during a bombing raid 1940 of the draft of volume 3 of this monumental work, Guiraud did not finish it. Incompleteness and the lack of an index have limited this work's influence.

Guiraud came from the Lauragais, and his deep and intimate sense of locale informed his use of Doat 25–26, as of other Languedoc records, as he used them to trace the wanderings of Cathar Good Men from one village to another, located for the reader by the reproductions of the detailed military 'Cassini' maps. Vivid sense of place continued to stand out in the major later French histories, by the Monsignor Élie Griffé (1899–1978), the former lawyer and auto-didact historian Jean Duvernoy, and the former philosophy teacher and journalist Michel Roquebert. Much of Griffé's citation of Doat 25–26 was through the

<sup>84</sup> See on him Y. Dossat, 'Un initiateur: Charles Schmidt', in *Historiographie du Catharisme*, CaF 14 (1979), 163–184, and Jean Duvernoy's preface to the facsimile reprint (Bayonne, 1983), unpaginated.

<sup>85</sup> C. Schmidt, *Histoire et doctrine des Cathares*, 2 vols. (Geneva and Paris, 1848–1849), i.382–383.

<sup>86</sup> Schmidt, *Histoire et doctrine*, i.175–176, 185, 318 note 1, 335–342.

<sup>87</sup> *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille, précédé d'une étude sur l'albigéisme languedocien aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. J. Guiraud, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), i.xliv, lxxv, lxxiii, xcii, xciv, xcv, xcvi, cv, cix, clxxxiv. On Guiraud, see Y. Dossat's 'Commemoration', *Vaudois Languedociens et Pauvres Catholiques*, CaF 2 (1967), 275–289, and P. Amargier and A. Ramière de Fortanier, 'La contribution catholique à l'histoire de l'albigéisme (1866–1916): II. Jean Guiraud', CaF 14 (1979), 217–226.

<sup>88</sup> Guiraud, *Histoire*, i.53–54, 70, 93, 133, 139–140, 145, 155, 160, 163, 164, 165, 208, 213, 215; ii. 60, 80, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 101, 104–105, 115, 116, ch. 9 (245–265), 269–271, 274–281, 290–294.

intermediary of Jean Guiraud's work.<sup>89</sup> Jean Duvernoy's two volumes on the history and religion of Catharism and the last volume in Michel Roquebert's general history of the Cathars marked a new stage, through the sheer extensiveness of their use of Doat 25–26.<sup>90</sup>

Attention to the history and constitution of the text itself has its own history. As we have already seen, this begins with Charles Schmidt's notice and description of the Doat volumes in 1849, and continues with Charles Molinier's brief account of the Doat mission and the inquisition volumes in 1880<sup>91</sup> and the archivist Henri Omont's publication of documents relative to the mission in 1917. Yves Dossat (1911–1992), who spent most of his career as a professor at the University of Bordeaux, devoted his 1951 doctoral dissertation to the study of the Toulouse inquisition.<sup>92</sup> The first chapter provided the first attempt to set Doat 25–26 (alongside other Doat volumes) within the context of the history of the archives of inquisition in Toulouse and Carcassonne and the Doat mission. Their study was further advanced by Lothar Kolmer. He had used Doat volumes in his research for his University of Regensburg dissertation (1980), a by-product of which had been a modern account, published in the previous year.<sup>93</sup> More recent and briefer examples in this genre are by Michael Hanssler in his study of Catharism and its persecution in southern France in the later thirteenth century,<sup>94</sup> the archivist Julien Roche, in his history of Catharism in the Carcassès,<sup>95</sup> by Jörg Feuchter in his account of heresy in Montauban,<sup>96</sup> and by Caterina Bruschi in her account of heresy in Doat 21–26.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>89</sup> É. Griffe, *Le Languedoc Cathare et l'inquisition (1229–1329)* (Paris, 1980), pp. 129–132, 135, 136, 168; direct use of Doat, pp. 137–138, 168. There is an 'In memoriam' notice of Griffe in *CaF* 14 (1979), 11–12.

<sup>90</sup> J. Duvernoy, *La Religion des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1976), pp. 28, 30, 51, 52, 58, 61, 63, 66, 67, 71, 94, 167, 187, 190, 192, 209, 216, 226, 237, 238, 246, 250, 254, 269, 283, 298, 309; *L'Histoire des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1979), pp. 161, 300, 301, 303, 305–314, 327. See Roquebert in n. 103 below.

<sup>91</sup> C. Molinier, *L'inquisition dans le midi de France au xiii<sup>e</sup> et xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle: étude sur les sources de son histoire* (Paris, 1890), pp. 34–41.

<sup>92</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, published in 1959. There is an obituary in *CaF* 28 (1993), 11–12.

<sup>93</sup> Kolmer, 'Colbert'. A shorter account is found in his *Ad capiendas vulpes: Die Ketzerbekämpfung in Südfrankreich in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts und die Ausbildung des Inquisitionsverfahrens*, *Pariser Historische Studien* 19 (Bonn, 1982), pp. 14–15.

<sup>94</sup> M. Hanssler, *Katharismus in Südfrankreich: Struktur der Sekte und inquisitorische Verfolgung in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Aachen, 1997), pp. 36–38.

<sup>95</sup> Roche, *Église Cathare*, pp. 49–54.

<sup>96</sup> Feuchter, *Ketzer, Konsuln*, pp. 54–55. He edited D25 231<sup>r</sup>–241<sup>r</sup>, pp. 493–497.

<sup>97</sup> Bruschi, *Wandering*, pp. 24–26.

Doat 25–26 in particular began to receive closer individual attention as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Giuseppe Boffito published extracts from three depositions in 1896.<sup>98</sup> In this period the most acute and diligent researcher into the inquisition documents of Languedoc was Célestin Douais, professor at the Institut Catholique in Toulouse and later bishop of Beauvais. In 1900 he analysed Doat 25–26, listing the depositions, bringing together what was known about the inquisitors.<sup>99</sup> He also edited two sets of depositions.<sup>100</sup> The next figure is Jean Duvernoy. During the 1950s Duvernoy began studying and transcribing virtually all the manuscripts containing inquisition records from Languedoc, starting with the Vatican manuscript containing the register of Jacques Fournier, which he eventually published in 1965. Duvernoy's contribution to the study of heresy in Languedoc has been characterized by its great size, by the remarkable penetration of accounts of both the Cathar and Waldensian movements, and the high level of error in his editions and transcriptions. The pamphlet published in 1972 listing the corrections to his edition of Fournier's register runs to 48 pages. Most of his transcriptions exist first of all in typescript at the Centre d'Études Cathares, where they have been used by historians of heresy, most prominently by its former director and the first editor of its journal, Anne Brenon. They have also been scanned and made available on line. Doat 25–26 did not escape Duvernoy's eyes. In 1984 he published an edition and translation of the deposition of Amblard Vassal, 183–185<sup>r</sup>.<sup>101</sup> In 1993 he completed a transcription and translation, and Duvernoy made this available on-line alongside other transcriptions of other inquisition records.<sup>102</sup> The combination of transcription and scanning errors makes the worst of Duvernoy's on-line texts (Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale Ms 609) unusable. His transcription and translation of Doat 25–26 are also riddled with errors and omissions, but at a lower rate, and his introduction and annotation contain much that is valuable.

<sup>98</sup> G. Boffito, 'Gli eretici di Cuneo', *Bollettino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino* 1 (1896), 324–333 (328–329) (D25 17<sup>r</sup>–19<sup>v</sup>), 329–332 (298<sup>r</sup>–300<sup>r</sup>, 304<sup>r</sup>–<sup>v</sup>, 309<sup>r</sup>–<sup>v</sup>, 330<sup>r</sup>–331<sup>r</sup>; the transition from 309<sup>v</sup> to 330<sup>r</sup> is not marked), and 332–333 (140<sup>v</sup>–144<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>99</sup> Douais, *Documents*, pp. clxxii–clxxxii.

<sup>100</sup> Douais, *Documents*, pp. lxxviii–lxxxiv, n. 4 (D25 272<sup>r</sup>–274<sup>v</sup>) and n. 5 (220<sup>r</sup>–225<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>101</sup> 'Cathares et faidits en Albigeois vers 1265–1275', *Heresis* 3 (1984), 5–34 (at pp. 25–34). Translations of extracts from D25–26 appear in his *Histoire* (e.g. pp. 304–306), and also in his *Le dossier de Montségur: interrogatoires d'inquisition 1242–1247* (Toulouse, 1998), despite the earlier dates in this book's title.

<sup>102</sup> Duvernoy, *Registre*. The apparatus accompanies the French translation.

In his account of the inquisition of Toulouse between 1233 and 1273, Dossat had traced the history of the inquisition up to the eve of the inquisitors and inquisition attested by Doat 25–25, thereby also casting some light on what followed. In his introduction to his unpublished transcript of Doat 25–26, Duvernoy followed in the footsteps of Douais and Dossat, providing an account of the principal inquisitors. Later and fuller accounts have come from Michel Roquebert and Caterina Bruschi.<sup>103</sup>

Doat 25–26 provide very rich and interesting material on various topics in the history of heresy, which have long engaged historians' interests. The evidence bearing upon the peregrinations of Cathars from Languedoc in Italy, probably first noticed by Schmidt,<sup>104</sup> has been exploited extensively by Jean Guiraud,<sup>105</sup> Jean Duvernoy,<sup>106</sup> Andrew Roach<sup>107</sup> and Caterina Bruschi.<sup>108</sup> Most prominent in these has been the long narration of his Italian travels by Peter of Beauville.

The role of female followers of the Cathars in Doat 25–26 is another example. They were noticed miscellaneously by earlier historians such as Guiraud, but they were first used in a large way by Gottfried Koch, a specialist in medieval heresy at the Karl-Marx-Universität, Leipzig. Koch published a pioneering work on women in medieval heresy in 1960.<sup>109</sup> Koch took up a theory of the sociologist Ernst Troeltsch, that a sect begins with revolutionary egalitarianism and that with 'churchification' (*Verkirchlichung*) it becomes more conservative. He pasted Marxist

<sup>103</sup> M. Roquebert, *Les Cathares: de la chute de Montségur aux derniers bûchers (1244–1329)* (Paris, 1998), pp. 313–329; C. Bruschi, 'Gli inquisitori Raoul de Plassac e Pons de Parnac e l'inchiesta tolosana degli anni 1273–1280', in *Praedicatores Inquisitores—I: The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition. Acts of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition*, Dominican Historical Institute, Rome, *Dissertationes Historicae* 29 (Rome, 2004), pp. 471–493.

<sup>104</sup> Schmidt, *Histoire*, i.175–176 and 185.

<sup>105</sup> Guiraud, *Histoire*, vol. 2, chapter 9, 'L'émigration hérétique du midi de la France en Italie'.

<sup>106</sup> Duvernoy, *Histoire*, pp. 304–307.

<sup>107</sup> A. Roach's Oxford D. Phil. (1990), 'Relationship of the Italian and Southern French Cathars', is unpublished, but he uses Peter of Beauville's testimony in D25–26 in his *The Devil's World: Heresy and Society 1100–1300* (London, 2005), pp. 149–152, 156–158. See also his 'The Cathar economy', *Reading Medieval Studies* 12 (1986), 51–71.

<sup>108</sup> Bruschi, *Wandering*, pp. 50–99, 119–121, 133–141. See also C. Bruschi, 'Dissenso e presenza ereticale in Piacenza e nelle città padane tra gli anni '50 e '70 del Duecento', in *Studi sul medioevo Emiliano. Parma e Piacenza in età comunale*, ed. R. Greci (Bologna, 2009), pp. 233–260.

<sup>109</sup> G. Koch, *Frauenfrage und Ketzertum im Mittelalter: Die Frauenbewegung im Rahmen des Katharismus und des Waldensertums und ihre sozialen Wurzeln (12.–14. Jahrhundert)*, *Forschungen zur Mittelalterlichen Geschichte* 9 (Berlin, 1962).



terminology onto this theory, and applied it to the history of women in heretical sects: more prominent and equal earlier on, retreating thereafter as the sect became more rigid and hierarchical. In Languedoc, this period of regression lay in the second half of the thirteenth century. Koch devoted half a chapter to this, entitling it 'The decline of the women's movement (1250–1300)' (*Der Rückgang der Frauenbewegung (1250–1300)*). Doat 25–26 supplied most of his evidence for the profile of the social class of female followers of heresy at this time, and his argument that by this period one now heard only about such passive women followers.

However radically his arguments have been rejected, Koch's book has continued to influence later historians. Dominant among more recent accounts of women in heresy in Languedoc is Anne Brenon's history, which puts over an idealizing view both of the significance of Catharism for women and also of Catharism as the expression of distinctive Occitan values. While there is no glimpse of Koch's theories, there is a hint of his periodisation in Brenon's late chapter, entitled 'Le temps des croyantes'.<sup>110</sup> But Koch's passive women believers are now the active ones of Doat 25, and the use of Doat 25 to support this proposition has continued in other accounts of women in medieval heresy, for example Daniela Müller's.<sup>111</sup> The women of Doat 25–26, such as Fabrissa and her family, or Beserza, had long attracted the attention of historians, Fabrissa in particular for her activity in dissemination of Cathar doctrine and Beserza for her being suspected of heresy by midwives because of what she cried out when in labour. Guiraud made repeated use of these texts, but they came to particular prominence when they came to be taken up in modern debate about women's role in heresy.<sup>112</sup> Beserza's story has also been used in study of medieval childbirth.<sup>113</sup>

Evidence about Waldensians in Burgundy has been used by Martin Schneider and other historians of Waldensians,<sup>114</sup> while Dossat has

<sup>110</sup> A. Brenon, *Les femmes cathares* (Paris, 1992), pp. 274–293.

<sup>111</sup> D. Müller, *Frauen vor der Inquisition: Lebensform, Glaubenszeugnis und Aburteilung der deutschen und französischen Katharinnen* (Mainz, 1966), pp. 110–114.

<sup>112</sup> P. Biller, 'Cathars and Material Women', in *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body*, ed. P. Biller and A.J. Minnis (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1997), pp. 61–107.

<sup>113</sup> P. Biller, 'Medieval Childbirth', *History Today* 36 (1986), 42–49 (48).

<sup>114</sup> M. Schneider, *Europäisches Waldensertum im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* 51 (Berlin and New York, 1981), p. 32; J. Duvernoy, 'L'unité du valdésisme en France à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Bourgogne, Sillon rhodanien, Gascogne)', in *Valdo e il valdismo medievale: Relazioni presentate al Convegno storico dell'VIII Centenario Valdese, Torre Pellice, 21–22–23 agosto 1974*, *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*

used the testimony of Bernard Raymond Baranhon in his account of Waldensians in depositions.<sup>115</sup> Students of Occitan literature have used looked at the range of Baranhon's reading and his recitation of anti-papal verse.<sup>116</sup> John Mundy also used Baranhon's deposition in his study of the Baranhon family.<sup>117</sup> Another member of the 'Columbia School', Walter Wakefield, wrote an article on the materialist ideas expressed in some depositions in Doat 25–26.<sup>118</sup>

Finally, the most recent development has stemmed from investigation of the epistemological problems of inquisition records. John Arnold brought the terms and categories of Michel Foucault to his ideas of inquisitors creating a field of knowledge, and examples from Doat 25–26 played a large role in the book he devoted to this.<sup>119</sup> At the same time Caterina Bruschi has studied the filters present in the dialogues and records of inquisition, as preserved in the Doat volumes,<sup>120</sup> as a preliminary to her general study of heresy in the Doat volumes.<sup>121</sup>

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136 (1974) (Torre Pellice, 1975), pp. 73–83 (73–75); *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier évêque de Pamiers (1318–1325)*, ed. J. Duvernoy, Bibliothèque Meridionale, Third series 41, 3 vols (Toulouse, 1965), i.100–101 n. 34; E. Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 77–87.

<sup>115</sup> Y. Dossat, 'Les vaudois méridionaux d'après les documents de l'inquisition', *CaF* 2 (1967), 207–224 (221).

<sup>116</sup> A. Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique des troubadours*, 2 vols (Paris and Toulouse, 1934), ii.225 note 1.

<sup>117</sup> Mundy, *Repression of Catharism*, p. 135.

<sup>118</sup> W.L. Wakefield, 'Some unorthodox popular ideas of the thirteenth century', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, new series 4 (1973), 23–35.

<sup>119</sup> J.H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia, PA, 2001).

<sup>120</sup> C. Bruschi, '"Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem": Precautions before Reading Doat 21–26', in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed. C. Bruschi and P. Biller (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 81–110, now updated and enlarged in Bruschi, *Wandering*, pp. 1–49.

<sup>121</sup> Bruschi, *Wandering*.



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE INQUISITION OF 1273–1282

#### *i. Heresy and inquisition in Languedoc before 1273*

Most of the register consists of records of people interrogated about heresy by Dominican inquisitors in Toulouse, between 1273 and 1282.<sup>1</sup>

The general background to this is well-known, and only briefly recapitulated here. During the twelfth century Languedoc became one of regions of Latin Christendom most notorious for the vigorous presence of heresy and the Church's repeated attempts to do something about it. Heresy mainly meant the Cathar faith and Church, which existed openly until 1209. After their excommunication in 1184 it also came to include the Waldensians, who were less radical than the Cathars and fewer in number.<sup>2</sup> Their relative strength is reflected in the terminology of most inquisition texts in Languedoc, in which *heretics* and *heresy* denote the Cathar Good Man and his faith, with *Waldensians* and *Waldensianism* used to specify the less significant preachers and their less dangerous faith.

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter was written by Peter Biller.

<sup>2</sup> On the Cathars, see A. Borst, *Die Katharer*, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 12 (Stuttgart, 1953), M.D. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford, 1998) and M. Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (Harlow, 2000). Recent attempts to argue against the existence and international character of the Cathar and Church—exemplified in English by M.G. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246* (Princeton, 2001) and A Most Holy War: *The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford, 2008)—are not accepted here. They have been useful in raising people's awareness of the rarity of the medieval use of the terms *Cathar* and *perfect*, and the fact that when someone like the inquisitor Bernard Gui used the word *perfect*, he meant a 'full' heretic of any sect rather than specifically a Cathar Good Man. On the Waldensians, see G. Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival, c. 1170–c. 1570* (Cambridge, 1999), E. Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2000) and P. Biller, *The Waldenses, 1170–1530: Between a Religious Order and a Church*, *Variorum Collected Studies* 676 (Aldershot 2001).

Heresy had considerable support from nobles and the elite of towns, as well as the toleration or even support of the most politically important local powers, the counts of Toulouse and Foix and the Trencavel viscounts of Béziers. St Bernard of Clairvaux visited the region in 1145 in order to preach against heretics, with little success. There were public debates with heretics in front of large numbers of assembled clergy and lay people, beginning at Lombers in 1165. In 1178 there was a mission of several bishops, Cistercian monks and an armed retinue to Toulouse, which led to the interrogation of some leading heretics. Dominic Guzman—St Dominic—came to the region in 1206 to preach against the local heretics. The Order Dominic founded—in medieval terminology, *Order of the Brothers Preacher*, or *Order of the Preachers*—was initially dedicated to the task of countering the heretics of the region, and its efforts came to supersede the occasional and shorter preaching missions of the Cistercians.

Preaching and debate continued, but real progress in destroying heresy only came with military force. The murder of a papal legate in 1208 supplied the excuse for a large-scale invasion of Languedoc in 1209 by northern French forces led by Simon de Montfort, in the Albigensian Crusade. The fighting went on intermittently until 1229. Three main things emerged from the crusade, from the peace treaty of 1229 that concluded it, and from the following decade. (i) The 1229 treaty made provision about the lands of the count of Toulouse, Raymond VII. They would stay with the count during his lifetime, thereafter to pass to a daughter who would marry the brother of the French king. This was the first stage in the annexation of the south by the French crown. (ii) The first major steps were taken in the crushing of the support for heresy of the most politically and militarily powerful families of Languedoc. (iii) Intensified efforts to mop up heresy led to Pope Gregory IX entrusting the task to mendicant friars in 1233. In Languedoc these professional ‘inquirers into heretical wickedness’—inquisitors—were usually Dominican.<sup>3</sup>

Each of these three areas has a long later history. [i] With the death of Raymond VII of Toulouse in 1249 the line of the counts of Toulouse died out. His lands passed to his daughter Jeanne and her husband Alphonse

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<sup>3</sup> For Franciscan inquisition in neighbouring Provence in the 1260s, see H. Grieco, ‘Franciscan inquisition and mendicant rivalry in mid-thirteenth-century Marseille’, *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008), 275–290; and J. Chiffolleau, ‘L’inquisition franciscaine en Provence et dans l’ancien Royaume d’Arles (vers 1260-vers 1330)’, in *Frati minori e inquisizione, Atti del XXXVIII Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 6–8 Ottobre 2005)* (Spoleto, 2006), pp. 153–284.

of Poitiers, brother of king Louis IX. Alphonse's and Jeanne's deaths, in turn, ushered in the final stage, which we shall examine below. [ii] There were to be later revolts by some of the major nobles of Languedoc, by Raymond Trencavel in 1240 and Raymond VII of Toulouse in 1242. The remaining powerful and not yet suppressed family was that of the counts of Foix, whom we shall also discuss below. [iii] The Dominican inquisitors became established, with headquarters in Toulouse and Carcassonne, and their efforts eventually led to the eradication from Languedoc of *the* heresy, Catharism.

The main features in the history of the Dominican inquisition in Languedoc are famous: its long duration after its inception in 1233, its power and the terrible measures it used, its eventual success in wiping out the last vestiges of Catharism in the 1310s–1320s, and the survival of copious inquisition records. When combined with the popular modern image of the inquisition, these things can encourage mistaken assumptions about the steadiness of the activities and progress of inquisition over this period. In fact, modern scholarship has quietly established a very different picture.<sup>4</sup> Inquisitors met setbacks, there were intermissions in their operations, and papal intervention and support went up and down. Inquisition seems to have been in a state of paralysis between May 1238 and May 1241. The pope was a near neighbour between 1244–1251, while the curia was at Lyons. This meant quicker and more intrusive interventions in the work of the inquisitors, which led to a crisis and something we could almost call 'inquisitors on strike'. The Dominicans withdrew from inquisition between about 1249 and 1255, and during these years the job was carried out by episcopal officials.

In addition, these things induce mistaken confidence in our ability to trace the history of the inquisition in Languedoc. The very richness of the extant records can deflect our attention from the gaps. The material becomes thinner after the very voluminous registers of 1241–1246. Then, from the late 1250s and until the 1273–1282 register, there is very little.

The most thorough modern historian of the decade preceding our register, Yves Dossat, suggests fluctuations in the overall organization of inquisition in Languedoc and the allocation of areas of competence. From a reference in a papal bull in 1264 to four inquisitors it can be inferred that the office was being carried out at both Carcassonne and

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<sup>4</sup> The fundamental work is Dossat, *Crises*, whose thesis is encapsulated in the title's keyword.

Toulouse at this time.<sup>5</sup> This division of office disappeared in 1268, when Pons of Pouget and Stephen of Gâtine, who were already inquisitors of Carcassonne, become also inquisitors for Toulouse, in succession to William of Montreuil. Their nomenclature lacked clarity. Alphonse of Poitiers addressed them as ‘inquisitors in the lands of the king of France and ours.’<sup>6</sup> In one surviving sentence of April 1271 their authority is described as extending over the provinces of Arles and Narbonne, and the cities and dioceses of Albi, Rodez, Carcassonne, Périgord, Mende and Le Puy.<sup>7</sup>

In this period of relative absence of extant records, the Doat 25–26 register provides valuable testimony. Deponents remembered actions happening years before, and referred to past inquisitors, fragments of enquiries or specific episodes. Let us briefly zoom in on the details. Around 1264–1265 a mission to further a particular piece of inquisition business arrived at the court of Manfred, king of Sicily. Two of the three men on it—Pestilhac and Sicard Lunel—were attested elsewhere as working for the Toulouse inquisitors. They came equipped with letters, from the inquisitor (of Toulouse?) and the king of Aragon. Their task was to persuade Manfred to expel from the fortress of Guardia Lombardi in Apulia a number of heretics, including Vivent, the Bishop of the (Cathar) heretics of Toulouse and a number of other heretics who were originally from Languedoc. Here there was success. Manfred expelled the heretics.<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere there was failure. The ‘servants of the inquisition’ Pestilhac and William Tisserand (or William, weaver) were at work in Languedoc in 1266, leaning on a Cathar follower called Amblard Vassal, who had been released by the inquisitor Stephen of Gâtine at Lombers with the condition that he had to find heretics, which he failed to do. He fled and someone else killed Pestilhac.<sup>9</sup> A woman was taken captive to Pons of Pouget at Gaillac.<sup>10</sup> Peter of Laurac of Montgaillard confessed to Pons and was sentenced to wear crosses and to go on pilgrimage—which he did not do.<sup>11</sup> During these years prison (or prisons) in Toulouse continued to hold those sentenced to confinement. Stephen, alias Pilot, of Cordes

<sup>5</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, p. 193.

<sup>6</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 193–195.

<sup>7</sup> *Doctrina de modo procedendi*, TNA, v. 1810.

<sup>8</sup> 142<sup>v</sup>–143<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> 186<sup>r</sup>, 191<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> 59<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> 70<sup>r-v</sup>.

was released from imprisonment around 1271.<sup>12</sup> Beyond Doat 25–26 the most profitable sources are those emanating from Alphonse of Poitiers' administration, letters and enquiries supplying a few further details, such as Pons of Pouget and Stephen of Gâtine asking for the use of a castle at Lavaur as a prison, and being told that they had to demonstrate the insufficiency of prisons in Toulouse.<sup>13</sup>

The two previous paragraphs recount a high proportion of what we know from this period, the names of inquisitors, one high-level operation, a fumbled attempt to turn a follower, a prison release, one captive woman, and meeting bureaucratic obstruction.<sup>14</sup> Of course, whether a particular period has left a cornucopia or dearth of inquisition records, we only grasp a tiny fraction of the past, and the alternation of abundance and scarcity may reflect *only* the accidents of survival and loss. But we still need to ask whether the pattern that we are seeing is *also* to some degree rooted in ups and downs in the vigour and scale of inquisitors' activities. Deponents were asked whether they had previously appeared before an inquisitor, and the Doat 25–26 register contains a number of deponents replying to this question, saying that they had appeared before such and such an inquisitor. While the relevance of this aspect within procedure will be analysed in ch. 3.i. below, here we shall point out that, since the register provides an even cross-section of memories of earlier inquisitions, one that is unaffected by later unevenness in the survival or disappearance of records, its contents may be helpful.

The inquisitors named, the dates of their activities and the number of those deponents recalling them are tabulated here. We include memory of a papal legate engaged in commuting inquisition penances, and we exclude recollection of Dominican inquisitors active in Lombardy in the mid-1270s.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> 59<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 194–195.

<sup>14</sup> For a little more evidence of the activities of Pons and Stephen, see Douais, *Documents*, pp. clxvii–clxxii, and Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 194–195. In addition, there are references in Bernard Gui's sentences, (i) to Ramonda of La Garde, who had received crosses 'at the time of' Pons and Stephen of Gâtine, (ii) to Durand Barrau of Montastruc, who had confessed to Pons and Stephen of Gâtines and abjured in Toulouse, February 9 1269, and (iii) to Petrona of Saint-Martin-Lalande who had confessed to Pons, February 4 1269, and had been sentenced by Pons and Stephen in Toulouse, March 11 1269; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.206, 498, 922.

<sup>15</sup> 306<sup>v</sup>.



Peter Sellan [1233–1242]: one deponent;<sup>16</sup>  
 William Arnold [1235–1242]: four or five deponents;<sup>17</sup>  
 Ferrier [1229, 1234–1244]: two deponents;<sup>18</sup>  
 Bernard of Caux [1245–1249]: six deponents;<sup>19</sup>  
 Algisio, papal legate [1248–1249]: one deponent;<sup>20</sup>  
 John of Saint-Pierre (i) [1243–1249]: perhaps one deponent;<sup>21</sup>  
 Arnold the Chancellor (otherwise Arnold Pelhisson) and Amiel [1250]:  
 two deponents;<sup>22</sup>  
 Peter Augier, Franciscan inquisitor [around 1255?]: one deponent;<sup>23</sup>  
 1255, general abjurations and appearances at Puylaurens: two deponents;<sup>24</sup>  
 Reginald of Chartres [1255–1257] and companion (either William Bernard of Dax or John of Saint-Pierre (ii) [1255–1257], latter specified once): five or six deponents—one dated 1255;<sup>25</sup>  
 William Bernard of Dax [1257–1263?]: six deponents about him and a general abjuration at Saint-Rome;<sup>26</sup>  
 William of Montreuil [mid-1260s]: one deponent;<sup>27</sup>  
 1267 or earlier, a Dominican, perhaps an inquisitor, imposing an oath at Fanjeaux: one deponent;<sup>28</sup>  
 Stephen of Gâtine and Pons of Pouget [1267–1273]: three deponents.<sup>29</sup>

These are telling statistics. From the replies of a group of people of varying ages and a stable level of inquisitorial activity over the decades, we would expect *diminuendo* as we went back in time. That is to say, we would expect most in the decade immediately preceding 1273, then less, and then even less the further back in time we went. What is striking is how starkly the memories of deponents in Doat 25–26 run counter to this pattern. On the one hand there are still many recollections of the earlier inquisitors of the 1230s and 1240s. This accords with what we know of

<sup>16</sup> 63<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> 157<sup>v</sup>, 172<sup>r</sup>, 298<sup>r</sup>, 60<sup>v</sup>. One deponent denied appearing before him, 63<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> 36<sup>r</sup>, 193<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> 64<sup>r</sup>, 157<sup>v</sup>, 172<sup>r</sup>, 193<sup>v</sup>, 220<sup>v</sup>, 60<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> 171<sup>v</sup>, 172<sup>r</sup>, 172<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> 7<sup>v</sup>. See note 25 below on the other John of Saint-Pierre.

<sup>22</sup> 275<sup>v</sup>, 282<sup>v</sup>, 8<sup>v</sup>. 275<sup>v</sup> and 282<sup>v</sup> refer to one and the same appearance.

<sup>23</sup> See the note to 208<sup>r-v</sup>. The fact that Augier is not attested elsewhere and does not appear in Dossat, *Crises* suggests a question-mark.

<sup>24</sup> 87<sup>r</sup>, 139<sup>v</sup>. On inquisitors' convocations of people in various locales in 1255, see Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 245–246.

<sup>25</sup> 86<sup>v</sup>, 127<sup>v</sup>, 272<sup>r</sup>, 55<sup>r</sup>, 64<sup>v</sup>. The appearance before John of Saint-Pierre noted in 7<sup>v</sup> could have been before either of the two inquisitors of this name. On these two inquisitors, see 64<sup>r</sup> n. 6, and 55<sup>r</sup> n. 3.

<sup>26</sup> 114<sup>r</sup>, 133<sup>r-v</sup>, 184<sup>r</sup>, 220<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>. Abjuration: 135<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> 133<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> 149<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> 59<sup>v</sup>, 184<sup>v</sup>, 70<sup>v</sup>.

the massive numbers of people interrogated by them, especially in the 1240s.<sup>30</sup> Comparatively little, on the other hand, is remembered from the most recent decade, 1264–1273. The line on a graph of varying levels of inquisition activity is confirmed by these memories. ‘In the doldrums,’ ‘in a trough’: these are the phrases that spring to mind when trying to characterize the inquisition of these years. The office of inquisition was still trundling on. But the mid-1260s to 1273 did not constitute one of the more intense periods in its history in Languedoc.

ii. *The political background to the renewal of inquisition in 1273*<sup>31</sup>

What led to the renewal of inquisition in 1273?

There was the final step in the annexation by the French crown of the lands of the count of Toulouse. Louis IX died on August 25, 1270, and was succeeded by Philip III, otherwise known as Philip the Bold. Since Philip III was in Tunis when he succeeded to the throne, his earliest dated acts were given from Tunis and Palermo, while he was en route back to France. Once he was in France, the earliest extant act that we have—given at Châteauneuf-sur-Loire on 19 July 1271—was an order to all royal officials to protect Dominicans carrying out inquisition in France.<sup>32</sup> In a letter to the seneschal of Carcassonne he renewed an ordinance about inquisition issued by Louis IX.<sup>33</sup> The seneschal was to help the Dominicans, the inquisitors in his region, providing them with safe-conducts and the expenses of their job. He was to complete the construction of prisons, ensure that nobles, barons and prelates saw to the maintenance of prisoners, and to ensure the exclusion from public office of the children or grandchildren of heretics or their believers, and those

<sup>30</sup> See below, 36<sup>r</sup> n. 5 and 64<sup>r</sup> n. 5, on the inquisitions of Ferrier and Bernard of Caux.

<sup>31</sup> The most useful comments on French royal interest in repression of heresy at this period appear in A. Pales-Gobilliard, ‘Poursuites et déplacements de population après la croisade albigeoise’, and A. de la Presle-Èvesque, ‘Le conflit franco-aragonais de la fin du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle et ses conséquences religieuses et politiques’, in *La guerre, la violence et les gens au moyen âge*, ed. P. Contamine and O. Guyotjeannin (Paris, 1996), pp. 51–65 (51–53) and 67–79 (67–69).

<sup>32</sup> ‘Catalogue des mandements’, no. 7, in C.V. Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe III. le Hardi* (Paris, 1887), p. 387.

<sup>33</sup> *HGL*, viii.1435–1436, no. 474.

suspect or defamed of heresy. While these actions have not impressed modern historians,<sup>34</sup> the Pope thought highly of them, as we shall see.

Alphonse of Poitiers died at Savona on August 21 1271, and his wife Jeanne a day or two later. They were childless, so these deaths meant that the possessions of the former counts of Toulouse passed to the direct control of the French monarch. From Compiègne, on September 19 1271, Philip III sent a command by royal courier to the seneschal of Carcassonne.<sup>35</sup> The seneschal was to take in hand 'the county of Toulouse, the Agenais, and all the inheritance of Alphonse and his wife'. A long document recorded the oaths of loyalty to Philip exacted from the nobles and town consuls of the Toulousain between October and December 1271. It is known as the *Saisimentum Comitatus Tholosani*, the *Taking Possession of the County of Toulouse*.

In the following year Philip III received a large challenge to his authority from Count Roger-Bernard III of Foix, which originated in a complex feud whose details are not recounted here. The count of Foix had refused to do homage to the king. He attacked a nobleman who was under the safeguard of the king's seneschal, killing some royal officials and invading the county of Toulouse. The seneschal of Toulouse, Eustace de Beaumarchais, rallied his troops and attacked the county of Foix, until ordered to halt by Philip III, who was going to intervene himself. The king had raised an army at Tours, and he marched south, arriving at Toulouse on 25 May 1272. On June 5 the count of Foix gave himself up, and was incarcerated for a while in Carcassonne.<sup>36</sup>

Coming between two outstanding monarchs, St Louis and Philip the Fair, Philip III has not received much attention in modern historical writing, and what little has been written about him has not usually attributed to him much in the way of forcefulness of character, policy and will.<sup>37</sup> This in turn has led to ignoring what the contemporary sources suggest: the scale and deliberately terrifying character of Philip III's conduct of the war of 1272. According to William of Nangis, Philip III 'boiling with rage ... ordered such an army to be gathered as would suffice to conquer many barbarian nations', intending to come down on the count so heavily that no other enemy of the kingdom would dare

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<sup>34</sup> See the comments in Douais, *Documents*, pp. ccxxvii–viii, and the rarity of references to Philip III in most histories.

<sup>35</sup> 'Catalogue des mandements', no. 9, Langlois, *Philippe III*, p. 387.

<sup>36</sup> Langlois, *Philippe III*, pp. 59–63.

<sup>37</sup> Langlois's *Philippe III* has not been superseded by G. Sivéry, *Philippe III, le hardi* (Paris, 2003) and I. Gobry, *Phillipe III: fils de saint Louis* (Paris, 2004).

to meddle with him.<sup>38</sup> There was deliberate devastation, as Philip and his soldiers entered the lands of the count, 'giving over everything to depopulation.' The count himself 'came before the king, humbly begging grace, but he did not get it—rather, he was bound in chains ... and kept in severe captivity for a year'.<sup>39</sup> From then on, according to the Annals of St Bertin, the king was regarded with fear and terror throughout his realm.<sup>40</sup> Worth considering alongside this is one incident during the week the king spent in Toulouse in May 1272. One witness deposed about a 'certain cleric who had been burnt for heresy at Toulouse when the lord king was there'. She added that no-one had ever disputed 'better with the Brothers Preacher and Minor than the said cleric had disputed until the king came'.<sup>41</sup> Though the precise nature of the king's intervention is not specified, it is clear that the deponent saw some connection between the king's presence in Toulouse and the stopping of this man through execution.

The count was released at the end of 1273, the year which saw the renewal of papal interest in inquisition. The period from November 29 1268 to September 1 1271 had witnessed the longest vacancy in the history of the papacy. The consequent longest period of lack of attention by a pope to inquisition was even longer than the papal vacancy itself, for the new pope, Gregory X, was in Palestine when he was elected. He only landed in Brindisi in January 1272, and it was not until April 1273 that he turned his mind to the largest matters affecting the church.

On April 12 he wrote to prelates and monarchs, announcing a forthcoming reforming council, the Second Council of Lyons. Shortly after this he directed his attention to inquisition in France. The first of two bulls, *Prae cunctis mentis*, dated April 20, was addressed to Dominican inquisitors in the kingdom of France, mandating them to carry out the job and outlining its procedure.<sup>42</sup> Although this was in effect a re-issue of earlier bulls of the same name and similar content issued by Urban IV, Alexander IV and Clement IV, Gregory X prefixed his bull with

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<sup>38</sup> Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta Philippi Tertii Francorum Regis*, RHGF, xx.490, 492: ex nimia indignatione exaestuans animo ... talem congregari iussit execercitium, qui ad multas barbaras nationes sufficeret expugnandas.

<sup>39</sup> Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta*, 492: omnia depopulationi tradentes ... [comes] veniens coram rege, et veniam humiliter postulans, tunc non obtinuit; sed vinculis ligatus ... per annum unum in forti prisione custoditus est.

<sup>40</sup> Cited in Langlois, *Philippe III*, p. 61 note 5.

<sup>41</sup> 42<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Potthast, ii.1669, no. 20720.

a statement about the efforts of Philip III and his attitude to inquisition. 'We perceive that our dearest son in Christ, Philip, king of the French, is very enthusiastic for the efficient progressing of this business.'<sup>43</sup>

The second bull was addressed to the prior of the Dominicans in Paris.<sup>44</sup> It repeated the description of Philip III's enthusiastic support for inquisition.<sup>45</sup> It then directed the prior of Paris to proceed, in consultation with some discerning fellow friars, to make a selection among the Dominicans of the provinces of France and Provence. They were to choose six friars, men suitable to carry out the job of inquisition in the kingdom of France, but not in the lands of king Charles, king of Sicily and count of Provence—here meaning Provence:<sup>46</sup> As we see from the inquisition of the following years, the implementation of this meant two inquisitors for northern France, two for Toulouse, and two for Carcassonne. The clarity of division and autonomy of the two inquisition offices of Toulouse and Carcassonne was now restored. The bull was dated April 27, and by the end of next month, May 31, the first of the two new Toulouse inquisitors, Ranulph of Plassac, was at work interrogating in Toulouse. According to Bernard Gui, Pons of Parnac was also 'made a Toulouse inquisitor in AD 1273'. Inquisition had been relaunched in Toulouse, in a Toulouse that was now within the kingdom of France. In a letter of 1276, Pons described himself as 'inquisitor of heretical wickedness in the kingdom of France' (inquisitor hæreticæ pravitatis in regno Franciæ).<sup>47</sup>

At the same time as the events we have just recounted, during the early years of the 1270s, there had been a marked increase in the presence of heretical Good Men and their activities in parts of Languedoc. The most

<sup>43</sup> TNA v. 1817–1818: negotium fidei ... charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Philippum Francorum regem ferventiorē sentimus ad idem negotium efficaciter promovendum.

<sup>44</sup> Potthast, ii.1669, no. 20724.

<sup>45</sup> See the editorial note, TAN v. 1822, on the long passage repeated in this second bull, including the reference to Philip.

<sup>46</sup> TAN, v. 1822: mandamus, quatenus de consilio aliquorum discretorum fratrum tui ordinis eligas sex de fratribus ejusdem Ordinis provinciarum Franciæ et Provincie idoneos ad hujusmodi opus dominicum exequendum; eisque in virtute obedientie districte apostolica præcipere procures, ut inquisitionis officium in ipso regno, comitatibus et terris carissimis in Christo filii nostri C. Regis Siciliæ illustris et Provincie Comitum dumtaxat exceptis, contra hæreticos, fautores et receptores eorum ... student exequi diligenter.

<sup>47</sup> Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 256: factus fuit inquisitor Tholosanus a. D. MCCLXXXIII. The register's first record of Ranulph and Pons acting together is 7 February 1274; 42<sup>v</sup>. Pons's letter to Montauban: 233<sup>r</sup>.

prominent and active figures—in what could be called a Cathar revival—were two Good Men. One was William Prunel, who had returned from Lombardy, and his new companion Bernard of Tilhol. Bernard was the brother-in-law of Raymond Hugh of Roquevidal, and this relationship will have been one of the reasons why the two Good Men stayed so long and so often in Roquevidal. Although the pastorate of the two Good Men was geographically quite wide, Roquevidal was the centre. It saw followers coming and going, many arrangements, and much that was to do with the handling of legacies and money—the details can be found in the long confessions of Raymond Hugh and his brother Bernard. The brothers' shared house was available to the Good Men, and both the Lord and the parish priest of Roquevidal were sympathetic to them. Members of the nobility formed a large part of the milieu in which William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol worked. The roll-call includes Aimery of Roquefort, Lord of Montgey, and his wife Lady Marquesia; the squire Bernard of Montesquieu, son of Lord Saix of Puylaurens; the squire Macip, Lord of Prades; Arnold Gardouch, Lord of Roquevidal; Lady Arnalda, the wife of the late nobleman William Calvet of Verfeil; Olic Baldwin, Lord of Lavaur; Lady Fays, the wife of the knight Reginald of Palajac, knight. It is no surprise that the inquisitors gained their most precisely observant account of the two Good Men from a nobleman, Bernard of Montesquieu.<sup>48</sup>

They were very active during 1272, at the same time as the rebellious activities of the count of Foix and Philip III's marching against him and capturing him. The two Good Men talked in general about this, and what they said was recalled by Bernard Hugh of Roquevidal. According to Bernard Hugh, they had talked 'when the king captured him (the count of Foix) and his land, when the same witness and others had returned from the army,'<sup>49</sup> that is to say, after June 5 1272. 'He had heard the aforesaid heretics saying that it was a great pity about the present Count of Foix, that he was losing his land in this way, and was harmed in this way by the lord king, and by the lord king's people; and that, insofar as he could, he would be a friend to the church of the heretics. He also heard them saying that the father of this count, while he was alive, greatly supported their church.'<sup>50</sup> Without a break, Bernard Hugh's account of the Good

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<sup>48</sup> 151<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> 77<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> Support and sympathy for Catharism went back a long way among the counts of Foix and was famous. Raymond-Roger (1188–1223) was a supporter, vilified in Peter

Men's statements continues with the Good Men's statement of articles of Cathar belief. This immediate progression rounds off and highlights a unity that was at the centre of Bernard Hugh's outlook. In his view of things, opposition to the French king, support of the count and heretical belief went hand in hand. He exemplified the translation of this view into action, on the one hand promoting the Good Men in Roquevidal and on the other belonging to the count of Foix's army.

If these things were seen as a unity by one side, they were also seen thus by opponents, and above all by the seneschal Eustace de Beaumarchais.<sup>51</sup> He had been a loyal servant of the French royal family, of Alphonse of Poitiers, Louis IX and Philip III. On return from crusade he had engaged in an expedition into the Auvergne against fugitive heretics from Languedoc. In the count of Foix's war he had opposed the count, and when the castle of Foix was taken (3 June 1273) he had taken charge of it. It is clear that he saw service to the French crown as extending to the suppression of heresy and, if possible, the hunting down of the two Good Men who had been leading the Cathar revival. He captured the two Hugh brothers of Roquevidal in March 1274, and asked them where the heretics were. When they would not tell him, the seneschal Eustace 'put them to the question'. That is to say, he tortured them.<sup>52</sup> Thus he prepared them for their interrogations by Pons and Ranulph. Over the course of several protracted and very detailed confessions, they now poured out what they knew about William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, their heretical operations and their noble adherents.

The confessions of the Hugh brothers make the large role played by their wives in the operations of the two Good Men very clear.<sup>53</sup> The register contains the confessions of the two men but we do know nothing

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of Les-Vaux-de-Cernai's *Historia Albigensis* as heretic and an enemy of the Church. His wife Philippa was a believer in the Cathars. When she became a widow, Raymond-Roger's sister Esclarmonde received the consolamentum at a large and well-attended ceremony at Fanjeaux in 1204, while an aunt was also a Good Woman at Pamiers; *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, transl. W.A. and M.D. Sibly (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1998), p. 29, note 84. M. Roquebert, *Les cathares: de la chute de Montségur aux derniers bûchers (1244-1329)* (Paris, 1998), pp. 242-248, defends the later counts against imputations of heresy.

<sup>51</sup> On Eustace de Beaumarchais, see L. Delisle, 'Chronologie des baillis et des sénéchaux royaux, depuis les origines jusqu'à l'avènement de Philippe de Valois', *RHGF*, xxiv.259\*-261\*.

<sup>52</sup> These are the only unequivocal cases of torture in the register, but there is a possibility that torture was reported in a third case. See n. 55 below.

<sup>53</sup> See above, pp. 12-13.

about their sentencing. Conversely, the register does not contain the confessions of the wives. But we know from Bernard Gui's later sentences that Pons of Parnac and Ranulph of Plassac sentenced Bernard Hugh's wife Tolsana to imprisonment on May 13 1274, and Raymond Hugh's wife Arnalda on November 4 1274.<sup>54</sup> Three of the four among these people were dealt with over a short period, husband interrogated April 4–16 and May 8 1274, and Tolsana sentenced May 13 1274. But we cannot ascertain whether Tolsana and Arnalda had also been captured and tortured by the seneschal.<sup>55</sup>

The driving interest of the king and his seneschal immediately highlights one feature of the register, a clear pattern among both the selection of people who were interrogated and also the people about whom they were questioned by the inquisitors. Those the inquisitors interrogated included William Bernard, Peter William of Roqueville, Jordan, son of lord Jordan of Saissac, lord Jordan of Saissac himself, lord Isarn Bonhomme, Aimery of Castelnau, Peter Raymond (son of lord Isarn of Saint-Paul of Cap-de-Joux), Isarn of Corneilhan, Arnold of Corneilhan, and Guilbert of Foissac. The names that cropped up in their depositions—people about whom they were questioned—included Peter Gaubert, Arnold of Gardouch, William Calvet, lord Olric Baldwin of Lavaur, lord Isarn of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, Arnold del Gua, William Matfred, Sicard of La Soulade, Peter Ratier of Auriac, lord Loubens, Aimery of Roquefort, William of Corneilhan, William Olric and Pons Audebaud. Everyone of the names in these two lists was a nobleman. Everyone of them was recorded—or was the son of someone recorded—among the nobles catalogued in the *Saisimentum Comitatus Tholosani* as having taken oaths of loyalty to the French king in October and December 1271.<sup>56</sup>

The motives behind Philip III's enthusiastic re-inauguration of inquisition and his seneschal's strong-armed help could not be clearer. Imposition of royal authority went hand in hand with suppression of the count of Foix's revolt and the attempt to hunt down the two leaders of

<sup>54</sup> Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.178, 746.

<sup>55</sup> It is possible that there is a third case of torture in Doat 25–26. On Guilbert of Saint-Michel's last appearance (34<sup>v</sup>) he was questioned 'by the man' ('per virum'). The wording is unusual, and it makes little sense. We could conjecture that 'virum' was a mistake for 'vim', meaning he was questioned 'by force'.

<sup>56</sup> See the notes to the English translation. One certain addition to the list of those questioned who took an oath of loyalty is the notary of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, William of *Rosergue*, and one possible addition is the knight Gardouch of Mauremont.



a Cathar revival. It also meant strong encouragement to inquisitors to check through the nobles of certain areas, especially Puylaurens. Many of these had supported the Good Men, and some of them may have supported the count of Foix.

iii. *The inquisitors of 1273–1282 and their household*<sup>57</sup>

Popes mandated someone else to select inquisitors, and who this ‘someone’ was had its history. Right at the beginning, in 1233, it was the Prior Provincial of the Dominicans of Provence. Thereafter it was a papal legate, the archbishop of Vienne. Later on there were papal mandates, in 1244, 1251, 1253/4 and 1258, to the Prior Provincial of Provence, who was sometimes reluctant to carry out the job. The first attempt to mandate the Prior Provincial in Paris to do the job was in 1255. There was another mandate in 1264, and now in 1273.<sup>58</sup> Control over both lands and inquisition moved to the north. If Languedoc came eventually to be under the direct control of a king whose palace and government was in Paris, so also the nomination of inquisitors in Languedoc came to be something decided in the Couvent des Jacobins in Paris.

A roll-call of those chosen thus and active as inquisitors between 1273 and 1282 appears in the Doat 25–26 register. In chronological order they are Ranulph of Plassac, from 31 May 1273, together with Pons of Parnac at some date in 1273, as we have seen on the testimony of Bernard Gui; Pons of Parnac and Hugh of Bouniols, from 21 May 1276; Hugh Amiel and Peter Arsieu, from 24 April 1277. We set to one side in the discussion that follows John Galand, who appeared together in Toulouse on four

<sup>57</sup> On the inquisition of 1273–1282, see Douais, *Documents*, pp. clxxii–clxxxii; J. Duvernoy, ‘Introduction’, *Registre de l’inquisition de Toulouse (1273–1280)*, *Latin*, pp. 2–17, [Jean.duvernoy.free.fr/sources/sinquisit.htm](http://Jean.duvernoy.free.fr/sources/sinquisit.htm); Pales-Gobilliard, ‘Poursuites’, pp. 51–53; Roquebert, *Cathares: de la chute de Montségur*, ch. 12; C. Bruschi, ‘Gli inquisitori Raoul de Plassac e Pons de Parnac e l’inchiesta tolosana degli anni 1273–1280’, in *Praedicatorum Inquisitores—I: The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition. Acts of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition*, Dominican Historical Institute, Rome, *Dissertationes Historicae* 29 (Rome), pp. 471–493. It is given virtually no attention in such general surveys of inquisition in Languedoc as J.-L. Biget, ‘L’inquisition en Languedoc, 1229–1329’, in *L’inquisizione: Atti del Simposio internazionale, Città del Vaticano, 29–31 Ottobre 1998*, ed. A. Borromeo, *Studi e Testi* 417 (Rome, 2003), pp. 41–94, and L. Albaret, ‘Inquisitio Heretice Pravitatis. L’inquisition dominicaine dans le midi de la France aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles de la première inquisition pontificale’, in *Praedicatorum Inquisitores*, pp. 421–446.

<sup>58</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 119, 121–122, 152–153, 158, 166, 183–187, 193.

occasions 1278–1281, on three of them together with Hugh Amiel.<sup>59</sup> Most of his later career was as inquisitor of Carcassonne.<sup>60</sup>

Pons of Parnac was *Caturcensis*, that is, from Cahors, and was described as a lawyer by Bernard Gui.<sup>61</sup> Cahors did not yet have a university, but names of teachers of law at Cahors were appearing regularly by the end of the century.<sup>62</sup> Pons was designated preacher-general at the provincial chapter of Cahors in 1273,<sup>63</sup> served briefly as prior of Perpignan, and was translated from this job to become inquisitor of Toulouse. Hugh Amiel was from Castelnaudary. Acts of provincial chapters contain many references to his nomination to particular positions, beginning with preacher-general in 1265, and he had a succession of priorates, at the convents of Agen, Montauban, Carcassonne and Toulouse, and these terminated when he became an inquisitor.<sup>64</sup> Before this, he had acted as a witness and also as deputy-inquisitor. He was still inquisitor when he died in Nice in 1281, en route to the curia. At two points in his history of the Dominican convents Bernard Gui thought Hugh Amiel worth a few words. In one passage Gui described him as ‘a just, righteous and constant man, and a famous one’, and in the other as ‘a famous and good inquisitor of heretics.’<sup>65</sup> Peter Arsieu may have come from Malvezie (Haute-

<sup>59</sup> 271<sup>r</sup>, 2<sup>v</sup>, 36<sup>r</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>, 45<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> John Galand was active as an inquisitor 1282–1293, principally at Albi and Carcassonne. See Douais, *Documents*, pp. xxx, clxxxi, clxxxii–cxc, cxc, ccviii; on pp. clxxxix–cxc an act of his (1282) is printed, tightening up conditions in prison. Nothing of Galand's career is known outside his inquisition acts and the complaints brought against him as an inquisitor. These are studied and edited in J.-M. Vidal, *Un inquisiteur jugé pars ses "victims": Jean Galand et les Carcassonnais (1295–1286)* (Paris, 1903). Galand appears in most of the studies on controversies about inquisition in Languedoc around 1300. See for example, A. Friedlander, *The Hammer of Inquisitors: Brother Bernard Déléieux and the Struggle against the Inquisition in Fourteenth-Century France* (Leyden, Boston and Cologne, 2000), pp. 12–13, 16, 19–20; J. Théry, ‘Bernard de Castanet, une politique de la terreur’, in *Les inquisiteurs: Portraits de défenseurs de la foi en Languedoc (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, ed. L. Albaret (Toulouse, 2001), pp. 80, 81, 82, 87. He will also appear in J. Théry's *L'enquête sur les crimes de l'évêque d'Albi Bernard de Castanet (1307–1308). Théocratie et contestation en Albigeois aux derniers temps de l'hérésie des bons hommes*, forthcoming in *Mémoires et Documents de l'École des Chartes*.

<sup>61</sup> Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 256: iurisperitus. Parnac is 12 km NW of Cahors: Lot, cant. Luzech, arrond. Cahors; DTF.

<sup>62</sup> J. Verger, ‘L'enseignement du droit canon dans les universités méridionales (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles)’, *CaF* 29 (1994), pp. 249–265 (251).

<sup>63</sup> ACP, p. 177 and note 3.

<sup>64</sup> ACP, pp. 107, 108, 151, 165, 170, 193, 200, 208, 209, 216, 226.

<sup>65</sup> Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 52, 101: vir iustus et rectus, constans et famosus; inquisitor hereticorum famosus et bonus. See Douais, *Documents*, pp. clxxxi–ii; Dossat, *Crises*, p. 46. In addition, Gui's sentences refer to him acting together with John Galand, giving grace

Garonne).<sup>66</sup> He succeeded Hugh Amiel as prior of Carcassonne and was designated preacher-general in 1274. Like Hugh Amiel, he acted as a witness and also as deputy inquisitor. He was made inquisitor of Toulouse in 1277 and died in this post on 1 August 1278.<sup>67</sup>

A pattern emerges. There seems to have been a regular career path for a friar becoming an inquisitor, and the staging-posts in this path represented certain qualities or areas of talent. So, when the Prior of Paris, acting in consultation, selected men to carry out the job, he looked at friars who already had experience in inquisition, and also considered those who had legal training. The friars he looked at had also shown their ability to lead people, and a mixture of administrative and diplomatic ability, through being priors of convents. This seems to have been *the* common practice in the recruitment of inquisitors also in other areas, and certainly one that paid off in terms of competence and preparation.<sup>68</sup> Inquisitors could be men who had local knowledge, for the Paris Prior tended to select from men from the provinces of Toulouse and Provence. But this was not an absolute priority. Languedoc inquisitors had included men from the north and continued to do so, witness Reginald of Chartres in the 1250s and John Galand in the 1280s. It is not surprising therefore to see the Prior of Paris choosing one inquisitor 'from' one of the many places called Plassac to the north-west of Languedoc, one of them in Brittany. In Bernard Gui's *Liber sententiarum* de place of origin is given at one point as *de Platiaco*.<sup>69</sup> It is also possible that Ranulph came from the geographical much closer Plazac in the Dordogne, but his name was typically Norman. The scribe of Gui's *Liber sententiarum* rendered 'Ranulphum' correctly on one occasion, but on another gave it as 'Ranpnulphum'; his struggle with the spelling may well reflect the strangeness of

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for the putting off of crosses (undated), and again giving this grace, acting on his own at Limoux (undated); Gui, *Livre des sentences*, pp. 184 and 736.

<sup>66</sup> This is nearest in its modern form to the word mentioned by Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 101: *de castro quod dicitur Malvezi, dyocesis Tholosane*. Albaret 2001, p. 164, says Arsieu was from Mauvaisin (Hte Garonne); another person *de Malvezi* is given by Fawtier as from Mauvezin (Lot-et-Garonne), *Comptes royaux*, iii, 352. The DTF notes 20 places called Mauvezin or with Mauvezin in a compound name.

<sup>67</sup> Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 101; ACP, pp. 132, 170. See Douais, *Documents*, p. clxxxi.

<sup>68</sup> An attempt at systematic tracing of the inquisitors' *cursus honorum* can be found in C. Bruschi, 'Inquisizione francescana in Toscana fino al pontificato di Giovanni XXII', in *Frati minori e inquisizione: Proceedings of the XXXIII International Conference (Assisi, 6–8 October 2005)* (Spoleto, 2006), pp. 287–324, especially pp. 297–299.

<sup>69</sup> The DTF lists eight places called Plassac. *Livre des sentences*, i, 184; British Library Ms Add. 4697, f. 1<sup>v</sup>.

the name to someone in Languedoc.<sup>70</sup> In another case, Hugh of Bouniols, the Bouniols may have been what is now a hamlet near the commune of Castelnau-Montratier (Lot), within the northern reaches of the Province of Toulouse.

Twenty to thirty years later, Bernard Gui researched and compiled two works, a history of the convents and the acts of the provincial councils of the Dominican provinces of Toulouse and Provence. These texts name many hundreds of Dominicans, enabling the detailed reconstruction of their careers. There was no equivalent to Bernard Gui elsewhere in France, and this is the simple explanation why we know so little about those inquisitors whose earlier careers had been played out outside the provinces of Toulouse and Provence. It is likely that when the prior of Paris was selecting the two about whom we know nothing apart from inquisition record references to them—Ranulph of Plassac<sup>71</sup> and Hugh of Bouniols<sup>72</sup>—he was choosing men of similar qualities to Pons of Parnac, Hugh Amiel and Peter Arsieu. It is probable that they had already shown their efficiency and maturity in carrying out high offices in the Order, but unlike them they had been working outside the provinces of Toulouse and Provence.

In chapter 3 below we shall look more closely at how these men carried out their tasks as inquisitors. Here we shall lay the groundwork for this, looking at where these new inquisitors worked, and with what resources.

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<sup>70</sup> In a 1299 roll of accounts of confiscations for heresy from the seneschalsy of Toulouse there appears a man *de Plasaco*, conjecturally identified by the editor as from Plazac in the Dordogne; *Comptes Royaux* no. 11881, i.566 and iii.417. Though usually accepting Plassac, J. Duvernoy, *L'Histoire des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1979), refers to Ranulph as 'de Plassy'. *Livre des sentences*, i.747. In British Library, Ms Add. 4697, f. 69<sup>r</sup>, Ranpnl-phum could be Rampnulpum, depending upon interpretation of an abbreviation sign.

<sup>71</sup> Outside the register, the only references to Ranulph are in Gui, *Livre des sentences*, pp. 184, 746.

<sup>72</sup> See Douais, *Documents*, p. clxxxi, Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 33, 46, and G.W. Davis, *The Inquisition at Albi 1299: Text of Register and Analysis* (New York, 1948), p. 121. These note Hugh (as recorded in a Carcassonne book of sentences) sentencing together with Stephen of Gâtine, here without date; and sentencing together with John Galand, March 9, 1279. The references to Hugh in Bernard Gui's sentences have not been noticed and correlated with these. The sentence Hugh delivered with Stephen (Davis, *Inquisition at Albi*, p. 121) was on William Dural or Durand of Poulan. Gui's later sentence on William Dural in 1319 refers to and summarises the confession William had made to to Hugh and Stephen, May 6 1276, and notes that Hugh, now acting with John Galand, released William Dural from prison, February 19 1279; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, ii.1104, 1106. Together with Pons of Parnac, Hugh gave grace for the putting off of crosses, April 25 1277; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.922.

Pons of Parnac and Ranulph of Plassac conducted interrogations at the abbey of Saint-Antonin in the town of Saint-Antonin,<sup>73</sup> in the abbey of Gaillac,<sup>74</sup> and in Puylaurens,<sup>75</sup> and a general abjuration at Blan<sup>76</sup> and probably also at Sorèze,<sup>77</sup> while a later colleague publicised a period of grace in the church at Lagardiolle.<sup>78</sup> Peter Arsieu went to Montgey for an interrogation which he had agreed to keep secret, and carried it out in the chaplain's house at Montgey.<sup>79</sup> Inquisitors also sometimes deputed others to interrogate elsewhere. On the instruction of Pons, the prior of the Dominican convent in Montauban carried out interrogations in the convent, availing himself of the assistance of one of the Toulouse notaries, alongside a Montauban notary and two friars from the Montauban convent as witnesses. An interrogation carried out by William of Puylaurens at the inquisitor's command was probably conducted at or near Guitalens, two of whose priests witnessed it.<sup>80</sup> The proceedings in this case continued at Toulouse, and it was in Toulouse that most inquisition work was done.

Whereas the interrogations carried out in Toulouse during the large inquisitions of 1245–1246 took place by the cloister of Saint-Sernin,<sup>81</sup> there is no indication that these later interrogations took place precisely there. Where the location of an interrogation is stated, no more detail is given than 'at Toulouse'. The normal location is implied by one circumstantial detail provided in the description of a conversation just before some one went before the inquisitor to be interrogated. It took place 'in the porch of the inquisitor's house in Toulouse'.<sup>82</sup> This building was near the count's fortified residence, the Château Narbonnais, and was still known as the inquisition or inquisitor's house in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>83</sup> A set of accounts from 1255–1256 brings us close to its material reality of this house of inquisition two decades before its use by Pons of Parnac and Ranulph of Plassac, with expenditure on tiles and

<sup>73</sup> 58<sup>v</sup>, 60<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> 62<sup>r</sup>, 63<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> 151<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> 290<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> 251<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> 50<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> 11<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> 161<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> 157<sup>v</sup>; Dossat, *Crises*, p. 138; Pegg, *Corruption of Angels*, pp. 35–36.

<sup>82</sup> 296<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 90–91.

lime for the roof, a cover to the well and an earth-wall behind the house.<sup>84</sup> On a few occasions a place of interrogation elsewhere in Toulouse is stated. Raymond of Estanove recalled being interrogated at Saint-Sernin in 1245.<sup>85</sup> In May 1274 Raymond Baussan was questioned in the Dominican convent itself,<sup>86</sup> as was Galhard Ros in June 1278.<sup>87</sup> The reason—illness—is clear in the case of Adémar Galos, who was questioned in May 1275 in the chapel of the convent's infirmary.<sup>88</sup> In addition, a few people were interrogated in prison. Location is only spelled out where it is the exception to the norm.

The register of expenses and receipts of Toulouse inquisitors from 1255–1256, casts light on the everyday side of the inquisitors and the inquisition house in that period, money, supplies for the kitchen, medicines for a sick inquisitor, and travel expenses.<sup>89</sup> Although we do not have comparable details for the inquisition which got going in 1273, this earlier account is salutary. It reminds us of the basic material foundation of the inquisitors, the maintenance and lighting of their house in Toulouse, their own food and medicine, the hire of scribes and notaries, the buying of paper and parchment, and the costs of inquisitors' and messengers' journeys. The system was simple. The property and goods of condemned heretics were confiscated. Confiscated property and goods went to the king, and were dealt with by a local royal official, and the profits from their rent and sale were used to pay for the inquisition and for the maintenance of those people the inquisitors condemned to imprisonment.<sup>90</sup>

One story recounted in November 1275 concerns events about eighteen months beforehand. According to the deponent, Peter Raymond, son of the Lord of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, there was a quarrel between his family and one Peter of Villèle and his family, and a knight of Saint-Paul, Sicard of La Soulade. Sicard, who also hated Peter, suggested to

<sup>84</sup> E. Cabié, 'Compte des inquisiteurs des diocèses de Toulouse, Albi et de Cahors, 1255–1256', *Revue du Tarn* 22 (1905), 110–133, 215–229; much of this was presented by Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 91–101.

<sup>85</sup> 157<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> 147<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> 56<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> 205<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> Cabié, 'Compte'.

<sup>90</sup> The fundamental study of the operation of the system in Languedoc is in Dossat, *Crises*, chapters 4(i) and 12–13. See also L. Albaret and I. Lanoix-Christen, 'Le prix de l'hérésie: Essai de synthèse sur le financement de l'inquisition dans le Midi de la France (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *Heresis* 40 (2004), 41–67.

the deponent using heresy and confiscations as a way of pursuing the feud. 'Do you wish we had something on Peter of Villèle?' Given Peter Raymond's agreement, Sicard began to spell out the opportunity. 'Know this: I heard it said that Peter of Villèle committed heresy in the house of Bernard of Puy of Prades. And if he has now committed heresy and it were to be proved, couldn't he easily lose all he has?'<sup>91</sup> He then went on to suggest paying a notary, in a plot whose purpose is clearer than its precise shape: using conviction for heresy as a way of getting an enemy to lose everything. The story itself is the visible tip of an iceberg, the rest of which is the massive presence and operation at the time of this conversation—early 1274—of confiscations for heresy.

The register provides only the occasional glimpse of the system. Peter Arsieu used freedom from 'loss of goods' as one inducement to Peter of Montgey to confess.<sup>92</sup> The witnesses to one of the depositions of the knight Bernard of Montesquieu included a procurator, William of *Contour*, whose title spells out that he was the royal official who dealt with this business, 'the Lord King's procurator for forfeitures for heresy'.<sup>93</sup> Another man who appeared as a witness six times, William of Concots, was designated once as 'procurator of heresy',<sup>94</sup> which might be an abbreviation of the same title. The conjecture that the wealth of a suspect had something to do with the royal official's presence at an interrogation is reasonable in itself, and in such a case we might also look for a procurator concerned with the interests of the suspect's family. But no other procurators are listed, even where very rich people were being interrogated, so we cannot investigate this theme further.

We lack royal procurators' accounts that are strictly contemporary to our register. However, confiscated property was not always disposed of quickly. Some property that yielded revenue continued to be managed by the procurator for many years, with some parts being sold off now and then. The accounts of 1293–1294 of the procurator for confiscations for heresy in the county of Toulouse, Master Raymond of Dugny show him still managing the confiscated property of many heresy suspects mentioned in the Doat 25–26 register, Stephen alias Pilot, William

<sup>91</sup> 212<sup>v</sup>–213<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> 8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> 162<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> 14<sup>r</sup>, 23<sup>r</sup>, 95<sup>v</sup>, 137<sup>v</sup> (where the title is given), 147<sup>r</sup>, 155<sup>r</sup>. If the unidentified *Contour* was a mistake for Concots, the two procurators called William were one and the same man. See comment below, 14<sup>r</sup> n. 25.

Baudric, Bernard Donadeu, William of Saintes and Matfre Amiel. But the figure that looms largest in these accounts is Peter Pictavin of Sorèze, who appeared in court eight times.<sup>95</sup> At one point in his confessions Peter Pictavin was granted immunity of goods for what he would confess over a specified period, but clearly this immunity was strictly limited.<sup>96</sup> He was a wealthy man and he still lost a great deal through confiscation. The management of his estates pre-occupied Raymond of Dugny in 1293–1294—there are eight entries relating to Peter of Pictavin<sup>97</sup>—and also Peter of Pradinas in 1298–1299,<sup>98</sup> and a later official who provided an account some time after 1302.<sup>99</sup> The expenses of repairs of his property plunge us right into the material reality of what had been confiscated. His mill-house was repaired in 1293–1294, and its water-system in 1298–1299. A workshop in the (main?) square of Sorèze needed repair. One of his houses needed attention to its lathes, floorboards and windows, and there was an account for the cost of its two keys. Another house, occupied by the cloth-dyer, needed repair. The costs of maintaining Peter of Pictavin's estate were heavily outweighed by the profits made from them. Raymond had made 50 Toulouse shillings from selling some land to Raymond of Sorèze and 39 Toulouse pounds from the sale of other parts of the estate to Guiraud Bonet of Lavaur, while in 1298–1299 Peter of Pradinas reported revenue of 48 Toulouse pounds from it, and some time after 1302 the sale to the brothers Peter of Dreuilhe and Raymond Sicre of half of a house and mill that had belonged to Peter of Pictavin raised 35 Toulouse pounds.

The receipts will have paid for the upkeep of those sentenced to prison by Pons and Ranulph. One person interrogated by Pons of Parnac, Arnold Cimordan said that he had fled from prison because of hunger, caused by the fact that his confiscated property had gone not to the king but to the bishop.<sup>100</sup> His story of a breakdown in the system casts reflexive light on its normal operation.

From the earliest depositions in front of Pons of Parnac and Ranulph of Plassac we glimpse via the witness lists some members of the inquisitors' household, their familiar assistants, and the first thing to strike us is

<sup>95</sup> Pictavin is a crucial figure for many aspects, see below, pp. 73, 76, 79, 81–82, 86, 94, 112, 115.

<sup>96</sup> 259<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> *Comptes royaux*, i.456, 460, 462, 466, nos. 9595, 9648, 9671, 9716–9720.

<sup>98</sup> *Comptes royaux*, i.554, 559, nos. 11669, 11742, 11755.

<sup>99</sup> *Comptes royaux*, ii.200, no. 17106.

<sup>100</sup> 220<sup>v</sup>–221<sup>r</sup>.



their employment of expertise which goes back to the 1240s and 1250s.<sup>101</sup> Appearing immediately in the depositions of the first year were three notaries taking down depositions, Atho of Saint-Victor, Berengar of Vernet and Bernard Bonet. Their careers, activities and translations from oral Occitan to written Latin are discussed in more detail in chapter 3.ii below, and it is sufficient here to note continuity. Atho and Berengar had cut their teeth a long time ago. Atho had appeared as witness to depositions in 1253 and 1254, while Berengar was described as ‘inquisitor’s notary’ in 1253 and is seen at work 1255–1257. This trend continued in 1274. In May Pons and Ranulph used the notary and parish priest (‘chaplain’) Peter of Dreuilhe, who had often acted both as witness and scribe in 1245–1246, and who was helping the Carcassonne inquisition in the 1250 and 1253. And in July 1274 they committed the task of interrogating and witnessing to the elderly master William of Puylaurens.<sup>102</sup> A former chaplain of the count of Toulouse, William is best known for his chronicle of the extirpation of heresy from the county of Toulouse and the gradual take-over of the county by the kings of France, and he was just bringing it to a close—somewhere between 1273 and 1276.<sup>103</sup> But he had also had experience directly assisting inquisition, acting for it in the role of notary in 1253,<sup>104</sup> and perhaps as inquisitor in 1254.<sup>105</sup>

Pons and Ranulph also availed themselves of the advice and assistance of a heresy insider whose knowledge went a long way back. This was Sicard Lunel, sometimes known as Sicard of Lunel, who had been a Cathar Good Man in the 1230s, and a very important one. He was deacon of the heretics of the Albi area<sup>106</sup> and was to be seen in the company of men such as Aimery of Collet, deacon and later a Cathar bishop. He converted, and the record of his depositions in the mid-1250s survives fragmentarily. A list was drawn up of 560 names provided in his testimony.<sup>107</sup> Thereafter he seems to have assisted the inquisition. He appeared in the accounts of 1255–1256. Expenses had been paid, ‘ten shillings to Sicard Lunel, sent to Albi.’<sup>108</sup> The length of his career is shown

<sup>101</sup> In addition to the examples cited here, see Giles of Lastours, below 66<sup>r</sup> and note.

<sup>102</sup> 161<sup>v</sup>, 162<sup>v</sup>. See below, ch. 3.ii.

<sup>103</sup> See the discussion of William below, pp. 108–109.

<sup>104</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, p. 179.

<sup>105</sup> One of the converted heretic William Carrier’s depositions was in front of ‘Master W[illiam], inquisitor’ (magistro G[uillelmo] inquisitore), Duvernoy, ‘Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne’, 48.

<sup>106</sup> See below 52<sup>r</sup>, and Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 348.

<sup>107</sup> Duvernoy, ‘Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne’, 28–29, 454–506.

<sup>108</sup> Cabié, ‘Compte’, 131: Sicardo Lunelh, misso apud Albiam.

by his appearance again in accounts from 1298–1299. He had been paid five Toulouse shillings and eight pennies for travelling from Lavaur to Toulouse ‘on inquisition business ... on the inquisitors’ command’.<sup>109</sup>

We have already mentioned his early appearance in inquisitors’ expenses of 1255–1256, he was frequently a witness to depositions in front of Pons and Ranulph in 1273–1274, and, again, we have already described the last glimpse of him, in the 1298–1299 confiscations account roll. For Pons and Ranulph he will have been a priceless source on the faith and organisation of the church of the Good Men, and the older people among the suspects who were appearing before them, or the parents and grandparents of the younger ones.

The Toulouse inquisitors of the Doat 25–26 register used around 114 men as witnesses. The figure is approximate because of several cases where it is not clear whether there are one or two people of similar name.<sup>110</sup> Many were from the Toulouse convent itself, ‘common brothers’, lecturers and even the Prior, who will have walked half way across the city to get to the inquisitor’s house. Other institutions in Toulouse helped. On one occasion the Guardian—equivalent of Prior—of the Franciscan convent in Toulouse lent a hand, as did also a cleric from the Dalbade church. Witnesses, their role and identity, are discussed in more detail in chapter 3.iii below.

The inquisitors’ use of prisons is also discussed in chapter 3.i below, and here we confine ourselves to examining what was at their disposal.

Let us look briefly at evidence relating to prisons earlier and later than Doat 25–26. First of all, earlier. The inquisitors Bernard of Caux and John of St Pierre bought a house near the abbey of Saint-Sernin ‘for use as a prison’ (*ad opus carcerum*). Although the date is unknown, it was most probably bought to be used during the period from May 1245 to August 1246 when they interrogated well over 5000 people at Saint-Sernin. The house was given to the hospital of Saint Raymond, where poor scholars lived, on February 14 1250.<sup>111</sup> The brevity of its use as a prison is a warning that the early history of prisons in Toulouse may have been a very varied and hand-to-mouth affair.

<sup>109</sup> *Comptes royaux*, i.560, no. 11768: pro negotio inquisitionis ... de mandato inquisitionis.

<sup>110</sup> Excluded from this count are three witnesses who attested a deposition in Carcassonne, 53<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> Dossat, ‘Bernard de Caux’, pp. 259, 267.

The account of expenses from 1255–1256 provides clarity and detail for this brief period. The thirteen chapters of the expenses were identified by letter. H headed the *Opera carcerum* (Prison works), K the *Expensa immuratorum pro facto haeresis ... extra castrum* (Expenses of those imprisoned for heresy ... outside the castle), and the expenses on the *Immurati tanquam relaxi [= relapsi] et detempti in castro* (those immured as relapsed <heretics> and detained within the castle). H covered expenses for works on two prisons outside the castle, those at Saint-Sernin and Saint-Stephen's. Expenditure listed included seven shillings spent on repairing rooms at the prison at Saint-Sernin, and two-shillings and two pennies and two shillings on the lavatory pits respectively of women and men at the prison of Saint-Stephen's.<sup>112</sup> Under K the cost of feeding was accounted weekly, without distinguishing between the prisons, for example May 6 1255 the account was for 85 prisoners, at two pence each per day, two breast-feeding babies at one penny per day, and a guard at two shillings per week. The number of prisoners was given first, then the numbers separately of babies, children and converts. The largest number, that of prisoners, fluctuated between 85 and 219.<sup>113</sup> The prisoners *in castro*, under L, were within the count's castle just by the house of inquisition, the Château Narbonnais. While a few names are mentioned here, there are no numbers, the accounting is less frequent and it relates mainly to the expense of bread, straw and clothing.<sup>114</sup>

There are other references to prisons in 1242, 1248 and 1255. Inquisitors in correspondence with Alphonse of Poitiers in 1269 about the construction of a prison in Lavaur were asked to inform him about the insufficiency of prisons in Toulouse. Prisons were still an unresolved problem, Dossat has suggested, at the end of Alphonse's reign in 1271.<sup>115</sup> What then was the provision of prisons much later, at the time of Bernard Gui? His *Practica inquisitionis* shows us the situation existing in the early fourteenth century. It contains formulae relating to the 'wall of the inquisitors of Toulouse' (*muris inquisitorum Tolose*), detention in the 'wall' and escapes from it. Bernard Gui provides a form for the institution of a prison official dedicated to the guarding of those detained by inquisitors. This form envisages the 'guarding of the wall and of prisons of Toulouse' (*custodiam muri et carcerum Tolose*). The semantic distinc-

<sup>112</sup> Cabié, 'Compte', 132–133.

<sup>113</sup> Cabié, 'Compte', 215–217.

<sup>114</sup> Cabié, 'Compte', 218–219.

<sup>115</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 194–195, 262 and note 49.

tion between ‘wall’ (muris) and ‘prison’ (carcer) may have had no significance. While on occasion use of the plural *carceres* may have meant several prisons, on occasion it could have been used to mean something like the modern phrase ‘system of imprisonment’, not literally a plurality of prisons<sup>116</sup>

When we turn back to Doat 25–26, what do we find? The texts refer to people being captives, to prison (unspecified) and to the Château Narbonnais. There are persons detained in the Château Narbonnais, in the ‘wall’ (muris) and in ‘prison’ (carcer). The specification that a deposition had been taken down ‘while’ the witness was detained in the Château Narbonnais indicates that this could happen perhaps with people who had been just brought in.<sup>117</sup> There is also a glimpse of the building itself: one person was held in its White Tower.<sup>118</sup> It is unclear whether use was still being made of a prison at Saint Stephen’s. Among the people noted as prison officials are James, ‘guardian of the wall’ (custos muri),<sup>119</sup> and Jacquet, a ‘prison guard’ (carcerarius),<sup>120</sup> who may have been the same person. Robin was a ‘servant of the guard of those who had been imprisoned’ (serviens custodis incarceratorum).<sup>121</sup> One deposition contains a recollection of an inquisitor addressing prisoners in the ‘chapel of the wall’ (capella muri), promising the grace of immunity to any of them wishing to make a fuller confession.<sup>122</sup> In another deposition, a notary visited ‘prison’ (carcer) to take down evidence from a long-time detainee who was shackled with leg-irons.<sup>123</sup> There is a certain low-life or picaresque ring to the names of the two men working in prisons, Jacquet and Robin. They are discussed further in chapter 3.ii below.

The accounts of 1255–1256 list expenditure on parchment for books and letters of penance, for the binding and covering of books, for cords for letters, and for candles.<sup>124</sup> The inquisition house contained the inquisition archive,<sup>125</sup> a depot which preserved earlier records and made them available for inspection and use, and which also was continuously

<sup>116</sup> Gui, *Practica*, pp. 15, 17, 62.

<sup>117</sup> 66<sup>r</sup>. An image of the Château Narbonnais appears on the cover of this book.

<sup>118</sup> 67<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> 274<sup>r-v</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> 14<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> 274<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> 49<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> 14<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>124</sup> Cabié, ‘Compte’, p. 126.

<sup>125</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, p. 30.

growing as it received new texts to be held in safe-keeping. Since we discussed this archive described in chapter 1.i above in our investigation of the background to the Doat copies, we re-visit it now only briefly. The archive will have been the source of the letter shown to a witness was questioned in 1279, coming from the inquisitor William Arnold and therefore before his death in 1242.<sup>126</sup> It contained those earlier registers that may have been searched both before and after interrogation. When questioning Jordan of Saissac (April 16 1278) Hugh of Bouniols made careful use of one text in the archive, a record of Jordan's earlier deposition to the inquisitor Ferrier, made May 18 1244.<sup>127</sup> The registers of depositions in front of Pons, Ranulph and the others will have been kept in the archive and used to prepare 'extracts of guilt' on the basis of which sentences were drawn up. If their procedure was like Bernard Gui's forty years later, at this point they will have checked in older registers the earlier appearances before inquisitors to which some of the witnesses confessed. They will have had a register drawn up containing the sentences they delivered, which was also kept in the archive. Here we are on firmer ground, since Bernard Gui came to consult this particular register twice, in 1309 and 1312.<sup>128</sup> The letters that appear in the register, passing between Pons of Parnac and Dominicans in the convents of Castres and Montauban, further exemplify the wide range of copies or originals of texts dealing with inquisition business which the archive will have contained.<sup>129</sup> Returning to the Toulousain with the permission of an Italian inquisitor and presenting himself to Pons of Parnac, Raymond Baussan also said he had a letter from the inquisitor, which is another example of what would have been copied.<sup>130</sup>

The middle of the century had been an exceptionally fertile period in the production of texts that helped the inquisitors in their work, conciliar decrees, papal bulls, consultations with lawyers and a question-list for heresy suspects, and in the late 1240s some material outlining procedure—including the question-list—had been put together in a manual known as the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*.<sup>131</sup> Several decades later there appeared a new manual, the *Doctrina de modo procedendi con-*

<sup>126</sup> 63<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> See below, 50<sup>r</sup>–54<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.206, 746.

<sup>129</sup> 205<sup>v</sup>–206<sup>v</sup>, 231<sup>r</sup>–241<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>130</sup> 146<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> Most conveniently found in *Texte zur Inquisition*, pp. 71–72, and translated in Wakefield, *Heresy*, pp. 252–253. See the translation below, pp. 67–70.

*tra hereticos*. Once thought to have been compiled after 1278, this is now thought to have been produced in two stages, a first recension or edition after April 1271, and a second one after 1278.<sup>132</sup>

As we shall see later, these are the textual blueprints for the inquisitorial practice shown in Doat 25–26.<sup>133</sup> The *Ordo* has a brevity that breathes practicality, and it repeats and builds on earlier documents. After a short description of citation and interrogation it turns to look at and define various categories of people involved in heresy, heretics themselves, suspects (of varying degrees), supporters, receivers, concealers and the relapsed. After providing forms of various sentences and answering some questions of procedure, it provides a question-list. This is to guide the questioning of those suspected of believing in heretics (Cathar Good Men) or Waldensians, and it is a straight copy of the question-list of the late 1240s. The last part of the 1271 edition then provides eleven forms, listed here to provide the flavour of the text.<sup>134</sup>

1. Absolution for heretics and believers returning to the faith.
2. The condemnation and excommunication of a believer who has been cited but is unwilling to appear. A specific example is given, Arnold Rigaud of Saint-Nauphary.<sup>135</sup>
3. The same for a suspect.
4. A sentence, including exhumation, on a dead believer who did not confess.
5. Sentence on a relapsed heretic, the example being James of Odars.<sup>136</sup>
6. Sentence on a heretic hereticated during the illness from which he died, with the examples of Stephen and Vernier of Séguenville.<sup>137</sup>
7. Sentence on someone who is presumed to be relapsed and who was cited but did not appear, with the example of Raymond of Mas-Saintes-Puelles.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>132</sup> The earlier stage is represented by A. Dondaine, 'Le Manuel de l'Inquisiteur (1230–1330)', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 17 (1947), 85–194 (108–111), the later by Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 202–204, whose arguments are accepted here.

<sup>133</sup> Ch. 3.i.

<sup>134</sup> *TNA*, v. 1806–1810.

<sup>135</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Villebrumier, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Montauban; Font-Réaulx, p. 1044.

<sup>136</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Montgiscard, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 997.

<sup>137</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Cabanac-Séguenville, cant. Cadours, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1079.

<sup>138</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnau-d'Aud, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 975.

8. Sentence on converted heretics who accepted usury after their oath of abjuration, with the examples of Isarn of Fontenilles<sup>139</sup> and Pons Ranga of the diocese of Toulouse.
9. Sentence of crosses and pilgrimages, imposed on a person from the diocese of Toulouse who had admitted on oath seeing and adoring heretics, hearing their sermons and believing them to be good men and to have good faith. The example was delivered by the inquisitors William Bernard of Dax OP and John of Saint-Benoît—the latter was active in 1256.<sup>140</sup>
10. Concession to put off crosses.
11. Commutation of prison to another penance, concerning someone from the diocese of Toulouse and delivered by the inquisitors Pons of Pouget and Stephen of Gâtine, April 12 1271.

These last forms emerge clearly from the inquisition in the Toulouse region, their dated elements ranging from around 1256 to 1271. The manual could have been put together shortly after its last dated element, though there is nothing else to encourage this conjecture. It could also have been put together during and as part of the re-launching of inquisition under Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac. When reflecting on this possibility it is worth recalling that the prior provincial of Paris had appointed, in Pons of Parnac, a lawyer. Most of the earlier part of the *Doctrina*, and in particular, the question-list, was a copy of material produced in the 1240s.<sup>141</sup> It is a textual and procedural parallel to the combination of new and old that we have seen in the personnel, where the new inquisitors chose to use assistants some of whose experience had also been gained in those earlier years.

Here is the beginning of the *Doctrina*. ‘This is the way inquisitors in the regions of Carcassonne and Toulouse proceed. First the person accused or suspected of heresy is cited. When he comes, he takes an oath on the holy Gospels to tell the whole truth that he knows about the crime of heresy [Catharism] or Waldensianism, both about himself and also about others, living and dead. And if he conceals or denies, he is placed and detained in prison until he confesses. However, if he tells the truth, his confession is carefully written down by a public notary. And if the person who is confessing errs when talking, he can alter himself [what he says], and his confession is corrected. After his confession, two religious

<sup>139</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Saint-Lys, arrond. Muret; Font-Réaulx, p. 931.

<sup>140</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, p. 153.

<sup>141</sup> Shown in a table below, pp. 67–70.

persons [= members of religious Orders] are summoned, and in their presence his confession is repeated to him. Once he has acknowledged this and the deposition has been done [his confession turned into a formally attested deposition], he abjures heresy.<sup>142</sup> This provides us with a taste of the directness and practicality of the *Doctrina*. It is also the most recent textual guidance available to Pons of Parnac, Ranulph of Plassac and their assistants, as they got down to their work. The part of the *Doctrina* that was most important to them when interrogating—and to us when reading the results—was the list of questions, which began thus. ‘Then he is quickly asked, did he see a heretic or Waldensian? And when, and where, and with whom ...’

The next chapter turns to a closer look at this questioning, the notaries who recorded the confessions and the men who witnessed them.

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<sup>142</sup> *TNA*, v. 1795.





## CHAPTER THREE

### INTERROGATION, NOTARIES AND WITNESSES

Doat 25–26 is a copy of a medieval text preserved by the Dominicans in Toulouse called ‘the sixth register’. The analyses presented below<sup>1</sup> take as their starting-points some of the precise features of this ‘sixth register’, as preserved in the copy. As has been shown in detail in chapter 1.iii above, this ‘sixth register’ was itself a selection and re-arrangement of texts originally contained in one or several earlier and fuller registers, whose date and precise circumstances of origin are not known. Although it is clear that some errors will have occurred when the sixth register was copied into Doat 25–26, there is always a strong possibility that such a feature as an abbreviation or omission will have been brought about at an earlier stage, when the sixth register itself was put together out of earlier materials.

#### i. *The interrogation*

Inquiring about the alleged blasphemies of Bernard of Souillac of Montauban, Pons of Parnac sought help from Raymond, the prior of the local Dominican convent. In a letter of October 11 1276,<sup>2</sup> Pons asked Raymond to carry out some interrogations on his behalf. The correspondence is recorded in Doat 25, and it includes Pons’s instructions on how to proceed:

we instruct your discretion to take the trouble to examine carefully all the aforesaid, and any others who may have been named to you, questioning them on oath, and singly and in private concerning the said articles, in our place, having always with you two of the brothers of your convent, in whose presence you may make the said examination, and a public notary to draw up what they say in writing before you; asking each about the time, place and people present, as seems fit to you, compelling them to

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<sup>1</sup> Section i of this chapter has been written by Caterina Bruschi, section ii by Shelagh Sneddon, section iii by Peter Biller.

<sup>2</sup> 230<sup>r</sup>–232<sup>v</sup>.

testify to the truth by ecclesiastical censure if necessary, returning their depositions, enclosed under your seal, to us by the bearer of the present letters.<sup>3</sup>

This letter provides a succinct version of the existing code of practice, a summary produced for a one-off inquiry. It was addressed to officials who will have been used to such proceedings, without necessarily having themselves been interrogators, and it is a useful confirmation of what we know about inquisitorial procedure in the 1270s. As we discussed above,<sup>4</sup> the manual of procedure known as the *Doctrina de modo procedendi*, was produced in two stages, after 1271 and after 1278; we are only concerned here with the first redaction. It was intended to synthesise the existing code of practice, as laid out in a manual from the 1240s, the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*, in the light of inquisitorial practices current in the Toulouse and Carcassonne regions. Though longer than the *Ordo processus*, it is still a concise manual, occupying only twenty folios in the manuscript we are using.<sup>5</sup> The two manuals and Pons's instructions to Raymond provide a description of the actions of the tribunal and shed light on the way inquisitors proceeded when carrying out an investigation.

Investigation of Doat 25–26 shows that instructions and practice did generally match. Correlation between what was laid down and what was done is most visible in the question-list. The questions put to deponents in Doat 25–26 match the question-list reported in both the *Doctrina* and the *Ordo*, as detailed in the table below. The questions might not be asked in this precise sequence, and sometimes not all of them were included, since some might not be relevant in a particular case. But a standard deposition would definitely include much of the following.

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<sup>3</sup> 232<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. 2.iii.

<sup>5</sup> Ms Vat Lat 3978, f. 17<sup>ra</sup>–38<sup>ra</sup>; question-formulary at f. 32<sup>ra</sup>–6<sup>vb</sup>.

<i>Ordo processus Narbonensis</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>Doctrina de modo procedendi contra haereticos</i> <sup>7</sup>	English translation of <i>Doctrina</i>
	Interrogatoria	
Deinde requiritur	Deinde seorsum requirentur singulariter de hiis omnibus et pluribus si videbitur expedire.	Then they should be questioned individually about all of these and about more if it seems expedient.
si vidit hereticum vel Valdensem et ubi et quando, et quoties et cum quibus, et de aliis circumstantiis diligenter.	Videlicet si vidi(t) hereticum vel valdensem et ibi [recte: ubi] et quando et quociens et cum quibus et de aliis circumstantiis diligenter et ista replica ad singulas interrogationes.	To be specific, they <sup>8</sup> (should be questioned) carefully whether they had seen a heretic or Waldensian, and where, and when, and how often, and with whom, and about other circumstances. And repeat these for each of the interrogations.
Si eorum predicationes aut monitiones audivit et eos hospitio recepit aut recipi fecit.	Si eorum predicationes vel monitiones audivit. Si eos hospicio recepit.	Whether they heard their preachings or admonitions; whether they gave them lodging.
Si de loco ad locum duxit seu aliter associavit, aut duci vel associari fecit.	Si de loco ad locum adduxit seu aliter associavit aut duci vel associari fecit.	Whether they led them from place to place, or otherwise kept them company or arranged for them to be taken or accompanied.
Si cum eis comedit aut bibit, vel de pane benedicto ab eis.	Si cum eis comedit aut bibit vel de pane benedicto ab eis accepit.	Whether they ate or drank with them, or received from them some of their blessed bread.

<sup>6</sup> *Texte zur Inquisition*, pp. 71–72.

<sup>7</sup> TNA, col. 1805. The mss of the *Doctrina* are listed in Dondaine, ‘Manuel’, p. 108 note 70. The text of the *Doctrina* in TNA corresponds to Dublin, Trinity College, Ms C.5.19, f. 166<sup>r</sup>–187<sup>v</sup>. Transcribed here is the question-list of the *Doctrina* as it appears in Ms Vat Lat 3978. Underlined letters are marked with red in the ms. See Dondaine, *Manuel*, 140–146 and 140–154 for description of the whole of Ms Vat Lat 3978.

<sup>8</sup> When using ‘they’ as a gender free singular pronoun the editors are not anachronistically ascribing gender political correctness to thirteenth-century inquisitors. Since inquisitors intended these questions for suspects of either sex and used Latin verbs that are free of gender, the gender free ‘they’ is closer to their Latin than the androcentric ‘he’.

<i>Ordo processus Narbonensis</i>	<i>Doctrina de modo procedendi contra haereticos</i>	English translation of <i>Doctrina</i>
Si dedit vel misit eis aliquid.	Si dedit vel misit eis aliquid.	Whether they gave or sent them anything.
Si fuit eorum questor aut nuntius, aut minister.	Si fuit eorum questor aut nuncius aut minister.	Whether they were their money agent, or messenger, or assistant.
Si eorum depositum vel quid alium habuit.	Si eorum depositum vel quid aliud eorum habuerit.	Whether they had their deposit or anything else of theirs.
Si ab eorum libro, aut ore, aut humero, aut cubito pacem accepit.		
Si hereticum adoravit, vel caput inclinavit, vel genua flexit, vel dixit <i>Benedicite</i> coram eis.	Si hereticum adoravit aut caput inclinavit vel genua flexit vel dixit <i>benedicite</i> coram eis.	Whether they adored a heretic, or bowed their head, or genuflected, or said, 'Bless us' in front of them.
Vel si eorum consolamentis vel appareillamentis interfuit.	Si eorum consolamentis (vel) pallamentis interfuit.	Whether they were present at their <i>consolamenta</i> <sup>9</sup> or <i>apparelamenta</i> <sup>10</sup>
Si cene Valdensi affuit, si peccata sua fuit eis confessus vel accepit penitentiam vel didicit aliquid ab eis.	Si cene Valdensi affuit. Si peccata sua fuit eis confessus vel accepit penitentiam vel didicit aliquid ab eisdem.	Whether they were present at the Waldensian supper, whether they confessed their sins to them, or received penance or learned anything from them.
Si aliter habuit familiaritatem seu participationem cum hereticis vel Valdensibus, seu quoque modo.	Si aliter habuit familiaritatem vel participationem cum heretico vel Valdensi quoquomodo.	Whether they had otherwise any familiarity or participation with a heretic or with a Waldensian, in whatever way.

<sup>9</sup> Plural of *consolamentum*, rite of initiation by which one became a (Cathar) Good Man or Good Woman, or, in the vocabulary of Languedoc registers such as Doat 25–26, a 'heretic'.

<sup>10</sup> Plural of *apparelamentum*, monthly confessional rite among the Good Men and Women.

<i>Ordo processus Narbonensis</i>	<i>Doctrina de modo procedendi contra haereticos</i>	English translation of <i>Doctrina</i>
Si pactum vel preces vel munera accepit aut fecit super veritate de se aut de aliis non dicenda.	Si pactum aut preces aut minas recepit vel fecit super veritate de se ac de aliis non dicenda.	Whether they received or made a pact or entreaties or threats about not saying the truth about themselves or about others.
Si quemquam monuit vel induxit seu induci fecit ad aliquid de predictis.	Si quemcumque monuit vel induxit ad aliquid de predictis.	Whether they advised or persuaded anyone to do any of these things.
Si scit alium vel aliam fecisse aliquid de premissis.		
Si credidit hereticis seu Valdensibus, aut erroribus eorundem.	Si credidit hereticum vel Valdense <sup>11</sup> aut eorum erroribus.	Whether they believed in a heretic or a Waldensian, or in their errors.
	¶ Et nota quod per singula querendum est de persona que agit et de eius conditionibus nomine scilicet patria, parente, etate, corporis dispositione et similibus.	And note that in each case there should be enquiry about the person in question, and about their circumstances, that is to say, about their name, country, parent, age, physical disposition, and similar things.
	Item de actu quem agit et /85 <sup>rb</sup> / et [repeated?] conditionis actus.	Item, [there should be enquiry] about the action in question, and the circumstances of the action.
	Item de loco.	Item, about its place.
	Item de ... (tempore.	Item, about the date.
	Item de assisten) <sup>12</sup> ... tibus et de conditionibus vel pertinentibus ... (circa ista quinque)	Item, about those people who were present and the circumstances, or about other matters that relate to these five things. <sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *valden*, with abbrev. *n*, expanded here to match *hereticum*.

<sup>12</sup> This corner of the folio is damaged, and little of the ink remains on these few lines. What remains is consistent with the text in TNA.

<sup>13</sup> The five: person, action, place, date, others present.

<i>Ordo processus Narbonensis</i>	<i>Doctrina de modo procedendi contra haereticos</i>	English translation of <i>Doctrina</i>
Tandem de his omnibus et quandoque de pluribus non sine causa rationabili requisitus, scriptis fideliter que de se confessus fuerit vel deposuerit de aliis, coram nobis ambobus vel altero et aliis duobus ad minus viris idoneis ad hec sollicitius exequenda adjunctis, universa que scribi fecerit recognoscet, atque hoc modo acta Inquisitionis ad confessiones et depositiones sive per Notarium confecta, sive per scriptorem alium, roboramus.	... Tandem de hiis omnibus et quandoque de pluribus ... (no ink at all here) ... nabili requisitis scriptis fideliter quod de se confessus fuerit vel deposuerit <sup>14</sup> commendetis coram nobis ambobus vel altero.	Finally, after the faithful writing down of what they have been questioned about with regard to all these things—and sometimes (not without reasonable cause) with regard to other things— you should confirm all that they have confessed or attested in the presence of two of us, or at least one.

The case of Gardouch, knight of Mauremont (February 20 1273 [1274]), can help us understand how this standard sequence of questions did indeed constitute the skeleton of most Doat 25–26 depositions. The appropriateness of selecting this among many other available cases lies in the fact that his statements are all denials. He presumably had replied with a stark ‘no’ to all the questions, making his hearing a short affair which produced a very brief record. It is this brevity which is particularly helpful to us, as it condenses the question-list into a short space.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the Tuesday before the feast of the Chair of Blessed Peter, Gardouch, knight of Mauremont, took an oath as a witness and, asked to tell the truth about the matter of heresy and Waldensianism, both about himself and about others, living and dead, said that after he had confessed to brother Bernard of Caux and his colleague, inquisitors, he did not see or adore heretics, nor did he eat or drink with them, nor did he give to, or receive from, or send to the same heretics anything of his, nor did he have any participation with them, nor did he believe that they were good men or truthful, or that it was possible to be saved through them, nor did he receive exiles or fugitives for the matter of heresy. He says the same about Waldensians. This confession, made to the said inquisitors, brothers Bernard of Caux and his colleague,

<sup>14</sup> *deposuit*.

he acknowledged to be good and true, and that he had hidden nothing concerning heresy in this confession.<sup>15</sup>

The questions in the *Ordo* and *Doctrina* related to the actions and attitudes which constituted in canon law the grounds for accusation of belief in and support of heresy. Since the 1230s—and especially in the great councils of Tarragona (1242), Narbonne (1243) and Béziers (1246)—canon law had striven to establish juridical definitions for various categories of sinful actions which had not been so precisely defined and distinguished before. These categories provided inquisitors with a canvas on which to operate in their day-to-day dealings with suspects. For example, when dealing with sympathizers, they were helped in how they were to distinguish between and proceed appropriately against those who were simply present at rituals, and those who were more actively working to advance the cause of the heretics; among the latter, how to distinguish between those mildly involved and those who were active campaigners.<sup>16</sup> The questions first of all established broadly the extent of suspicion, according to the classification found in conciliar legislation: the person who is suspect, strongly suspect, or very strongly suspect. They began with contact. ‘They [should be questioned] carefully whether they had seen a heretic or Waldensian, and where, and when, and how often, and with whom, and about others present. And repeat these for each of the interrogations.’ The questions then provided the grounds for finer distinctions among suspects, as they dealt in turn with participation in rites (and as organiser or host), action taken towards hiding and protecting heretics, and active hindering of the inquisition’s activities. Boxes were ticked or crossed for actions whose performance provided each person with a label within the terminology of the conciliar legislation. There was the umbrella-label of ‘supporter’ (fautor), and the sub-labels of ‘hider’ (celator), ‘concealer’ (occultator), ‘receiver’ (receptator) and ‘defender’ (defensor).

Let us turn to look at discrepancies between code and practice, for the things that were not standard are revealing. They can shed light upon the meaning of certain cases, on the practice of inquisition in itself and on the difficulties encountered by officials when dealing with unexpected obstacles.

<sup>15</sup> 64<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> J.H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia, PA, 2001), pp. 37–44, esp. 42–43; Maisonneuve, *Études*, pp. 330–332.



A preliminary mapping of all the Doat 25–26 depositions shows a lot of variation. Deponents were questioned and brought to trial in several different ways. In 73 out of 101 cases a witness was summoned to provide information on themselves and others. ‘The witness was sworn and questioned’ (*testis iuratus et interrogatus*) and ‘he was summoned as a suspect of heresy’ (*vocatus ut suspectus de heresi*). These formulae represent the standard witness, who was one of two types, either somebody who was to be generally questioned about heretical matters, or somebody who had already fallen under suspicion and had been summoned.

The register contains further variants. These include thirteen cases of deponents who were captured after fleeing either the enquiry or prison, ‘brought out, having been captured as a suspect of heresy’ (*adductus captus ut suspectus de hæresi*), ‘a fugitive for heresy, brought out as a captive’ (*fugitivus propter hæresim, adductus captus*), and ‘a fugitive from the prison of Toulouse, returned under safe-conduct’ (*fugitivus de muro Tholose, reversus assecuratus*).<sup>17</sup> There are seven cases of those who voluntarily gave testimony to the tribunal, either to accuse others, or in the hope of obtaining a lightening of penance, after a public declaration of the inquisitors of *tempus gratie* (a period of grace), ‘appearing spontaneously and in secret’ (*sponte et secreto veniens*), ‘appearing freely to confess, under the hope of grace’ (*veniens gratis ad confitendum sub spe gratiæ*), and ‘appearing, not summoned’ (*veniens non citatus*).<sup>18</sup> There are twenty-six cases of repeated confession, where a deponent ‘corrected’ a previous confession or statement after detention, and a further six cases of those who did this after a period of ‘reflection’.<sup>19</sup> These cases are very

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<sup>17</sup> Petronilla, wife of Daide of Bras of Villefranche; Rixendis of Mireval of Graulhet; Bernard Hugh; Raymond Hugh; John of *Torrena*; Bernard Fournier of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux; Bernard Molinier; Amblard Vassal of Arifat; Bernarda, the wife of William of Lafont; Ermengardis, the wife of the late Isarn Pagès of Blan; Bernard of Lagarde; Pons of Bagnols; Bernard of Villeneuve.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Gerald of Montgey; Jordan of Saissac; Raymond Bassier of Caraman; Peter of Beauville; Faydita, wife of Bernard of Montaigu; Irlanda, wife of William of Villèle.

<sup>19</sup> William Raffard; Peter of Beauville; Bernard of Rival; ‘Unknown deponent’; Philippa, wife of Raymond Maurel; Bernard Fournier of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux; John Clerc; Pons of Bagnols; Durand of Roussiac; Gaubert of *Aula* of Bénas; Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles; Guillelma, the wife of Thomas of Saint-Flour; Fabrisa of Limoux; Bernard Hugh, Raymond Hugh; Bona, wife of Bernard of Puy; John of *Torrena*; Raymond of Estanove; Bernard Molinier; Amblard Vassal; Stephen Vital of Baraigne; Bernard Raymond Baranhon; Bernarda, wife of William of Lafont; Arnold Cimordan; Bernard Escolau; Ermengardis, the wife of Isarn Pagès of Blan; Bernard of Lagarde; Galhard Ros; Irlanda, wife of William of Villèle; Peter Ferrol of Trébons; Peter of Laurac; Bernard of Villeneuve.

common, and they will be commented upon later. Lastly, there are occurrences of depositions where a witness was called in in order to confirm or deny accusations which sound more like *fama publica*, public fame: 'questioned specially if' (interrogatus specialiter si) and 'asked about many other words of information against him' (interrogatus super multis aliis verbis denunciatis contra eum). Examples are the witnesses against Bernard of Souillac, in the 1276 case handled by the prior of Montauban, or the squire Bernard of Lambès called in to confirm or deny allegations about the theft in the church of Pampelonne.<sup>20</sup> In such cases, the interrogation became a brief event, where only a confirmation of pre-existing statements or allegations was required.

The register includes only one case of a former fully-fledged 'vested' heretic, who had converted, William Raffard of Roquefort.<sup>21</sup> His interrogation went over six sessions, and it is distinctive. While including the standard questions about places, people and actions, it followed more than most interrogations a chronological path, beginning with William's own upbringing and family acquaintances with heretics. Not only here, but also in the cases of the Hugh brothers,<sup>22</sup> Peter Pictavin,<sup>23</sup> and Peter of Beauville,<sup>24</sup> the sheer length of the interrogations brought about differences. The cases of Pictavin and the Hugh brothers were extremely important, while Beauville and Raffard had a great deal of valuable information that the inquisitors wanted. The consequences are obvious. Once an inquisitor had a prominent member of the counter-church in front of him, or a much wanted individual, or an extraordinarily well-informed messenger, he allowed himself a lot more leeway in conducting the interrogation.

What is suggested by the data? Usually there are only variations in the sequence of questions or the opening and closing formulae, not in the general character of the questions asked, but two classes of deponents constitute exceptions. First, as already noted, there are deponents required only to confirm or deny specific allegations. Secondly, there are depositions that do not relate to 'heresy', in the meaning of the word in Doat 25–26, in other words depositions not related to what modern historians call Catharism. In the first class of exceptions—again, as already

<sup>20</sup> 242<sup>v</sup>–243<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> 12<sup>r</sup>–45<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Bernard, 68<sup>r</sup>–82<sup>r</sup>; Raymond, 90<sup>r</sup>–125<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> 248<sup>v</sup>–271<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> 298<sup>r</sup>–331<sup>v</sup>; 1<sup>r</sup>–2<sup>r</sup>.

noted—the number of questions was reduced, while in the second class of exceptions the character of the questions changed radically. Let us look more closely at the deponents in this second group.

One was Peter of Sella, of Monferrato, a follower of the order of the Apostles, known to us as Pseudo-Apostles.<sup>25</sup> Here the questioning began with and focused on his refusal to swear an oath. It ended with the inquisitor forbidding him to preach in public or in secret. In the inquisitor's mental list and in legal literature refusal to take an oath and preaching were the visible signs of belonging to this group. In addition, adapting to a deponent who belonged to a proscribed group from Italy, the inquisitor also altered the vocabulary of his first question, which was whether the deponent had seen a heretic or Waldensian. In this case he substituted for 'heretic' two words, Manichaeon and Patarene: the first a word used especially in theological treatises and the second a word more common in Italian texts to denote dualist heretics. Another deponent, Raymond of Pouts of Sorèze, was an augur.<sup>26</sup> In his case, questioning had to deal with an uncommon allegation, reading auguries, and it was complicated by the high rank of the clergymen alleged to have availed themselves of Raymond's services. These were two former bishops of Carcassonne and Toulouse, two former abbots of Sorèze and Alet, and, most extraordinarily, Gui Foulques, former archbishop of Narbonne, cardinal and later pope under the name Clement IV (1265–1268).<sup>27</sup> Another deponent was a high-ranking and cultured citizen of Toulouse, Bernard Raymond Baranhon. He was literate in both vernacular and Latin and had had connections with Waldensians, and he was questioned about Latin and vernacular books, poems in Provençal and the legitimacy of the pope.<sup>28</sup> Several deponents were 'blasphemers', people with dubious beliefs which they had declared publicly. In the case of Adémar Galos, questions were directed towards his ideas on the nature of the senses and their origin; in Isambard of Saint-Antonin's case, towards his worries about the legitimacy of offerings, use of the services of a female diviner, and objections to the length of a sermon;<sup>29</sup> in William Le Gran's case, towards what he knew about the bizarre views of Arnold of *Montiret* of Saint-Lizier;<sup>30</sup> in Gaubert of *Aula* of Bénas's case, towards his urinating in

<sup>25</sup> 218<sup>v</sup>–219<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> 272<sup>r</sup>–274<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> 272<sup>v</sup>, 274<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> 195<sup>v</sup>–201<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> 203<sup>r</sup>–206<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> 225<sup>v</sup>–226<sup>r</sup>.

cemeteries and churches and his belief in the greater relevance of farming the earth than God to the fertility of crops.<sup>31</sup>

There is also one substantial addition to standard questions. Neither the *Ordo* nor the *Doctrina* included a question about previous appearances before inquisitors: 'asked if he had previously appeared before an inquisitor and confessed'.<sup>32</sup> In the Doat 25–26 register, thirty-five people out of 101 responded to this question.<sup>33</sup> This is a large proportion, just over a third of the deponents, and it is through this question that we get to know the many earlier inquisitors that were listed and discussed in chapter 2.i above. Time and experience had led to increasing realization of the importance of establishing the earlier record, in order to ease checking in the archive, to facilitate prosecution, and to ensure the precision of the information the inquisitor had about deponents when condemning or absolving them. The interrogation of Guiraud of *Averro* of the diocese of Cahors is a case in question. His interrogation basically consisted of this one point:

Asked if he had ever confessed about heresy to any inquisitor, he said no. Asked if he had ever had penance because of heresy, he said no, nor, furthermore, had he been called to confess about heresy until now. And a certain letter of the late inquisitor William Arnold was shown to the same as it appears *prima facie* containing that brother William Arnold, inquisitor, ratified the penance enjoined on Guiraud of *Averro*, squire, that he should give 100 Cahors pounds to the poor on account of those things which were stated in the letter that he had committed in heretical wickedness. Item, it was contained in the said letter that he should do a forty-days fast in Rome. He replied that he had never seen brother William Arnold, nor Peter Sellan, nor is he so old; and he said that he regards the said letter as false, or that his name was placed in it by mistake.<sup>34</sup>

Guiraud tried to get out of trouble and avoid further questioning by playing on what he thought to be the inconsistency of inquisitors' record-keeping. In fact, he was challenged with a document, presumably

<sup>31</sup> 24<sup>r</sup>–26<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> For example, 35<sup>v</sup>–36<sup>r</sup>: Interrogatus si alias fuit coram inquisitore et confessus fuit.

<sup>33</sup> They are: an unnamed 'aforesaid witness', Durand of Rouffiac, Bartholomew Jordan of Rabastens, Arnalda of Cordes, Gardouch of Mauremont, Bona, wife of Bernard of Puy, Raymond Hugh, Bernard of Puy, Peter William of Roqueville, John of *Torrena*, Raymond Gombert of La Cassaigne, Raymond of Estanove, Bernard of Montesquieu, Bernard Molinier, Isarn Bonhomme, Amblard Vassal, Stephen Vital of Baraigne, Adémar Galos, Isambard of St Antonin, Peter Perrin, Arnold Cimordan, Peter Pictavin, Raymond of Pouts, Raymond Arquier/Baussan, Ermengardis, wife of Isarn Pagèse, Peter of Beauville, John Clerc, Arnold of Corneilhan, Guilabert of Foissac, Peter Gerald of Montgey, Galhard Ros, Lady Irlanda, Guiraud of *Averro*, Peter Ferrol, Peter of Laurac.

<sup>34</sup> 63<sup>r-v</sup>.

retrieved from the inquisitors' archives, while his deposition stands as a witness to the fact that the technique of asking about previous contacts with the inquisition could pay off, exposing possibilities of fraud and attempts to distort the evidence. Clearly, in this instance, the deposition does not match the instructions of the *Doctrina*: no questions are asked apart from this one. Guiraud's statement was requested in order to 'tidy up' the evidence regarding him and his involvement with heresy. Another case in point is that of the senior Jordan of Saissac. When Hugh of Bouniols interrogated Jordan in 1278, at several points his questions bore upon the record of what Jordan had said to inquisitor Ferrer in 1244.<sup>35</sup>

In other cases, this question could also bring to the fore (alleged) malpractices and corruption of the clergy in relation to heresy crimes. The deposition of Arnold Cimordan of Gascogne records under the same heading whether he had already had contacts with the tribunal or other inquisitors and previous wrongdoings perpetrated by other members of clergy, who had declared or promised to absolve Arnold from his sins in exchange for money. There is a case of spiritual bribery involving local clergy: Auger abbot of Feuillants, brother Raymond Sans, and Arnold Escolau, chaplain of Gascogne.<sup>36</sup>

One striking point is that roughly half of the deponents—forty-seven—appeared in front of the tribunal more than once. Usually they made two or three appearances, but the convert William Raffard appeared six times, Peter Pictavin eight, and Peter of Beauville twelve. There are a few standard formulae used to describe these subsequent depositions, and they seem to vary with some freedom. He or she 'added to his/her deposition, saying that', 'correcting him/herself, changed his/her deposition, saying that', or 'after concealing truth, declared that'. In effect, they described somebody presenting themselves back to the officials to emend their version or description of facts. These repeated depositions also tell us about what inquisitors usually did in order to obtain a 'truthful and complete declaration', imprisonment and torture. Torture has already been discussed in chapter 2.ii above, and here we confine our discussion to imprisonment.

We need first to sketch the general background to the use of detention in the particular case of heresy. The rationale behind the corrective procedure of imprisonment within religious walls is attested in Europe from the eleventh century onwards, in monasteries where sinners, who

<sup>35</sup> See the annotation to 50<sup>r</sup>–54<sup>r</sup> below.

<sup>36</sup> 220<sup>v</sup>–225<sup>r</sup>.

were deemed dangerous to the community, were isolated. Ideas of contagion may have played a part. Following the same principle, ecclesiastical courts gradually set up structures outside monastic enclaves that were able to guarantee, at least initially, isolation of suspects or offenders from their communities and therefore protection of these communities from possible damage. During the second half of the twelfth century law encouraged the development and spread of a different kind of procedure, trial by inquisition. Courts responded to the specific needs of trials by inquisition by adding temporary imprisonment. Imprisonment now had two facets, detention based on the idea of contagion, and the expedient of temporary imprisonment, in order to meet the practical requirements of trials by inquisition.

Inquisitorial tribunals were no exception to this double-faceted character of captivity, and as we have seen earlier, inquisitorial prisons are recorded in Toulouse from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards. By the 1270s captivity for the crimes of heresy was not yet a corrective measure, as it would be by the end of the century; see Boniface VIII's statement of the legitimacy of the corrective aspect of imprisonment in his *Liber Sextus*.<sup>37</sup> But it certainly was used for prevention, and most importantly it had an essential role to play in the search for truth. Here enquiry into the employment of imprisonment in the 1270s must begin with what was laid down in the *Doctrina*. After a suspect had been asked to declare 'all they know' about heresy and Waldensianism, if he 'conceals or denies, he is placed and detained in prison until he confesses'.<sup>38</sup>

In Doat 25–26 there are twenty-six deponents who are likely to have been kept in prison between appearances. In only one case were the degree and mode of detention spelled out. Bernard of Rival was kept 'in leg irons' 'for a long time', and attempted suicide while detained.<sup>39</sup> Of Esclarmonda, widow of the knight Raymond of Durfort, it was said that she was kept in the 'white tower of the Château Narbonnais'.<sup>40</sup> Otherwise, the notaries do not feel it necessary to note down details about custody. Nothing is stated about whether 'large' or 'strict' imprisonment (*muris largus* or *muris strictus*) was in question. There is no consistency in noting whether the practice suggested by manuals has been applied. We are dealing with very thorough officials, using procedure scrupulously

<sup>37</sup> VI 5.9.3; *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879), ii.1091.

<sup>38</sup> *Doctrina de modo procedendi*, v. 1795.

<sup>39</sup> 14<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> 67<sup>r</sup>.

and professionally. We are driven therefore to ask whether what we see here arises from omissions in the record we are analyzing, a copy of a register which was itself assembled from others. Or is it that consistent recording of this aspect of procedure was not yet seen as important?

One clear example of inconsistency is shown in the case of Peter of Beauville. He was 'captured contumacious', and appeared before the inquisitors twelve times between January 10 1277 (1278) and August 4 1279. It is difficult to conceive that Peter—who was eventually arrested by the officials, a messenger and deeply involved in illicit practices and acquaintances, and who ended up appearing so many times—did not endure at least some length of imprisonment. And the same has to be said about the the Hugh brothers of Roquevidal, who were at the centre of the recent revival of heresy, were arrested and tortured on the same day and deposed several times between April and May 1274.<sup>41</sup>

This lack of thoroughness in the record means we cannot do the mathematics of imprisonment and its length. When imprisonment is stated, the formula is usually just 'kept in prison', or 'taken from prison [in order to be questioned]'. There are twenty cases where at least some length of detention is spelled out. But when we try to get to grips with inquisitors using incarceration often or only rarely, several things stand in the way. The most evident is the fact that some depositions are 'follow-ups', where the first appearance is not registered in Doat 25–26. Occasionally confinement is mentioned, but it is not stated when it began. At other times our only knowledge of incarceration is the self-evident inference from the statement that a deponent has been brought out to give testimony 'from prison'.<sup>42</sup> What calculations can be done suggest a range from a couple of days to several months. When the space between the appearances of a deponent is longer, we cannot be sure that all the intervening time was spent in detention. At times, jailers are used as witnesses: this suggests some sort of familiarity and trust established between the inquisitors and their household (*familia*).<sup>43</sup>

The inquisitors who used imprisonment were Ranulph of Plassac (thirteen cases), Pons of Parnac (ten), Peter Arsieu (two), Hugh Amiel (five), and Bernard of L'Isle (two). The figure of thirty-two is more than the

<sup>41</sup> See above, ch. 2.ii.

<sup>42</sup> 5<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>r</sup>, 24<sup>r</sup>, 25<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>, 33<sup>v</sup>, 66<sup>r</sup>, 67<sup>r</sup>, 77<sup>v</sup>, 151<sup>v</sup>, 166<sup>v</sup>, 173<sup>v</sup>, 183<sup>r</sup>, 209<sup>r</sup>, 219<sup>r</sup>, 290<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>, 6<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>v</sup>, 49<sup>r</sup>, 57<sup>r</sup>, 58<sup>r</sup>, 73<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> 49<sup>r</sup>, 64<sup>v</sup>, 82<sup>r</sup>, 134<sup>r</sup>, 274<sup>r</sup>, 274<sup>v</sup>. Jailers are discussed further in sections ii and iii below.

figure of twenty-six deponents because it includes some who are 'still detained', imprisoned by one previous inquisitor and still in prison at the moment of the deposition, or re-sent to prison after a deposition by a different inquisitor, or in prison when deposing to both Pons and Ranulph. These figures do not immediately reflect varying degrees of fondness for using imprisonment—Pons and Ranulph were in charge of more hearings than the others. What the records do show is that the instructions of the *Doctrina* were followed, and that detention was effective. It was not only a mechanism for the extortion of confessions from people who had nothing to say. Deponents who had already said something had more to say in their follow-up appearances. Often in their later interrogations they admitted actions, connections and words that were in judicial terms more compromising than what they had confessed in their first interrogation.

The choice of witnesses for hearings is discussed in section iii below, but one feature needs to be noted here for the light it throws on the mechanics of the trials. The case of the former 'vested heretic' William Raffard is illustrative. William provided six depositions, taken down between August 10 1278 and January 26 1281 (1282). The first four took place between August 10 and 31 1278, a period of twenty-one days. Leading the first and crucial confession of this spontaneous convert, who had never appeared before inquisitors before, was 'Pons of Parnac, acting in place of the inquisitor', with Bernard of L'Isle as witness.<sup>44</sup> The second, third, fourth and fifth interrogations were led by Hugh Amiel, with Pons still there, but acting as a witness. He did not do this on August 31, but on that day Amiel was not alone. He was helped by a second inquisitor, the expert John Galand, and Bernard of L'Isle was a witness. It is an interesting sequence. As there are no other references to inquisitors acting in August 1278, it is impossible to ascertain whom Pons was replacing. One possibility is Peter Arsieu, who in May and June of the same year was in charge of crucial trials such as Peter Pictavin's. The suggestion is that when a matter of exceptional importance cropped up, such as the conversion and appearance of Raffard, somebody exceptionally expert was needed to handle the confession, particularly the first of the series. Then the senior inquisitor stepped back, while remaining as a witness and therefore still able, if need be, to intervene with the running of proceedings. The only time that Pons was not in attendance saw the

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<sup>44</sup> 19<sup>v</sup>.



presence of three inquisitors among the officials and witnesses, Hugh Amiel, John Galand and Bernard of L'Isle.

The network of support and training established by the Preachers within their Toulouse convent to ensure a smooth and effective completion of trials did not rely only on friars. A few deponents stated that that they had acted on behalf and in support of the tribunal, providing expertise, insider knowledge and connections in order to capture suspects. There are eight of them in Doat 25–26: Amblard Vassal of Arifat, Raymond Baussan, the squires Peter William of Roqueville and William Bernard, William of Castelnau, Peter Gardouch, Raymond Gombert of La Cassaigne and William Hugh of La Cassaigne. Their statements were not challenged, simply noted down as evidence; there is no sign of officials questioning them to see whether they were true or not. In some cases statements like these could have been a way of pleading innocence by declaring one's willingness to help. One problematic example is that of Amblard Vassal. According to his deposition of September 25 1274, authorization for him to 'catch' heretics had come from two servants of the inquisitors, presumably members of their household, Pestilhac and William Tisserand. Following his failure to catch heretics, Amblard had not dared to go back to the inquisitors, thereby automatically becoming a fugitive (*profugus*). Inquisitor Stephen of Gâtine therefore required a penalty from his guarantors, a sort of payback price for his insolvency.<sup>45</sup> Why the servants? Little is noted in Doat 25–26 about members of the inquisitors' household—the inquisitors' entourage of minor officials, armed men, jailers and confreres—and the part they took in proceedings. The role of collaborators and spies is passed under almost complete silence in inquisitorial sources.<sup>46</sup> It is therefore almost impossible to check whether Amblard's self-defense could have been grounded in actual practice, that is, if it was actually left to servants to organize and authorize this sort of hunting for heretics and informing on them. A later example from the Tuscan records of the 1330s suggests a more prominent role here for the 'companion' (*socius*), the second inquisitor.<sup>47</sup> But it is important to note the way cases like this attest the existence of these

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<sup>45</sup> 186<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> See Bruschi, *Wandering*, pp. 88–97.

<sup>47</sup> See C. Bruschi, 'Inquisizione francescana in Toscana fino al pontificato di Giovanni XXII', in *Frati minori e inquisizione. Atti del XXXVIII Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 6–8 Ottobre 2005)* (Spoleto, 2006), pp. 287–324 (320–322).

rather informal practices that could be put forward as plausible and credible excuses by deponents. However true or false in a particular case, they were credible, and this is in itself significant. No-one would have tried to escape conviction by telling a story which invoked unheard-of procedures.

There was also trading-off of information in various deals between inquisitors and suspects. The principle of leniency in exchange for voluntary coming forward and making statements lies behind the well-known 'period of peace' or 'period of grace' (*tempus pacis, tempus gratie*). As we have seen, Doat 25–26 contains several cases of voluntary deponents. Among these there is repeated evidence of deals. In four cases deponents required the assurance of absolution and lack of repercussions on themselves as an exchange for their provision of information or a full deposition. The first of them, Peter Ferrol of Trébons, 'questioned as above, under the assurance that he will not have a penance through which he will lose his body or his goods, if he has fully confessed concerning the charge of heresy before next Tuesday, added the truth to his confession, saying that'.<sup>48</sup> The second, Bernard of Lagarde of Montalzat, was persuaded to provide a complete and full deposition by Hugh Amiel, who offered an opportunity to all detainees. 'And he omitted to confess these things through forgetfulness, as he says: but he had thought more fully, because brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor, recently promised in the prison chapel the grace of immunity to all prisoners wishing to make a fuller confession up to the present day, inclusive'.<sup>49</sup> The third, Peter Gerald of Montgey, appeared 'spontaneously and in secret at Montgey before brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor, having requested grace and security from prison, and the loss of his goods, and any public and shameful penance, and obtained this, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc'.<sup>50</sup> The fourth and last one, Peter Pictavin, bargained for a similar deal in his fourth deposition of May 16 1278 when, we assume not by chance,<sup>51</sup> two inquisitors, four Dominicans and three inquisition notaries were present. 'Having received penance, and having on the preceding day obtained grace concerning the things to be confessed henceforward up to the next Thursday,

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<sup>48</sup> 66<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> 49<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> 8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> See above, ch. 2 (iii) and below, ch. 3 (iii).

that is to say, the eighteenth kalends of May<sup>52</sup>—immunity of his person and his goods, and that his aforesaid penance should not be made heavier if he wholly and purely confessed all the things which he knew about the crime of heresy both about himself and about all others, both living and dead—(he was) sworn in as a witness and required, (and) he said that ...<sup>53</sup>

An overview of the chronology of these four depositions is rather interesting. Peter Pictavin and Peter Gerald of Montgey appeared in court respectively on May 16 and June 22 1278. We know from another deposition that, before May 16 1279,<sup>54</sup> the inquisitor Hugh of Bouniols delivered a sermon in the church of Lagardiolle advertising clemency for spontaneous deponents.<sup>55</sup> Hugh of Bouniols was also collecting Pictavin's deposition with his colleague Peter Arsieu. Peter Arsieu was in charge when Peter Gerald of Montgey appeared on June 22 1278. Peter Ferrol of Trébons deposed on May 5 1279 and Bernard of Lagarde of Montalzat on May 16 of the same year, both to Hugh Amiel. All four records were ratified by the notary Atho of Saint-Victor. Evidence in Doat 25–26 seems to suggest, then, that between April 1278 and May 1279 the tribunal consolidated a policy of interaction between deponents and officials which relies on the principles of the period of grace (*tempus gratie*). Encouragement to appear spontaneously was conveyed not only through the usual means of the sermons, but also through one-to-one approaches or by addressing prisoners already detained, in the hope of a fuller deposition.

Had this been happening earlier and, if so, to what extent? These formulae had not been recorded earlier. The fact that the same notary, Atho of Saint-Victor, had been recording and ratifying depositions as early as August 25 1273 suggests that the explanation does not lie in earlier non-recording of such deals. It is more likely that these cases come from a period when policy had changed, when for a while officials were exploiting more the use of the procedures of leniency, both offering 'periods of grace' and also striking tailor-made deals with individual deponents. Although these cases were all written and ratified by one notary, the long-serving Atho, it is notable that the formula always varied. Each deal was individual.

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<sup>52</sup> Thursday May 19 1278.

<sup>53</sup> 259<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> See the Calendar of Depositions for the possibility that the year was 1279.

<sup>55</sup> As declared by lord Jordan of Saissac in 50<sup>r</sup>.

Both active co-operation in the hunt for heresy and the several ways of bargaining one's way out responded to criteria already laid out by pope Innocent IV in a letter of 1243 and by the council of Béziers in 1246.<sup>56</sup> Our examples in the 1270s were still in line with earlier papal directives for the defence of the catholic faith.

## ii. *The notaries*

As can be seen from the letter to the Prior of the Dominicans of Montauban, quoted at the head of this chapter, the inquisitor Pons of Parnac clearly considered it to be of great importance that each deposition should be properly witnessed (by 'two of the brothers of your convent') and taken down in due form by a public notary.<sup>57</sup> And indeed, the Montauban depositions were duly drawn up by Raymond of La Selve, public notary of Montauban, in the presence of the Prior of Montauban, two brothers, Vital of Caubon and Vital Gerald—and of the inquisition's own notary, Atho of Saint-Victor, who might perhaps have been sent to make sure that everything was done properly. The *Doctrina* likewise insists that each deponent's 'confession is carefully written down by the public notary ... When the confession has been done, two religious persons are called, in whose presence the confession is read to him. When it has been acknowledged [to be true] and the confession has thus been done, he abjures heresy ... And at the end of his deposition it is written thus: "These things he attested in such and such a place, in the presence of N. and N.N., inquisitors, in the presence and testimony of N. and N. and of me, N. notary, who have written this".'<sup>58</sup>

But despite this stress on the importance of taking down depositions in due form, the practice was still evolving. The depositions from the 1240s and 1250s found in Toulouse 609 end in brief lists of witnesses, such as 'Witnesses: Arnold, prior of Saint-Sernin, and Arnold Cerda, and Elias, chaplain of Airoux, and brother B. inquisitor' (Testes: Arnaldus,

<sup>56</sup> Maisonneuve, *Études*, p. 297.

<sup>57</sup> 232<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> diligenter eius confession per notarium publicum scribitur ... Facta autem confessione vocantur duae personae religiosas, in quarum praesentia eius confessio sibi recitatur, qua recognita, et sic depositione facta, abjurat haeresim ... et in fine suae depositionis scribitur sic: 'Haec deposuit in tali loco, coram tali et talibus inquisitoribus, in praesentia et testimonio talis et talis et mei notarii, qui hoc scripsi'. *Doctrina de modo procedendi*, TNA, v. 1795.

prior Sancti Saturnini, et Arnaldus Cerda, et Helyas, capellanus d'Airos, et frater B., inquisitor), 'Witnesses: A., prior of Saint-Sernin, P. Fresapan, brother R. of Foix and P. Arbert, public notary' (Testes: A. prior Sancti Saturnini, P. Fresapan, frater R. de Fuxo et P. Arbert publicus notarius), or 'Witnesses: Bernard of Ladignac, Silvester, chaplain of Verfeil, and brother B., inquisitor, and Per Fresapa' (Testes: Bernardus de Ladinhac, Silvester, capellanus de Viridi Folio, et frater B., inquisitor, et Per Fresapa).<sup>59</sup> In the last case, we know that Fresapa was a notary, so he was probably the one who took down this deposition: but this is not clear from the text. Over time, inquisitors, and their notaries, became more careful to do everything correctly. This, for example, is from one of the depositions held before Geoffroy d'Ablis in 1308–1309:

These things he attested on the aforesaid day and in the aforesaid year before the said lieutenants in a certain chamber of the house of the Brothers Preacher of Pamiers, in the presence and testimony of the men of religion brothers William of Aignan, prior of the convent of Brothers Preacher of Toulouse and vicar of the province of Toulouse, Arnold John, prior of the monastery of Prouille, Dominic, subprior of Prouille, brother Germain, prior of the convent of Pamiers, brother Sixtus, visitor of the said convent, brother Bernard of Villèle, brother Bernard Brice, lector of the convent of Pamiers, of the order of Brothers Preacher, of the noble man lord Peter Arnold of Château-Verdun, knight, seneschal of the county of Foix, of the learned man lord Frisco Ricomman, professor of laws, of master James Marquès, notary of the Toulouse Inquisition, and of me, Peter Ralph, public notary of the office of Inquisition by apostolic authority, who received and wrote the aforesaid confession and deposition.<sup>60</sup>

In Doat 25–26 we are somewhere between these extremes. The names of the inquisitor, witnesses and notary are carefully recorded at the end of most depositions, but even so thirty-six end abruptly without formalities, and for a further two, only the inquisitor is named.

<sup>59</sup> Toulouse 609, ff. 8<sup>v</sup>, 22<sup>r</sup>, 11<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> Hec deposuit anno et die predictis coram dictis locum tenentibus in quada(m) camera domus fratrum predicatorum Appamiensis, in presencia et testimonio religiosorum virorum fratrum Guillelmi de Anhanis, prioris conventus fratrum predicatorum Tholose ac vicarii provincie Tholosane, Arnaldi Johannis, prioris monasterium (sic) de Pruliano, Dominici, subprioris Pruliani, fratris Germiniani, prioris conventus Appam[iensis], fratris Syxti, visitatoris dicti conventus, fratris Bernardi de Vilella, fratris Bernardi Braci, lectoris conventus Appamiensis, ordinis fratrum predicatorum, nobilis viri domini Petri Arnaldi de Castro Verduno militis, senescalli comitatus Fuxensis, discreti viri domini Frisci Ricomani legum professoris, magistri Jacobi Marquesii notarii inquisitionis Tholosane et mei Petri Radulphi publici auctoritate apostolica officii inquisitionis notarii qui predictam confessionem et depositionem recepi et scripsi. Pales-Gobilliard, *Geoffroy d'Ablis*, p. 106.

Reasons for this apparent carelessness can be seen from the example of the Montauban depositions. For the first ones the names of the prior, witnesses and notaries are written out in full; the last few have simply: 'These things he attested in the presence of the said prior, and of the said brothers and notaries.'<sup>61</sup> No more needs to be said. We have all nine of the witnesses to what Bernard of Souillac said. We can easily see from the earlier depositions who the 'said prior, and ... the said brothers, and ... the said notaries' were.

Other cases might be imagined to be similar. The brief depositions of eight men from Burgundy and the Auvergne, none of whom has anything material to relate,<sup>62</sup> which are found early in Doat 25, are very likely to have been taken from a longer list of equally negative depositions, with the inquisitor, notary and witnesses at the end, and these names were not copied into our register. The same would seem to be true of the short depositions of Arnold of Corneilhan and Guilabert of Foissac,<sup>63</sup> or those of master William of *Rosergue*<sup>64</sup> and of Bernard of Lambès,<sup>65</sup> for example, which although containing useful information, are also short. In these cases, it would seem likely that the person who made the selection for our register from the original book(s) of confessions omitted to copy them, perhaps secure in the knowledge that anyone who really needed to know could simply go and check.

In other cases, where a whole series of substantial depositions by one witness has been copied in its entirety, it may be assumed that the witnesses of a deposition are the same as those of one immediately preceding it. Such a case is that of Peter Pictavin,<sup>66</sup> which begins with the words 'On the following day' (In crastinum). In other cases no witnesses may be included because the deposition is seen as an addition to a previous one, for example two depositions of Bernard of Lagarde,<sup>67</sup> or a mere preliminary to a longer deposition which follows, as in the case of the same witness' first deposition.<sup>68</sup> But in other cases—such two of the depositions of Peter of Beauville<sup>69</sup>—there is no obvious reason. Again,

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<sup>61</sup> 239<sup>v</sup>; similar examples elsewhere.

<sup>62</sup> 9<sup>v</sup>–10<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> 7<sup>r</sup>, 7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> 36<sup>v</sup>–37<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> 242<sup>v</sup>–243<sup>v</sup>, with the suggestive beginning 'Anno et die quibus proximis' (In the same year and on the same day as immediately above).

<sup>66</sup> 265<sup>v</sup>–266<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> 48<sup>v</sup>, 49<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> 45<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Those at 300<sup>v</sup>–310<sup>v</sup> and 319<sup>r</sup>–320<sup>r</sup>.

perhaps, we might assume that the names of witnesses could be found in the original register, but it is also possible that simple carelessness was the cause.

So, when those depositions which have no named notary have been set aside, what can we tell from what remains? Aside from the Montauban depositions, and the confession of Bernard of Montesquieu which was taken down in the inquisitor's absence by William of Puylaurens,<sup>70</sup> all the depositions in Doat 25–26 were copied by one of seven notaries: Atho of Saint-Victor,<sup>71</sup> Berengar of Vernet,<sup>72</sup> Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe,<sup>73</sup> Bernard Bonet, Peter of Vacquiers,<sup>74</sup> John of Essey,<sup>75</sup> and Peter Vital.

Atho of Saint-Victor is the notary found most frequently. He acted as scribe for a total of ninety-nine depositions, as opposed to nineteen for Bernard Bonet, fifteen for Berengar of Vernet, seven for Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, three for Peter of Vacquiers, and one each for John of Essey and Peter Vital. He first appeared on August 25 1273<sup>76</sup> and from May 1277 all depositions but two are taken down by him. Two other notaries, Bernard Bonet and Berengar of Vernet, appeared as frequently as Atho in the early part of the manuscript. Bernard was the notary for the very first deposition (May 31 1273)<sup>77</sup> and last appeared as notary probably on April 16 1274.<sup>78</sup> Berengar was first recorded on June 2 1273<sup>79</sup> and his last act as notary was, again, apparently in July 1274,<sup>80</sup> although he witnessed a deposition as late as May 16 1278.<sup>81</sup> Also appearing during this period was Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe. The first deposition to which he put his

<sup>70</sup> See p. 56 above.

<sup>71</sup> His name may originate from a village of this name, or possibly from the church of Saint-Victor in Toulouse. The *DTF* lists many places of this name. In Languedoc the most likely are Lot-et-Garonne, comm. Blaymont, cant. Beauville, comm. Blaymont, arrond. Agen, and Haute-Garonne, comm. Avignonet-Lauragais, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1074, and *Saisimentum*, p. 475.

<sup>72</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Auterive, arrond. Muret; Font-Réaulx, p. 1101.

<sup>73</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Revel, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1020.

<sup>74</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Fronton, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1098.

<sup>75</sup> The *DTF* lists many places of this name, but not in Languedoc. One not very remote possibility is in Burgundy: Côte-d'Or, cant. Pouilly-en-Auxois, arrond. Beaune.

<sup>76</sup> 17<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> 4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> 154<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> 5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> 162<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> 265<sup>v</sup>.

name dates from April 27 1274,<sup>82</sup> and six of the seven cases for he acted as scribe are recorded between then and the end of June that year; he also appeared once then as a witness. His last appearance as a notary seems to be on April 24 1275.<sup>83</sup>

The fifth notary, Peter de Vacquiers, first appeared as a witness on July 16 1274.<sup>84</sup> He acted as notary three times, on September 25 1274,<sup>85</sup> March 21 1274 (1275)<sup>86</sup> and April 24 1277,<sup>87</sup> but is mentioned as a witness on a number of other occasions, appearing for the last time with Berengar of Vernet on May 16 1278. Two other notaries appeared once only. John of Essey appeared on April 16 1278 in the deposition of Jordan of Saissac.<sup>88</sup> This took place at Carcassonne; however, he is also found in Toulouse on August 7 1274,<sup>89</sup> as a witness to a deposition of Raymond of Estanove, merchant of Puylaurens, who does not appear to have had Carcassonne connections. There he is described as 'notary of the inquisition' (*notarius Inquisitionis*). Was he perhaps a notary of the Carcassonne inquisition, in Toulouse in August 1274 on other business, or was he based in Toulouse, and perhaps the scribe for other depositions during this period that have not survived? He is a salutary reminder that we have only a fraction of the depositions held before these inquisitors.

The seventh notary is the P. (= Peter) Vital, 'notary of the inquisitor' (*notarius inquisitoris*), who took down one of the depositions of the former Cathar Good Man, William Raffard of Roquefort, on August 10 1278.<sup>90</sup> Again, the title 'notary of the inquisitor' (*notarius inquisitoris*) would suggest that this was not his only appearance. It is the first of William Raffard's depositions that he took down, at Toulouse, before Pons of Parnac, 'acting in place of the inquisitor' (*gerente vices inquisitoris*). This may have been a case of some urgency. Perhaps the regular inquisitor and notary were elsewhere, or perhaps he was someone working with Pons at the time, and brought with him from elsewhere? There may also have been an eighth notary. The master Peter of Vaure who

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<sup>82</sup> 128<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> 156<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> 172<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> 199<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> 202<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> 251<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> 54<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> 158<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> 20<sup>r</sup>.



witnessed depositions on May 8 and June 13 1274,<sup>91</sup> could have been a notary. Did the depositions he recorded simply not survive?<sup>92</sup>

The impression this leaves us with is of one full-time notary, supplemented by others as the work demanded. The greatest number of notaries appears in the earlier years of the inquisition, most notably 1274–1275, which also have the highest concentration of depositions.

When we look at the individual notaries, the first thing to strike us is the amount of experience they have of this work. No fewer than three of them—Atho of Saint-Victor, Berengar of Vernet, and Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe—appear as notaries or witnesses in records of earlier inquisitions in this region, with experience stretching back twenty or thirty years.

The notary with the most experience is Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe. He was a frequent witness to depositions from 1245 and 1246 in Toulouse 609. The name ‘P. of Dreuilhe’ (P. de Drulha) or ‘P, rector of the church of Dreuilhe’ (P. rector ecclesie de Druilha) is found on numerous occasions.<sup>93</sup> As has been said above, witness lists are so truncated in this manuscript that it is often hard to tell who is recording the deposition, but on two occasions it is quite unambiguous. We find ‘This he attested before brother John of Saint-Pierre, inquisitor; witness: P. the chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary, who wrote this’ (Hoc deposuit coram fratre Johanne de Sancto Petro, inquisitore. Testis P. capellanus Drulie notarius qui hoc scripsit),<sup>94</sup> and ‘These things he attested before brother John of Saint-Pierre, inquisitor; witness: P, chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary, who wrote these things’ (Hec deposuit coram fratre Johanne de Sancto Petro, inquisitore. Testis P. capellanus Drulie notarius qui hec scripsit).<sup>95</sup> The formulae are strikingly similar to the ‘P., chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary,

<sup>91</sup> 82<sup>r</sup>, 158<sup>v</sup>. Note that a master John of Vaure acts as a witness on 12 May 1274; 20<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> Between 20 June 1250 and 23 November 1251, a ‘P. de Baure’, ‘magister P. de Baure’, or ‘P. de Baure, capellanus’, acted as a witness to various acts for the episcopal inquisition in Carcassonne (Douais, *Documents*, pp. 122, 123, 124, 129, 131, 133 (*bis*), 140, 141, 144, 149, 151, 152, 153 (*bis*), 168). His full name, Poncius de Baure, appears on p. 185 (25 April 1252). It is perhaps a slight possibility, but it is a possibility nevertheless, that the same confusion has arisen with this man as with Peter of Vacquiers, and that this man, like so many of his colleagues, also had experience of working for the Inquisition.

<sup>93</sup> Toulouse 609, ff. 16<sup>r</sup>, 37<sup>r</sup>, 66<sup>v</sup>, 96<sup>r</sup>, 99<sup>v</sup>, 128<sup>v</sup>, 129<sup>v</sup>, 133<sup>v</sup>, 142<sup>r</sup>, 162<sup>v</sup>, 166<sup>v</sup>, 185<sup>r</sup>, 190<sup>v</sup>, 207<sup>v</sup>, 231<sup>v</sup>, 232<sup>r</sup>, 233<sup>r</sup>, 233<sup>v</sup>, 234<sup>r</sup> (*bis*), 239<sup>r</sup>, 246<sup>v</sup> (1245) and ff. 49<sup>v</sup>, 186<sup>r</sup> (1246).

<sup>94</sup> This he attested before brother John of Saint-Pierre, inquisitor. Witness P. chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary, who wrote this. Toulouse 609, f. 142<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> Toulouse 609, f. 207<sup>v</sup>.

who wrote this' ('P, capellanus Drulie, notarius, qui hoc scripsit') that he commonly uses in Doat 25.<sup>96</sup> Both these depositions are from 1245, so Ranulph and Pons in 1274–1276 were able to make use of a man with thirty years' experience as a notary. Peter is also found in inquisition records in the 1250s. 'Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe' (Petrus, capellanus de Drula) appears as a witness to cautions in Carcassonne in 1250 and to a deposition there in 1253,<sup>97</sup> while he is found twice as a witness, in company with Berengar of Vernet, in Toulouse depositions from 1255–1256, and once as a notary.<sup>98</sup>

Dreuilhe is a village in the Lauragais, south-east of Toulouse, the very area which is the source of most of the depositions in Doat 25 and 26, and it is not hard to imagine that Peter's local knowledge would have been of great assistance to the inquisitors. He described himself, and was described, as 'chaplain' (capellanus). As can be seen from elsewhere in this register, this word is commonly used for a parish priest:<sup>99</sup> in Toulouse 609 he is described interchangeably as 'capellanus' and 'rector'. In both Doat 25–26 and Toulouse 609 he describes himself both as a priest and a notary.

Another notary mentioned in Toulouse 609, and another parish priest, is Berengar of Vernet. In his first recorded appearance he called himself 'master ... of Vernet, rector of the church of Saint-Félix' (magister ... de Verneto, rector ecclesiæ Sancti Fœlicis)<sup>100</sup>—probably the village of Saint-Félix-Lauragais, in the same area as Dreuilhe. It is a description he never used again: nor did he call himself a notary, but in subsequent appearances he described himself and was described as 'master Berengar of Vernet' (Magister Berengarius de Verneto). He appeared in Toulouse 609, in the capacity of a notary, in depositions from 1253–1255,<sup>101</sup> and is also found in other sources of the same period, both as witness and notary.<sup>102</sup> He acted as notary to John of Saint-Pierre and Reginald of Chartres in 1256.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>96</sup> 89<sup>r</sup>, 128<sup>r</sup> ('notarius publicus'), 130<sup>r</sup>, 139<sup>v</sup>, 151<sup>r</sup>, 156<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> Douais, *Documents*, pp. 125 (July 4 1250), 128 (June 17 1250), 292 (May 7 1253).

<sup>98</sup> Toulouse 609, f. 246<sup>v</sup>; Douais, *Sources*, pp. 121 and 128.

<sup>99</sup> For example, 61<sup>v</sup>, 93<sup>r</sup>, 114<sup>v</sup>, 137<sup>v</sup>, 161<sup>v</sup>, 181<sup>v</sup>, 228<sup>r</sup>, 286<sup>v</sup>, 323<sup>r</sup>, 11<sup>r</sup>, 14<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> 5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>101</sup> On ff. 215<sup>r</sup>, 233<sup>r</sup>, 246<sup>v</sup> and 254<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 48, as notary in 1254: Berengarius de Une notarius qui hoc scripsit. Douais, *Sources*, pp. 121, 123, 128–129 (as notary); p. 129 (as witness); all from 1255–1256.

<sup>103</sup> Douais, *Documents*, p. clix.

Often he was accompanied by Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe<sup>104</sup> or Atho of Saint-Victor.<sup>105</sup> With twenty years' experience of working together for the inquisition, these three men must have known one another well. In none of these records did Berengar describe himself as a priest: it is possible that he only became rector of Saint-Félix between 1256 and 1273. Instead, entirely contrary to his practice in Doat 25–26, he described himself, and was described, as a notary: 'Berengar of Vernet, notary of the inquisitor' (Berengario de Verneto, notario inquisitoris),<sup>106</sup> for example, 'Berengar of Vernet, notary, who wrote these things' (Berengarius de Verneto, notarius, qui hec scripsit),<sup>107</sup> 'Berengar of Vernet, public notary who wrote these things' (Berengarius de Verneto notarius publicus qui hec scripsit),<sup>108</sup> or, as witness, 'Berengar of Vernet, notary' (Berengarius de Verneto notarius).<sup>109</sup>

Perhaps the rectorship was connected with his service to the inquisition. Dossat certainly sees him as profiting from the connection. He notes that in 1257 he and another notary, one 'master Bernard', owed the count of Toulouse eighteen pounds Tournois. Dossat thinks this was the result of the purchase of land confiscated from those convicted of heresy, as he notes that by that date Berengar already owned such land, having bought the goods of Pons *de Cunho* at Saint-Félix.<sup>110</sup> Again from Dossat we know that he was dead by 1298, and that at that date the revenue from his lands brought in the tidy sum of thirty-two Toulouse pounds.<sup>111</sup> Working for the Inquisition seems to have done him no harm.

Atho of Saint-Victor, who is so clearly the principal notary in Doat 25, was a more minor figure in the 1250s. He appears once as a witness in 1253, and again in 1254,<sup>112</sup> both times with Berengar of Vernet, and both times described simply as 'Atho de Sancto Victore'. From his later

<sup>104</sup> Toulouse 609, f. 246<sup>v</sup>; Douais, *Sources*, pp. 121, 129.

<sup>105</sup> Toulouse 609, f. 254<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> Toulouse 609 f. 215<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> Toulouse 609, f. 234<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> Douais, *Sources*, p. 121.

<sup>109</sup> Douais, *Sources*, p. 129.

<sup>110</sup> Dossat, *Crises*, p. 305. Probably Cugnaux, Haute-Garonne, comm. Villeneuve-Tolosane, cant. Tournefeuille, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 919.

<sup>111</sup> Dossat quotes from the 1298–1299 accounts of the seneschalsy of Toulouse, *Crises*, p. 305 note 138: De fructibus hereditagii magistri Berengarii de Verneto, 32 libras tolosanorum. Dossat adds that the manuscript suggests that these goods were located in the area of Saint-Félix.

<sup>112</sup> Toulouse 609, f. 254<sup>r</sup>; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 48.

appearance, it would seem likely that he was acting as a notary then, in depositions that do not survive. There are several villages from which his name may originate, including Saint-Victor, between Rabastens and Saint-Sulpice, and the origin could also be church of Saint-Victor in Toulouse. He was a cleric, and at some point entered the service of Raymond of Le Fauga, bishop of Toulouse. A papal bull of 1262 included him as a witness to the regulation of a dispute in March 1261, settled in the presence of 'master Atho of Saint-Victor, notary of the lord bishop of Toulouse' (*magistri Athonis de sancto Victore, notarii domini episcopi Tholosani*).<sup>113</sup> Designated in a later bull (May 1264) as a 'cleric' (*clericus*), he was listed among those who were reluctant to testify against Raymond of Le Fauga.<sup>114</sup> In the years covered by our inquisition register, he seems to have been working more or less full-time for the inquisition. Although in the later folios he usually simply called himself 'public notary' (*publicus notarius*)<sup>115</sup> or 'notary' (*notarius*),<sup>116</sup> and occasionally simply gave his name,<sup>117</sup> in the earlier ones he often styled himself 'notary of the inquisition' (*notarius Inquisitionis*),<sup>118</sup> or 'public notary of the inquisition' (*publicus Inquisitionis notarius*).<sup>119</sup> He was also referred to as such by his colleagues, and, as we have seen, by the public notary of Montauban. Although he never called himself 'master' (*magister*), the other notaries referred to him by this title, which had already been attributed to him, as we have seen in a bull of 1262.<sup>120</sup>

The other two notaries whose names appear more than once, Bernard Bonet and Peter of Vacquiers, were both Toulouse notaries. Bernard usually described himself as a 'public notary of Toulouse' (*publicus Tholosæ notarius*),<sup>121</sup> sometimes abbreviated to 'notary' (*notarius*)<sup>122</sup> or 'public notary' (*notarius publicus*),<sup>123</sup> although twice he used 'public notary

<sup>113</sup> J. Guiraud, ed., *Les registres d'Urbain IV (1261–1264)*, 4 vols (Paris, 1892–1958), vol. 2, *Registre ordinaire*, no. 170, tome 1, p. 67.

<sup>114</sup> *Les registres d'Urbain IV*, vol. 1, *Registre caméral*, no. 445, p. 123. On the case against Raymond, see 274<sup>r</sup> n. 18.

<sup>115</sup> 158<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> 177<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>117</sup> 208<sup>v</sup>, 324<sup>v</sup>, 328<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> 17<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> 20<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> 49<sup>r</sup>, 90<sup>v</sup>, 171<sup>v</sup>; 25<sup>r</sup>, 89<sup>v</sup>, 162<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> For example, 4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> 9<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> 19<sup>v</sup>, 165<sup>v</sup>.

of the inquisition' (publicus Inquisitionis notarius).<sup>124</sup> His colleagues mostly called him by his name, sometimes with the addition of 'notary' (notarius).<sup>125</sup> Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, called him 'master B. Bonet, notary' (magister B. Boneti, notarius),<sup>126</sup> and Berengar of Vernet referred to him as 'B. Boneti, notarius inquisitionis'.<sup>127</sup> Peter of Vacquiers described himself as 'public notary of Toulouse' (publicus notarius Tholosæ),<sup>128</sup> but also as 'notary of the said inquisitors' (notarius dictorum inquisitorum),<sup>129</sup> and even as 'public notary of Toulouse and of the said inquisitors' (publicus Tholose et dictorum inquisitorum notarius).<sup>130</sup> As a witness, he was usually described just by name, or as 'master' (magister), although once Atho of Saint-Victor referred to him as 'cleric' (clericus).<sup>131</sup> His name also gives rise to problems. In many cases he is just 'P of Vacquiers' (P. de Vaqueriis),<sup>132</sup> and in others 'Peter' (Petrus),<sup>133</sup> but in one instance he is 'Pons of Vacquiers' (Pontius de Vaqueriis).<sup>134</sup> One of these names appears to be a mis-expansion, and, although Peter (Petrus) would be the more common mistake to make, it is also the name found most frequently, and also that used in both cases where he is acting as notary. So Peter (Petrus) has been chosen, with a slight reservation that it might not be right.

There is no record of either Bernard or Peter ever having worked for the inquisition before, but both names were common Toulouse ones. Mundy mentions the Bonets as a Toulouse family, describing them as 'of modest social class' and noting a house owned by them—the 'domus dels Bonets'—rented in the late 1220s to a knightly family from out of town, called *Rocovilla* or Roqueville.<sup>135</sup> He mentions two Peter Bonets at the same period. One was a 'seller of vegetables' (olierius) and the other a 'merchant' (mercator). He also lists a Raymond Bonet who was a chapterman after November 1180, a Vital Boneti who was a 'notary' (notarius) among the consuls of Toulouse in February 1255, and another

<sup>124</sup> 63<sup>v</sup>, 64<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> 87<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> 139<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> 162<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> 251<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> 202<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>130</sup> 200<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> 177<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>132</sup> 172<sup>v</sup>, 177<sup>r</sup>, 204<sup>v</sup>, 130<sup>r</sup>, 221<sup>v</sup>, 265<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>133</sup> 177<sup>v</sup>, 202<sup>v</sup>, 208<sup>v</sup>, 251<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>134</sup> 176<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> Mundy, *Society*, p. 173.

(or the same?) Vital Bonetus between September 1272 and June 1273, and between April 1277 and September 1278. On the second of these occasions Vital is again a 'notary' (notarius). Five Bonets also took the oath to maintain the peace of Meaux-Paris in 1243.<sup>136</sup> So one or more families called Bonet are well-documented in Toulouse in the thirteenth century, and, at the period which interests us, at least one other Bonet was a notary. The name 'of Vacquiers' (de Vaqueriis) is again a Toulouse one. A Raymond (Ramundus) and a Gerald of Vacquiers (Geraldus de Vaqueriis) signed the oath to maintain the peace of Meaux-Paris.<sup>137</sup>

Although the deponents and the inquisitors were the principal actors in the drama, we have to look to others for the final selection of their words and the final form in which these words were taken down. It is the words notaries wrote that we read. It is worth taking a brief look at how they organised their material.

The first piece of information recorded is the date of the interrogation. In many the year was simply 'In the year as above' (Anno quo supra), while in others it was written out in full: 'The year of the Lord 1273' (Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio). Sometimes a date written out in full may have highlighted a change of year—possibly a later deposition by the same witness, for example—although this is not always the case.<sup>138</sup>

When it came to the day and the month, two systems were used: that of dating by the feasts of the Christian year and that of dating by the Roman calendar—counting days to the Ides, Nones or Kalends. Some notaries showed a preference for the Roman system: Berengar of Vernet, for example, used it in all but one of his depositions, as did Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe. The single depositions of John of Essey and Peter Vital also used this system. Peter of Vacquiers, on the other hand, always dated by the Christian year and Atho of Saint-Victor and Bernard Bonet used both.<sup>139</sup> The very first deposition we have of Berengar of

<sup>136</sup> Mundy, *Society*, pp. 163, 390, 410, 414, 415; 371, 375, 377.

<sup>137</sup> Mundy, *Society*, pp. 374, 378.

<sup>138</sup> The depositions are arranged more or less chronologically, from 1272 to 1281. Further depositions by the same witness are added below the first, apparently out of chronological order. If a series of depositions by a witness begins 'Anno et die quo supra' (The year and the day as above), the year and day meant often seem to be those of the first deposition of the preceding witness.

<sup>139</sup> Atho of Saint-Victor seems to have gone through phases of preferring one system to the other. He dated entirely by the Christian year until 65<sup>r</sup>, then switched to the Roman system, then back again. All his depositions in Doat 26 were dated in the Roman way except for the last deposition of William Raffard in 1281.

Vernet was dated in the Bolognese style 'the second day after the start of June' (*secundo die introitus Iunii*).<sup>140</sup> The dating was usually one of the most meticulously-copied elements of a deposition, but there were exceptions. A number of depositions, for example the second deposition of Fabrisa of Limoux,<sup>141</sup> the first and third depositions of her daughter Philippa,<sup>142</sup> and the third deposition of Bernard Escolau<sup>143</sup> started merely 'The year as above' (*Anno quo supra*), with no indication of the day; and the final deposition of Peter Pictavin of Sorèze, started 'The year of the Lord 1279' (*Anno Domini millesimo ducesimo septuagesimo nono*).<sup>144</sup> Perhaps the day has been missed out by a scribe somewhere in the chain of copyings of these depositions. But as Bernard Escolau was 'brought out from prison' (*eductus de carcere*),<sup>145</sup> suggesting that he has been kept there since his previous deposition, it seems more likely to be carelessness on the part of the original notary (Bernard Bonet and Atho of Saint-Victor). It is also interesting that although the date of Pons of Parnac's letter to the Prior of Montauban, and the date of his receipt of it, were painstakingly recorded, the depositions held as a result of it are not dated.<sup>146</sup>

If the Doat 25–26 notaries showed individual preferences when it came to the date, when it came to describing the witness they were remarkably uniform. Men were usually given two names, women one and 'the wife of so-and-so'. Raymunda Ferrier was a rare exception in being a woman with a surname, and no husband or father mentioned.<sup>147</sup> Occasionally men, particularly young men or boys, were recorded as somebody's son or brother, and this is sometimes revealing. There are lengthy depositions from both Bernard and Raymond Hugh, but Bernard was described as 'the brother of Raymond Hugh of Roquevidal',<sup>148</sup> while Raymond was called 'son of the late William Hugh of Roquevidal',<sup>149</sup> suggesting that Raymond was the elder brother. On the other hand, Bernard Raymond Baranhon was described as 'son of the late William John, merchant, citizen of Toulouse'. Here the father's name was there because of the

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<sup>140</sup> 4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> 44<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>142</sup> 52<sup>r</sup>, 52<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>143</sup> 246<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>144</sup> 271<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> 246<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>146</sup> 231<sup>r</sup> and following.

<sup>147</sup> 241<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> 68<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> 90<sup>v</sup>.

high status of the Baranhon family.<sup>150</sup> Sometimes more information will be given. One female suspect, for example, was described as 'Fabrissa, the wife of Peter Vital, joiner, who was from Limoux and now lives at Toulouse on the island of Tounis' and as 'Fabrissa of Limoux, the wife of Peter Vital, joiner, who lives at Toulouse on the island which is called Tounis'.<sup>151</sup> Limoux was relevant, as it was a known centre of heresy. Philippa, the daughter of this Fabrissa, also questioned, was introduced as 'the daughter of the said Fabrissa' and only then as 'the wife of Raymond Maurel, joiner'.<sup>152</sup> emphasising the family relationship that made her suspect.

The place of residence was recorded, and in some instances the diocese. A Toulouse-centred outlook is observable in the places of residence recorded in the depositions. Addresses within the city could be quite detailed, as in the cases of the two women mentioned above and their neighbour who informed on them, who were all specified as living on the island of Tounis,<sup>153</sup> or that of William Fournier 'who lives near the house of the Trinity'.<sup>154</sup> that this is in Toulouse was not thought worthy of mention. All the notaries appeared to be meticulous in giving their due title—'knight' (*miles*), 'lady' (*domina*), 'squire' (*domicellus*)—to members of the knightly class, and to the clergy: although in the case of the latter the information sometimes seems incomplete. The deposition of Raymond, chaplain of Cestayrols, concerning the excommunication of the late knight Peter Isarn of Cestayrols,<sup>155</sup> is followed by another about Bezersa, wife of Peter Isarn (probably a different man, perhaps the son of the preceding),<sup>156</sup> from Raymond Roque of Cestayrols, cleric.<sup>157</sup> His role in the religious life of Cestayrols was not specified, and, although Raymond was an exceptionally common name, it is just possible that these two may in fact have been the same person. The occupations of merchants or craftsmen were also noted, although not always as consistently.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>150</sup> See note to 196<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>151</sup> 43<sup>v</sup>, 49<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>152</sup> 52<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>153</sup> 38<sup>v</sup>, 43<sup>v</sup>, 52<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> 15<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>155</sup> 61<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>156</sup> There is no 'quondam' (late) or similar word to suggest that this Peter Isarn was deceased, and his wife's confinements were spoken of in the present tense. The same is true when Bezersa herself was questioned (164<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>157</sup> 62<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>158</sup> We learn, for example (189<sup>v</sup>), that Daide of Bras, whose wife, Petronilla, was questioned on 4<sup>r</sup>, was a merchant, but this fact was not mentioned in her deposition.



When it comes to the closing formulae of the deposition the same can be said. As the *Doctrina* prescribed, this is where it was usually noted that a witness took an oath and abjured heresy, or that he or she was released from a previous excommunication. Then, again as prescribed, there was a note of the place (but by no means always, and most consistently in the depositions of Atho of Saint-Victor), and the names of the inquisitor or inquisitors, the witnesses and the notary. The varying number and character of the witnesses are discussed later in this chapter, in section 3 below. Depositions mostly ended with ‘these things he or she attested before’ (*haec deposuit coram*), but there are minor variations in the formula. Where Bernard Bonet and Atho of Saint-Victor tended to speak of themselves in the first person, ‘and I, N., who wrote these things’ (*et ego, N., qui haec scripsi*), Berengar of Vernet, John of Essey, and Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, tended to use the third, or at least to use a formula which could be expanded as third person by the later scribes. There are other differences too. The Montauban depositions were recorded ‘in the presence ...’ (*in praesentia*) with the names of the witnesses in the genitive, although the later Montauban depositions tended to use the ablative in the formula ‘before the said prior, the said brothers and the said notaries’ (*coram dicto priore, et dictis fratribus, et dictis notariis*).<sup>159</sup> After this the notaries—this affects Atho of Saint-Victor, Peter of Vacquiers and Peter Vital—used ‘in the presence of’ (*in praesentia*) or ‘in the presence and testimony of’ (*in praesentia et testimonio*). After a while, however, the old practice reappeared.<sup>160</sup>

When referring to inquisitors and witnesses, the notaries were usually careful to include the appropriate title and membership of a particular religious order.<sup>161</sup> The inquisitor was usually given his full name, for example ‘These things he attested before the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors’ (*Hæc deposuit coram fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum Ranulpho de Placiacho et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus*),<sup>162</sup> or ‘These things she attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse, acting in place of the inquisitor’ (*Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, priore Fratrum Prædicatorum Tholosæ*,

<sup>159</sup> 238<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>160</sup> It reappeared in the fifth deposition of Peter Pictavin of Sorèze; 265<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>161</sup> See the suggestion in the Latin edition, 199<sup>v</sup> n. 1.

<sup>162</sup> 14<sup>r</sup>.

gerente vices inquisitoris),<sup>163</sup> but Ranulph of Plassac is often called simply 'brother Ranulph' (frater Ramnulfus),<sup>164</sup> or even 'Ranulph, inquisitor' (Ramnulfus, inquisitor).<sup>165</sup> This seeming informality may simply be due to the fact that Ranulph (Ramnulfus) was an unusual name, possibly indicating northern French origin,<sup>166</sup> but Pons (Pontius) a very common one. On one occasion Berengar of Vernet did not name the inquisitor at all, saying simply 'These things she attested before the inquisitor, and master Berengar of Vernet who wrote these things' (Hæc deposuit coram inquisitore, et magistro Berengario de Verneto qui hoc scripsit).<sup>167</sup> The notaries also varied considerably in the amount of information given about witnesses. One Dominican friar could be 'brother William of Labarthe, of the Order of Brothers Preacher' (frater Guillelmus de Barda, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum),<sup>168</sup> for example, while another was only 'brother Alexander, of the Order of Preachers' (frater Alexander, Ordinis Prædicatorum).<sup>169</sup> The names of the gaolers were discussed above,<sup>170</sup> where it was suggested that their names had a certain low-life or picaresque ring, 'Jacquet the gaoler' (Iaquetus carcerarius)<sup>171</sup> and 'Robin, servant of the keeper of the prisoners' (Robinus, serviens custodis incarcerationum).<sup>172</sup> If Jacquet is the same as the man more neutrally referred to elsewhere as 'James (Jacques) the keeper of the prison' (Iacobus custos carceris), or 'keeper of the wall' (custos muri), and also given the surname 'de Saumeri' or 'de Savineri',<sup>173</sup> then calling him on occasion Jaquet may have expressed the notary's insouciance towards a man of lowly estate and occupation.

In a handful of cases, there were additions after the closing formulae. At the end of the deposition of Peter William of Roqueville, Atho of Saint-Victor added a final statement that he seems to have forgotten to include

<sup>163</sup> 289<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>164</sup> For example, 'Hæc deposuit coram fratre Ranulpho, inquisitore' (These things he attested in front of brother Ranulph, inquisitor); 4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>165</sup> 'Hoc deposuit coram Ranulpho, inquisitore' (This he attested in front of brother Ranulph, inquisitor); 5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>166</sup> See the discussion of Ranulph and his origin above, p. 50.

<sup>167</sup> 60<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>168</sup> 4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>169</sup> 5<sup>r</sup>. Both these examples are from depositions copied by Bernard Bonet.

<sup>170</sup> See above, p. 59.

<sup>171</sup> 14<sup>v</sup>, 49<sup>r</sup>, 66<sup>r</sup>, 67<sup>r</sup>, 82<sup>r</sup>, 134<sup>r</sup>, 170<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>172</sup> 64<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> 'Iacobus custos carceris' (48<sup>r</sup>), 'Iacobi custodis muri' (289<sup>v</sup>); 'Iacobi de Saumeri, custodis muri' (274<sup>r</sup>), and 'Iacobi de Savineri, custodis muri' (274<sup>v</sup>).

earlier. 'These things he attested at Toulouse before the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Item, he said that nowhere else did he see heretics, nor did he ever commit any other act of heresy.'<sup>174</sup> Likewise, the deposition of Bernard of Montesquieu ended with an extra witness, included after the name of the notary. '... and master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote these things; and William of *Contour*, the Lord King's procurator for forfeitures for heresy, was also a witness of all the aforesaid'.<sup>175</sup> It is quite possible that William's position after the main list of witnesses reflects his importance (see below, section iii), but it may well simply be the case that he had been forgotten.

The witness took an oath to tell the truth about any involvement with heresy on their part or that of others. This was often recorded simply as 'sworn in as a witness and questioned', but could be more elaborate: 'asked to tell the truth about herself and others, living and dead, concerning the crime of heresy and Waldensianism, sworn in as a witness'<sup>176</sup> for example, or 'sworn in as a witness and, asked to tell the truth about the matter of heresy and Waldensianism, both about himself and about others, living and dead'.<sup>177</sup> Second and subsequent depositions often omitted the oath, starting with a phrase like 'the aforesaid Pons of Bagnols, brought out from prison, corrected himself, saying'<sup>178</sup> or 'the aforesaid Bona added to her confession, saying'.<sup>179</sup>

There then followed a series of questions, usually following those prescribed in inquisitors' manuals such as the *Doctrina*, as has been described in section i above on procedure. Where the answer was in the negative, this was often recorded in words such as 'he said that he never saw heretics except captured, nor did he eat or drink with them, nor did he give or send them anything, nor did he deposit anything with them, nor did he receive anything from them, nor does he believe that they are good men or truthful, or that they have a good faith, nor did he hear their preaching, nor did he ever have any dealings with them'.<sup>180</sup> It is rare to find exactly the same formula twice: it is clear that, in the record, a few words sufficed for the whole.

<sup>174</sup> 133<sup>v</sup>-134<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>175</sup> 162<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>176</sup> 55<sup>v</sup>-55(bis)<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>177</sup> 64<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>178</sup> 57<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>179</sup> 87<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>180</sup> 202<sup>r-v</sup>.

Where the witness did confess to involvement with heretics, the notary usually organised the information he or she provided into paragraphs, starting 'Item, he *or* she said' (Item dixit) or 'He *or* she also said' (Dixit etiam) and ending with the date. Often a hierarchy can be seen, with 'Item, he *or* she said' (Item dixit) starting a new point, and 'He *or* she also said' (Dixit etiam) introducing related material, or the answer to a follow-up question. But this is not always the case, and it seems to vary with the notary. Atho of Saint-Victor and Berengar of Vernet usually structured their material this way, but Bernard Bonet was much more inclined to use the two phrases indiscriminately.<sup>181</sup>

Another feature of the organisation of these texts that shows that they were copied into their final form some time after the original deposition was made, is the occasional cross-reference to another deposition. In the deposition of Bartholomew Jordan of Rabastens, for example, his account of going with a friend, Durand Barrau, to hear Cathars preaching, was interrupted by the comment 'The aforesaid Durand Barrau, asked about the time, said that it was fully forty years ago, or thereabouts'.<sup>182</sup> We do not have the deposition of Durand Barrau, but it must have been taken, and checked against his friend's. Bernard of Lagarde, knight, was gradually worn down from an initial position of refusing to admit anything, and his fourth deposition ended with the words 'Item, he added that he believes that he had adored the aforesaid heretics a second time, as Bernard of Lagarrigue says—but more the same witness did not recall'.<sup>183</sup> Bernard of Lagarrigue was one of the heretics he claims to have adored. A former elder son (*filius maior*) of the heretics of Albi, he converted and worked with the inquisitors, who employed him as a servant. Later he was a central figure in an alleged plot, perhaps revealed in confessions of 1285 preserved in Doat 26, to steal registers of inquisition in Carcassonne.<sup>184</sup> William Raffard, in his depositions, lists people who came and adored him, and one such list, mentioning the name of Bernard Cerier, contains the note: 'There the aforesaid Bernard Cerier, however, retracts that adoration, but he confesses that he adored him in the said uncultivated land'.<sup>185</sup> The inquisitors also checked references made by witnesses to members of their own order. Raymond Bassier of Caraman, asked why

<sup>181</sup> See, for example, the third deposition of Fabrisa of Limoux (49<sup>r</sup>), where he used 'She also said' (Dixit etiam) throughout.

<sup>182</sup> 35<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>183</sup> 48<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>184</sup> See below 309<sup>v</sup> n. 56.

<sup>185</sup> 18<sup>r</sup>.

he had not come forward earlier with some information about two noble sisters called Nicola and Navarra, 'said because Raymond William of Francarville, esquire, told him that it was not necessary for him to come, because the same Raymond William would mention it to brother Bernard of Villèle, of the Order of Preachers, and that would be as good; and brother Bernard of Villèle says this'.<sup>186</sup>

We turn now to questions. While content and managing of interrogation has been investigated and analysed in section i above, our narrower concern here is with how notaries recorded questions. The questions of the inquisitor were not usually written out, but they can sometimes be glimpsed behind what was written. Raymond Arquier, for example, brought up by his aunt Rixendis Baussan, a Cathar Good Woman, admitted that at that time 'he often ate and drank with her, and he often accompanied her'.<sup>187</sup> These particular aspects of living with a person (as opposed to, say, sleeping in the same house) were of significance for identifying his level of involvement with Catharism, so were clearly made the subject of special questioning. And Bernard Barra of Sorèze, who was anxious to present himself as a scourge of heresy (he starts his deposition by saying that he was in the service of the chaplain of Sorèze 'who was a prosecutor of heretics'), reported that he had seen heretics and others entering the house of Adam Barta—'but the same witness did not enter that house, nor did he see them with the said heretics'.<sup>188</sup> clearly a response either to overt questioning, or to a knowledge of the questions the inquisitors would ask. In other cases the witness's influence can be glimpsed. In the deposition of Amblard Vassal of Arifat, for example, each item tends to start with 'Item, he said that eight days or thereabouts after that'<sup>189</sup> or 'Seven years or thereabouts after this, indeed'<sup>190</sup> or the like: as the notaries tend to put dates at the end, the witness seems to be working his way through his testimony chronologically.

But sometimes questions were actually included in the depositions. When and why was this done? Nothing in our register is cut and dried, but we can nevertheless find some pointers to their use.

<sup>186</sup> 230<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>187</sup> 275<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>188</sup> 292<sup>v</sup>, 294<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>189</sup> 183<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>190</sup> 184<sup>r</sup>.

Firstly, sometimes the inquisitors or notaries wished to record that a thing was explicitly asked, for example: 'Asked especially and expressly whether the same witness knows or believes that the aforesaid Raymond of Durfort, his father, was hereticated in the illness of which he died'.<sup>191</sup> The future reader of the deposition (imagined as some future inquisitor or notary) is made aware that this point was made an issue in the questioning.

This is very noticeable in those depositions where the witness was responding to the accusations of others. A good example is the first deposition of the Fabrissa mentioned above,<sup>192</sup> who was accused of heretical comments and behaviour by her neighbour, Guillelma, whose deposition appears just before.<sup>193</sup> We have the evidence of Guillelma, accusing her of saying that the devil made man, but that he could not speak until God breathed into his mouth, and telling her that the child she was carrying was a devil and that she should pray to be rid of it, etc. This deposition, then, is a series of questions and answers. The various accusations were put to Fabrissa and she steadfastly denied them all. In this sort of record, the inquisitors would naturally want a record of exactly what the witness denied, in case she changed her mind later.

In one deposition, that of Peter Eugrin,<sup>194</sup> we know that questions were asked that were not recorded. The witness denied all knowledge of heresy, and then, 'asked about many other words of information against him', revealed that his wife had claimed to have had visions of St James, who instructed her on the fate of the dead before judgment. This was clearly not the only accusation made against him, but, for some reason, it was decided that the others were not worth including. Perhaps it became clear that they were malicious lies, or perhaps when the copy was made of the original register, the inquisitors knew that they were only interested in Peter on this one point.

In other cases questions seemed to beget questions. If one point was recorded as a question, it was harder to slip back into narrative mode. So points which in other testimonies often formed part of narrative sections, such as the time, whether the witness knew anything more about heresy, and why he had not confessed before, appeared in response

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<sup>191</sup> 66<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>192</sup> 43<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>193</sup> 38<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>194</sup> 217<sup>v</sup>.

to questions.<sup>195</sup> It is also possible that in some cases a stylistic preference was involved.

The individual notary who was at work could have particular traits which affected other aspects of the record. An inexperienced notary, for example, might record the interrogation more as it took place. The deposition of Petronilla, the wife of William of Castanet of Verfeil,<sup>196</sup> for example, is one of the earliest depositions in our register (June 25 1273) and was recorded by Bernard Bonet, one of the notaries who did not appear in earlier material. Its structure is unusual, recording as a series of questions and answers Petronilla's admission that she had seen two heretics in her husband's house, that she had eaten and drunk with them, that she had adored them there and elsewhere, and so forth: information that would normally be organised into a series of paragraphs. It may be that the inquisitors, for some reason, wanted it made quite clear that she said these things in response to questions; but it is also possible that Bernard was inexperienced, and wrote out more questions than were necessary.

The Latin of the notaries comes across as the standard legal language of the day, used with skill and accuracy. The legal background can be seen in the concern for identifying people—words like 'the said' (*dictus*), 'aforesaid' (*prædictus*), 'the same' (*ipse* and *idem*) are everywhere, and names are usually followed by a parenthesis—N, the said witness's brother, Y and Z, his companion, heretics, and so on. A common linguistic background seems to have been shared by the notaries: found in phrases like 'many times, and so many times that he does not remember' (*multotiens, et totiens quod non recordatur*), for example, or 'in the illness from which he died' (*in infirmitate de qua obit*). Alongside this was a standard inquisitorial vocabulary: 'heretic' (*hæreticus*) for a Cathar Good Man for example, or verbs like 'saw' (*vidit*), 'adored' (*adoravit*), 'led and accompanied' (*duxit et associavit*), drawn from the thesaurus of words and phrases used in the categories of different levels of involvement with heresy that were discussed in section i above. Such a vocabulary will have made it easier for notaries to take notes at speed, while allowing the inquisitor to see instantly exactly what the witness was attesting or confessing to, and providing key words to make future searching of the register easier. This manner of recording can make the

<sup>195</sup> As in the deposition of Raymond Gombert of La Cassaigne; 147<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>196</sup> 6<sup>r</sup>.

depositions rather clumsy and static. Petronilla, wife of William of Castanet, for example ‘said that she saw two heretics in the house of the said William, her husband’,<sup>197</sup> where the heretics were seen in the house, rather than coming there, or being invited there, for example, or as in Peter of Beauville’s ‘Item, he said that in the aforesaid house of Bernard and Arnold Fournier, brothers of Barelles, he saw there with the aforesaid persons who were there William Barrau of Villefranche, adoring Pons of Sainte Foy, Bernard Colomb and Peter of Prat, heretics, and hearing their preaching’,<sup>198</sup> where the emphasis was not on what the others did, but on what Peter had seen them do. It was essential to the inquisitors that the notaries were precise about what exactly had been seen, and what just surmised.

Another possible influence on the notaries—or, indeed, the witnesses whose speech they are recording—is the Latin of the Church.<sup>199</sup> Often direct speech was preceded not by a simple ‘said’ (*dixit*) or similar, but by some phrase such as ‘*alloquta est eam, dicens*’ (she spoke to her, saying), ‘*et iterum interrogavit eam, dicens*’ (she questioned her again, saying)<sup>200</sup> or ‘*et respondit, dicens*’ (he answered, saying).<sup>201</sup> These are reminiscent of such gospel passages as ‘*et interrogabat discipulos suos, dicens*’ (and he questioned his disciples, saying)<sup>202</sup> or ‘*docebat eos, dicens* “*Beati pauperes spiritu*”’ (he taught them, saying, ‘Blessed are the poor in spirit’).<sup>203</sup> Words such as ‘*summo diluculo*’ (very early in the morning), too,<sup>204</sup> may be reminiscent of gospel passages, in this case ‘*valde diluculo venerunt ad monumentum*’ (very early in the morning they came to the sepulchre).<sup>205</sup> The language of the gospels, relayed through preaching and the liturgy, was a familiar part of everyday culture, and shaped the way these notaries thought and wrote.

Elsewhere the notaries use Latin that seems to us to be surprisingly ‘classical’. Atho of Saint-Victor, for example, uses the supine of purpose—‘*heretici exiverunt extra ad ortos loqutum cum eo*’ (the heretics went outside into the gardens to speak with him),<sup>206</sup> and Berengar of Vernet

<sup>197</sup> 6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>198</sup> 327<sup>v</sup>–328<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>199</sup> In the following we cite Latin first, followed by translation.

<sup>200</sup> 39<sup>v</sup>–40<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>201</sup> 74<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>202</sup> Mt 16:13.

<sup>203</sup> Mt 5:2.

<sup>204</sup> 253<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>205</sup> Lk 24:1.

<sup>206</sup> 81<sup>r</sup>.



uses the accusative of place to which, ‘et tunc, iens Vaurum vidit prædictum Olricum’ (and then, going to Lavour, he saw the aforesaid Olric),<sup>207</sup> and the locative ‘et stabat Tholosæ apud Salvetatem’ (and she lived at Toulouse at the ‘salvetat’), both of names of places.<sup>208</sup> But for the most part, the notaries write the standard Latin of their day, more or less well.

Vernacular influences can sometimes be seen, in both structure and vocabulary—understandable, when one thinks that the notaries were translating at speed. When Bernard Bonet wrote of a man ill-treating a woman, ‘dragging her by the hair right through the house,’ the words he used were ‘rossegando per capillos’.<sup>209</sup> ‘Rossegare’ is an Occitan verb, hastily Latinized—giving us a glimpse of the notary’s—or the witness’s—native language visible behind the Latin.

When the inquisitors/notaries wished to record a person’s exact words direct speech was often used. Sometimes it would seem that the overheard words were unclear, or capable of more than one interpretation, and the inquisitors wished to leave as little ambiguity as possible, or to know, for future reference, exactly what had been said, but many examples are very effective as dialogue. Again, perhaps, a sense of style intruded: it is perhaps not impossible that in many cases pithy sayings or snappy dialogue were recorded partly or wholly for effect, to enliven an otherwise dry narrative. There was also the matter of convenience. Particularly with questions, it was much easier to report things as direct speech. There was no worry over sequence of tenses, or where to use the subjunctive. It is also probable that much of the direct speech we have survives because it was simpler and quicker to write the dialogue like that.

The language of reported speech is quite different from that of the main narrative, and must have incorporated many features of Occitan. One woman, for example, speaks to another, saying ‘Amica mea, vos estis de Lombardia?’ (‘My friend, are you from Lombardy?’).<sup>210</sup> She addresses her politely, using the second person plural, and Occitan influence can be seen in the words ‘amica mea’ and the unclassical question form ‘vos estis de Lombardia?’

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<sup>207</sup> 117<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>208</sup> 122<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>209</sup> 57<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>210</sup> 39<sup>v</sup>.

However, it should not be forgotten that this is not what the witness said—it is in Latin, not Occitan, and in Latin made from hasty notes by a native Occitan speaker, who might remember things in the same language but in slightly different words. The notary's legal and classical training also sometimes intrudes in the addition of a tell-tale 'predictus' (aforesaid) or 'idem' (the same): for example in such words as 'Bene poteratis scire quod non celaret vos Arnalda Darassa de verbis prædictis' (You could have known that Arnalda Darassa would not keep quiet about you with regard to the aforesaid words),<sup>211</sup> or 'Domina Arnalda, non est alia via salutis, nisi illa quam dixit nobis prædicta Raymunda' (Lady Arnalda, there is no other way of salvation than the one which the aforesaid Raymonda told us).<sup>212</sup>

The same problems arise with the fragments of actual Occitan that survive. Often these seem to have been deliberately preserved. The titles of the books belonging to the Waldensian, Bernard Raymond Baranhon, for example,<sup>213</sup> were carefully noted down. This scrupulousness extended to the incipit of some anti-Catholic *coblas* he knew, and their authorship was also enquired into. Also left in the vernacular were the quotations from the vernacular gospel which he used to justify himself. Here we perhaps see the anxiety of the inquisitors to produce an accurate list of works of heretical literature, or to record possible mistakes, leading to error, in the Waldensian scriptures.

Other examples would seem to indicate a scrupulousness about what exactly was meant. In one witness's reporting of what another man had said, that a third man 'erat homo in quo "se podia hom fizar"' (He was a man in whom 'one could have faith'), for example,<sup>214</sup> the deposition continued that by this was meant that he was a friend and believer of the heretics. This may have been an inference by the witness, or perhaps the witness was asked to clarify his statement—either way it was an addition to what the Occitan words said. Similar were the words reportedly said to Bernard Barra of Sorèze by another man, when he was summoned by the inquisitors: 'Pros hom, vos a votz dias, no fassatz mal a vostres besins' (Worthy man, during your days don't do wrong to your neighbours).<sup>215</sup> Bernard took this as a plea from the other man not to inform against

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<sup>211</sup> 57<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>212</sup> 56<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>213</sup> 196<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>214</sup> 99<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>215</sup> 296<sup>r</sup>.

him—but again, that is not what he actually said. Additionally, in this case, the words sound as though they may be a proverb or local saying, which may also influence their being left in the vernacular. In other cases simplicity again seemed to be an issue. At one point in a very long deposition (one of Raymond Hugh's), the lightly Latinized Occitan 'evaserat per forsam de corer' (He had escaped by dint of running) was left.<sup>216</sup> It is tempting to wonder if the Occitan survived because the notary (Berengar of Vernet) was tired, and perhaps unsure of the correct Latin construction.

As with the question of the direct speech in Latin, the question of whose Occitan was being recorded here arises. This was not necessarily exactly what the witness said, but what the notary, like the witness a native Occitan speaker, remembered of what he or she said. In many cases it is what the notary remembered of what the witness remembered of what somebody else had said years ago: an elaborate game of Chinese whispers.

### iii. *The witnesses of the depositions*

In the following discussion, 'witnesses' denotes not the deponents but the attesting witnesses listed by the notary at the end of the deposition, in accordance with long existing practice and the instructions of the *Doctrina*. Here we are looking only at who these witnesses were and how they were selected

Altogether in the register there are about 114 men named as witnesses, and these can be put into various groups. The largest group were ordinary Dominican friars who cannot be traced in other records.<sup>217</sup> There are other friars whose assignments to studies, particular convents and offices are recorded in the Acts of the Provincial Councils.<sup>218</sup> Some friars were

<sup>216</sup> 105<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>217</sup> William of Labarthe, Alexander, Arnold Gervase, John Dulcis, Arnold Pica, Peter Barrau, Tolsan, William Pierre of Toulouse, Peter Ferrand, Arnold Aucard, Arnold, Ranulph William, Raymond Arrin, Raymond of Lafont, Bernard of Villèle, Peter Raymond, Bernard of L'Isle, John Falgous, Bernard of *Monte Cathedra*, Arnold Archimbaud, Amiel of Blan, Peter Escriva, Peter of Laures, Pons of Prat, Raymond of Laroque of the Agenais, Arnold of Valcabrière, John of Saint-Germier, James of *Cunno Faverio*, James Loutrier, Raymond William of Saint-Félix, and Vital of Caubon of the Montauban convent. See above, p. 57, on the estimate of witnesses as around 114.

<sup>218</sup> Bartholomew of Arcagne, Vital of *Vassaron*, Raymond William, Elias, Elias Manha, Daurde, Peter Vital, William of Plaigne, William of Montclar, Peter Feltrier, Arnold John, Aimery Barrau, Arnald Talharic, John of Aspremont, Arnold Vascon.

to have notable later careers.<sup>219</sup> There were friars designated as lecturers in convents.<sup>220</sup> High among these was William of Saint-Geniès, later described by Bernard Gui as an 'extremely learned man and a serious and famous lecturer'.<sup>221</sup> Even more famous was Bernard of Trilia (La Treille).<sup>222</sup> When he appeared as a witness in May 24 1274 he was the theology lecturer of the Toulouse convent, and he had already been lecturer at the convents of Limoges, Montpellier, Carcassonne, Avignon, Périgueux, Bordeaux, Narbonne, Marseilles and Cahors. Another spell at Toulouse lay in the future, as well as other high offices in the province. He wrote a great deal, and still extant manuscripts contain his six *Postils* on books of the Old Testaments, three collections of *Disputed Questions* and one of *Quodlibetic Questions*, and sermons.<sup>223</sup> Though some of these related to his theology lectureships, one work which he is thought to have written between 1263 and 1266 will have been connected with his teaching Arts texts to young Dominicans. This was his *Questions on the Sphere of Sacrobosco*, which dealt with such problems as the necessity to introduce epicycles and eccentrics, and how to explain the movements of the fixed stars.<sup>224</sup> Alongside these theologians there were also the most senior Dominicans in rank, former and present priors both of the Toulouse convent and many others in the province, including Carcassonne, Castres, Orthez, Avignon and Auvillar.<sup>225</sup> These included the retired inquisitor Pons of Parnac.

Other religious included the abbot of Gaillac, two brothers of the Order of Grandmont, and the Guardian (equivalent of prior) of the Franciscan convent of Toulouse.<sup>226</sup> Secular clergy included parish priests and chaplains, William Rotond of the church of the Dalbade in Toulouse,

<sup>219</sup> Peter Raymond Baranhon, Raymond Aimery, Vital Gerald of Montauban, Pons of Mourières, Adémar of Saint-Paul, Arnold *del Gras*.

<sup>220</sup> Bernard Guiraud, Raymond Mans, Raymond Guilbert, Vital of *Valle Seron*, Guiraud of Montauban.

<sup>221</sup> Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 86: optime litteratus, lector sollempnis et famosus.

<sup>222</sup> We have left Bernard as 'of Trilia', since this is how he appears in modern histories of scholastic thought. Bernard was from Nîmes. The *DTF* lists eight places in southern France called Latreille.

<sup>223</sup> *SOPMA*, i. 234–237, iv.53.

<sup>224</sup> L. Thorndike, *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and its Commentators* (Chicago, 1949), pp. 25–26.

<sup>225</sup> Peter Arsieu, Peter Rey, William of Puy, Peter of the Ispani, Ermengaud, Bernard of Boussagues, Michael, Hugh Amiel, Peregrine, Ermengau Lauterii, Raymond of Caubous, Peter Vascon, Raymond Sicre.

<sup>226</sup> Hugh of Aragon and Hugh of Born, of the Grammontine Order; Raymond of Esqualquens, Guardian of the Friars Minor.

William and his co-priest Aimery, of the parish of Guitalens, Peter Aymais, chaplain of Montgey, Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, and a chaplain from Gascogne, Peter Bonet.

Peter of Dreuilhe was among the notaries analysed earlier in this chapter, alongside Bernard Bonet, Berengar of Vernet, Atho of Saint-Victor, Peter of Vacquiers and John of Essey,<sup>227</sup> and all of these were recorded as acting as witnesses while another notary wrote. Guards and their assistants in prison acted as witnesses, James of *Saumeri* (otherwise Jaquet) and Robin. Several witnesses had the formal academic title of Master.<sup>228</sup>

There were two further witnesses of striking individuality and importance, both of whom were discussed above. Here we should note the experience and outlook that was brought into the interrogation room by the presence of Sicard Lunel and Master William of Puylaurens. The significance is transparent obvious in the case of the former Cathar Good Man, Sicard Lunel.<sup>229</sup> He had lived the life of a Good Man, participating in its observances and rites. A suspect who was being questioned was replying in the intimidating presence of someone who had in his mind vast miscellaneous knowledge of the families of believers and supporters derived from these years as an itinerant Good Man, when he was tramping the roads from one set of believers to another.

When trying to grasp the significance of the presence of William of Puylaurens among the witnesses, we need to bear in mind both the general span and also the core of the *Chronica* that he was completing during these same years, in the early to mid-1270s.<sup>230</sup> The *Chronica* described the rise and fall of heresy in Languedoc. In many ways its last two chapters parallel the account of the political background to the register that was

<sup>227</sup> Ch. 3.ii.

<sup>228</sup> John of Vaure, Peter of Vaure.

<sup>229</sup> See above, pp. 56–57.

<sup>230</sup> On William, see the introductions to Duvernoy, Puylaurens, *Chronique* and Sibly, *William of Puylaurens*. Born probably before 1200, William was attested from 1237 as parish priest of Puylaurens. He acted for bishops of Toulouse, first being seen as the bishop's notary in 1241. He is attested as chaplain to the count of Toulouse between 1245 and 1248, and, as we have already noted, he acted as an inquisition witness in 1253–1254. As an old man, in the early to mid-1270s, he was bringing to an end his *Chronica*. This opens with an account of the strength of heresy that emphasises the role of knights in its support. Although it stretches far back chronologically—there is a chapter to St Bernard of Clairvaux's preaching against heresy at Verfeil in 1145—the chronicle's main part deals with the first seventy years of the thirteenth century. It is structured around the events which begin with the Albigensian crusade and it concludes with the events of the early 1270s.

given in chapter 2.ii above.<sup>231</sup> In the penultimate chapter the headline events were the deaths of the childless Alphonse of Poitiers and his wife and the consequent passing of the county Toulouse into the hands and to the direct rule of the king of France, and the election of Gregory X after a long vacancy. The final chapter concluded with Philip III's suppression of the rebellion of the count of Foix, aided by Eustace of Beaumarchais. In other words, the courtroom sometimes contained a man of high administrative experience, probably in his early seventies. He had an olympian overview of heresy and Languedocian political history, and in all likelihood a very sharp grasp of the relationship between suppression of heresy and assuring the loyalty of the nobility to the crown.

Finally, there were some secular officials. One deposition was witnessed by Raymond Boer, *bailli* of Lavaur. Discussed in chapter 2 above were William of *Contour*, 'the Lord King's procurator for forfeitures for heresy', and William of Concots, 'procurator', who may also have been a 'procurator of forfeitures'; they may have been the same person.<sup>232</sup> A number of names appear of men whose status or office is not specified. They were not noted as religious or seculars or holding any of the offices directly connected to the Church or to inquisition. The possibility needs to be entertained that people like Perrin of Monède, Constantine of l'Estelle, Raymond of Moulins, and Vital Faure were lay officials, in some cases perhaps from among those northern French officials whom Alphonse of Poitiers had brought down to Languedoc.

As we turn now to try to discern patterns in the numbers and choice of witnesses, we leave to one side one particular feature of the selection of witnesses that has already been analysed in section i above, using as an example the case of the important deponent William Raffard, which showed the allocation of another inquisitor to the ranks of witnesses as a way simply of having more experience in the room. Let us look first at numbers. Most depositions were attested by two or three witnesses and the notary, with two plus notary being slightly more frequent than three plus notary. Sometimes there was only one witness alongside the notary.<sup>233</sup> Occasionally there were four,<sup>234</sup> and on four occasions

<sup>231</sup> See above, pp. 41–48.

<sup>232</sup> The possibility of the two Williams being one person is discussed below, 161<sup>v</sup> n. 5.

<sup>233</sup> 4<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>, 17<sup>v</sup>, 19<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup>, 58<sup>v</sup>, 63<sup>v</sup>, 64<sup>v</sup>, 118<sup>r</sup>, 119<sup>r</sup>, 130<sup>r</sup>, 134<sup>r</sup>, 212<sup>r</sup>, 214<sup>r</sup>, 217<sup>r</sup>, 221<sup>r</sup>, 224<sup>v</sup>, 228<sup>v</sup>, 291<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>234</sup> 67<sup>r</sup>, 78<sup>r</sup>, 139<sup>v</sup>, 147<sup>r</sup>, 151<sup>r</sup>, 158<sup>r</sup>, 199<sup>v</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>.

there were five;<sup>235</sup> just once there were six.<sup>236</sup> When—as in most of the register—the interrogation was taking place in Toulouse, the extra witnesses were very usually from the inquisitor's own household, in particular from the notaries, and the reservoir of friars in the convent.

The recurrence and actions of the selected friars casts some light on the office of the inquisitor himself and his household. Many of the friars appeared several times as witnesses, and in some cases they are seen at later dates acting as deputy for the inquisitor. The otherwise unknown friar Bernard of L'Isle acted often as a witness, and then later as the inquisitor's lieutenant. When Peter Arsieu travelled to Montgey to conduct an interrogation in secret, the deposition was taken down by one of the usual notaries and witnessed by Bernard. It seems that Bernard had been taken along with the travelling bureau as a 'professional' witness. We seem to be seeing something like the accumulation of experience and rising through the ranks. The prior of Toulouse Hugh Amiel appeared several times as witness, then later deputised for the inquisitor, and then himself became inquisitor. Similarly Peter Arsieu witnessed, deputised, and became the inquisitor. Selection as a witness and experience gained in this role was clearly interwoven in various ways with an inquisitor's recruitment and promotion—with, in some cases, an inquisitor's career path. Conversely, an inquisitor could profit from the accumulated expertise of others who had previously held the post. After Pons of Parnac was released from the post of inquisitor, he acted as a witness and even deputised for the inquisitor. A very different case was that of William of Puylaurens, sometimes used as a witness. What we discussed earlier—his age, experience and broader understanding—was probably borne in mind when he was ordered by Pons of Parnac to interrogate and receive a suspect's confession as 'vice-inquisitor'.<sup>237</sup>

Movement affected the witness list: the production of prisoners from the nearby prison of the Château Narbonnais and conducting them into the inquisitor's house, and movement of the inquisition team away from the inquisitor's house, whether into the Château Narbonnais or outside Toulouse. The notary Atho of Saint-Victor went into prison to examine someone who had been shackled there a long time, acting, it seems, as interrogator, though he was not described as the inquisitor's lieutenant. He took with him his fellow notary Bernard Bonet and the

<sup>235</sup> 66<sup>r-v</sup>, 162<sup>r</sup>, 164<sup>r</sup>, 259<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>236</sup> 265<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>237</sup> 161<sup>v</sup>.

former heretic Sicard Lunel, but in addition to this the witnesses included James (Jacquet) the gaoler.<sup>238</sup> James and the other prison warden or assistant, Robin, also acted as witnesses to depositions, presumably in the first instance for straightforward practical and procedural reasons. That is, they were there and could be used, and the fact of the deponent's production from prison or even interrogation within prison made their attestation relevant.

The smallest number of witnesses (one plus the notary) and some of the occasions of two plus the notary occurred when the inquisition team went outside Toulouse. The inquisitor or inquisitors would travel somewhere with one or two of their familiar notaries. At Saint-Antonin, the visiting team was a quartet, two inquisitors, one notary writing and one notary witnessing, though at the second hearing this was reduced to one inquisitor, one notary writing and no specified extra witness.<sup>239</sup> Elsewhere a local secular or religious was co-opted to assist. At Gaillac the visiting inquisition team was again two inquisitors and two notaries. The interrogation took place in the abbey, a notary wrote, while the abbot and the other notary witnessed.<sup>240</sup> Elsewhere the co-opted local was a 'chaplain' (the parish priest), for example at Montgey. Here the visiting team included one of the usual notaries, Atho of Saint-Victor, but also, as we have already noted, one of the habitual Toulouse witnesses, Bernard of L'Isle. The interrogation took place in the chaplain's house, and the chaplain himself, Peter Aymais, witnessed alongside Bernard of L'Isle. And a notary could be sent off on his own. So, Atho of Saint-Victor was present at depositions carried out at Montauban on the instructions of the Toulouse inquisitor. Atho was in the witness list, and he was not the recording notary.<sup>241</sup> As one of the principal notaries of the Toulouse inquisition and a man who had been doing this work since mid-century, he was presumably there to keep an experienced eye on proceedings.

In Toulouse there were normally a middling number, two or three witnesses in addition to the notary, and one of these witnesses was often another notary, for example, Berengar of Vernet as a witness where the recording scribe was Atho of Saint-Victor. This pattern is often found where the business was fairly ordinary, and probably reflected convenience—the fact that other notaries were already there. But larger

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<sup>238</sup> 14<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>239</sup> 57<sup>v</sup>, 60<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>240</sup> 62<sup>r</sup>, reduced at the second hearing, 63<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>241</sup> 235<sup>v</sup>–241<sup>r</sup>.



numbers of witnesses are amber lights for the historian, clearly signalling, 'Attention—something special was going on.' One example was the witnessing of Bernard Hugh of Roquevidal's deposition, which is discussed later, at the end of this chapter. Another was Raymond Baussan's depositions. These were among the most informative in the register about heresy in exile in Italy, and one of them was attested by four witnesses; if they are counted together with inquisitor and notary, six in all.<sup>242</sup> Most remarkable was the witnessing of the depositions of Peter Pictavin. He was one of the plum captives of those appearing in the register, and among the wealthiest of all. One of his depositions had five witnesses.<sup>243</sup> Another was given in the presence of two inquisitors, and was witnessed by six men, three of whom were notaries. There were therefore four notaries present, and the overall count of inquisitors, notaries and witnesses was nine.<sup>244</sup> No other deposition had six witnesses. This is the largest line-up seen anywhere in the register.

The multiplication of notaries in the most important cases suggests emphasis on making the written record cast iron. We have already suggested the point of the occasional presence of the renegade Sicard Lunel, exerting pressure on people who were confessing in the hearing of someone who really knew things from the inside. Sometimes the point can be inferred or conjectured from correlations between the identity or office of a witness and the deponent and the material of her or his confession. Standing out immediately is local knowledge. Witnesses to a deposition relating matters that had happened in Sorèze over a fifty year period included a local, master Raymond of *Bante*, monk of Sorèze.<sup>245</sup> Fabrissa of Limoux had lived at the Dalbade while many things alleged against her took place,<sup>246</sup> and one deposition by Guillelma denouncing Fabrissa was witnessed by 'William Rotond in the church of the Dalbade.'<sup>247</sup> The use of local religious and clergy to witness depositions taken down at Gail-lac and Montgey—noted above—and also at Guitalens<sup>248</sup> falls into a pattern which suggests that, when we see two brothers of the Grammontine

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<sup>242</sup> 149<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>243</sup> 259<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>244</sup> 265<sup>r-v</sup>. The point about multiple witnessing may not apply to all his depositions. See 266<sup>v</sup>, where none are mentioned. This is a 'following day' deposition, perhaps attested by witnesses from the previous day.

<sup>245</sup> 297<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>246</sup> 44<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>247</sup> 43<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>248</sup> 161<sup>v</sup>.

Order witnessing the attestation of peculiar views of a man from Bénas, they may have been chosen because they too had specially relevant local knowledge.<sup>249</sup>

Something more complex is hinted at by the correlations seen in a few very special cases, two of which are examined here. First, the Toulouse merchant, citizen and very well-read man Bernard Raymond Baranhon came from one of the most important wealthy and consular families in Toulouse. His deposition witnesses included a member of the Baranhon family who was a Dominican. Uniquely in the register they also included a Franciscan friar. This was brother Raymond of Escalquens. He was far from ordinary. To begin with, he was 'Guardian', the Franciscan equivalent of prior of a convent; since the scribe saw no need to spell out the convent, we can be sure this was the Franciscan convent of Toulouse. Raymond belonged to a wealthy Toulouse family, including consuls and lawyers, the d'Escalquens. It was one of the very few families in Toulouse to rival the Baranhon family.<sup>250</sup> The precise motives are hidden, but the deliberateness of the choice is clear: the selection of a high-ranking religious member of one elite Toulouse family to witness the deposition of a member of another Toulouse elite family.

Secondly, there is the confession of Raymond Baussan of Lagarde, given in May 1274 and bearing upon heresy in Italy between about 1264 and 1272.<sup>251</sup> Although Raymond's confession is relatively short—Peter of Beauville's vast depositions make Raymond's look tiny—its content is of outstanding interest. Let us remind ourselves of his story. On account of heresy he had fled around 1264, first to Piacenza and then down to Apulia, to the stronghold of Guardia Lombardi. There his instruction by the Good Man Pons Boer started. Later it was to continue at Pavia, where Pons introduced him to the ritual abstinences of a Good Man's life. Raymond claimed he never did receive the imposition of hands and investment with habit which would have made him a Good Man. But it is clear that at the very least his is the deposition of a man who had been taken through the early stages—the Cathar 'novitiate', as it were. At Guardia Lombardi Raymond saw Vivent, the bishop-in-exile of the Good Men of Toulouse. He also witnessed the effects of a mission to king Manfred by servants of the Toulouse inquisition, Sicard Lunel, Pestilhac and Peter Bertrand, who came equipped with letters from the inquisitor and

<sup>249</sup> 26<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>250</sup> See below, 199<sup>v</sup> n. 17.

<sup>251</sup> 140<sup>v</sup>–147<sup>r</sup>.

the King of Aragon, and prevailed upon Manfred to expel the heretics.<sup>252</sup> Raymond then travelled back up north, first of all into Piedmont, where he lived for seven years in Alessandria among fugitives from the Toulouse inquisition, and also at Pavia where, as already noted, his training by Pons Boer continued. Then, about a year beforehand—therefore 1273 or perhaps 1272—he travelled eastwards across Lombardy, to a centre of Good Men and Women at Sirmione on Lake Garda. There he saw two bishops, the current bishop in exile of the Toulouse Good Men, Bertrand Oliba, and a Lombard bishop of Good Men, Andricus (Henry of Arosio). He saw Good Women, who were no longer extant in Languedoc. He heard tell of a very learned chaplain, a good scribe, who was coming from the Toulousain to the exiled Good Men. And he witnessed bishop Bertrand Oliba administering the consolamentum to three brothers from Saint-Martin-Lalande. He returned to Pavia where he stayed for five weeks, confessing to an Italian inquisitor, William of Bergamo. What resulted suggests that Raymond did a deal in return for immunity. He procured the capture of two important followers of the Good Men, Raymond Papier and Peter of Beauville. His action on his return to the Toulousain, presenting himself to Pons of Parnac with a letter from the inquisitor, had presumably been required by William of Bergamo.

By this time the Church of the heretics (Good Men and Women) of Toulouse was in effect a Church in exile in Italy. As a general fact this will have been a commonplace in the minds of churchmen and inquisitors in Languedoc. But the inside view and circumstantial detail provided by the confession of a nearly-Good Man, who had been in the company of three Cathar bishops, will have been electrifying. When we turn to the witness list we find it containing the famous lecturer William of Saint-Geniès and the even more famous Arts and Theology lecturer and writer Bernard of Trilia. These were men of great renown, and this was the only deponent whose confession they witnessed. Clearly, something very special was happening. But we can only conjecture what. Was the giving of tickets to the ringside view simply a matter of privilege for these superstar academic friars? Or perhaps the inquisitor Pons of Parnac wanted the ruminations of brilliant theologians on the glimpses this confession afforded of the organisation and ramifications of the Good Men's Church in exile?

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<sup>252</sup> See the earlier discussion of this episode above, p. 38.

Let us turn now to the presence of royal officials in the witness lists, the procurator of confiscations William of *Contour*, the procurator William of Concots (possibly the same man as William of *Contour*), one *bailli*, and some perhaps among the otherwise unknown laymen named as witnesses. The important and deeply implicated nobleman Bernard of Montesquieu, of Puylaurens, appeared in court in July 1274. The second of his depositions ends with the attestation of one witness stated after the name of the recording notary. 'Witnesses: brother Elias Manhan ... and master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote these things; and William of *Contour*, the Lord King's procurator for forfeitures for heresy, was also a witness of all the aforesaid'.<sup>253</sup> The position of a witness's name after the recording notary is not encountered elsewhere in the register. He may simply have been forgotten (see section ii above for this suggestion). Alternatively, this position may reflect William's importance or the unusualness of someone like this being there. His presence in itself presumably points to the considerable significance of the confiscations of property that would result from Bernard's condemnation for heresy. A similar conjecture could be applied to the presence elsewhere of William of Concots, but the reverse does not hold. Despite Pictavin's wealth, lists of witnesses to his depositions do not contain procurators.

Let us conclude with the Hugh brothers of Roquevidal. In chapter two we saw how important they were to the seneschal Eustace of Beaumarchais, who captured and tortured them before handing them over to inquisition. Bernard Hugh's first confession was in front of two inquisitors and was attested by four witnesses, two of whom were notaries. The overall line-up (including inquisitors and recording notary) was unusually large, seven.<sup>254</sup> The witness-list to one of Raymond Hugh's confessions stands out. All three witnesses were laymen. Two of them were certainly officials, and the otherwise unknown Constantine of l'Estelle may also have been an official. William of Concots was a procurator. The other official was a *bailli*, the only one holding this local official office to appear anywhere in the register as a witness: Raymond Boer, *bailli* of Lavour. Roquevidal was in the *bailie* of Lavour and much of the Hugh brothers' depositions bore upon the support of the Good Men by the Lord of Roquevidal, Arnold of Gardouch. It is not difficult to see the hand of the

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<sup>253</sup> 162<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>254</sup> 78<sup>r</sup>.

seneschal, Eustace of Beaumarchais, in the presence of the most directly concerned local royal official as a witness, and in this final example we are reminded yet again how those in power saw the connection between suppressing heresy and ensuring the loyalty of the local nobility.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SCRIBAL ERRORS AND THE CONVENTIONS OF THIS EDITION AND TRANSLATION

#### i. *Scribal errors*

Mistakes in copying abound in Doat 25–26.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes this is the simple misreading of words, copying one for another, usually a more common reading for a less common one, like *antedictus* for *an dictus*,<sup>2</sup> or *benedictio* for *benedicto*.<sup>3</sup> Names can become confused—for example the brother Gerald or Bernard Bonpain found in the very first deposition<sup>4</sup>—and repetitions and omissions are also found. Another class of error is the misexpansion of the heavily abbreviated thirteenth-century original. Words are written in the wrong case, such as *Evangeliiis* for *Evangeliorum*,<sup>5</sup> or *amicum hæreticum* when the sense demands *hæretici*.<sup>6</sup> Masculine endings added to words describing women (and sometimes feminine endings added to words describing men) are also common.<sup>7</sup> Other mistakes are, at first sight, more surprising, and reveal the form of the original abbreviation: *habeo* for *homo*, for example—the expansion of an original abbreviated to ‘ho’<sup>8</sup>—or *minimum* for *matrimonium*—the expansion of ‘mm’.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sections i–ii of this chapter were written by Shelagh Sneddon, iii (a) by Peter Biller, and iii (b) jointly by Shelagh Sneddon and Peter Biller.

<sup>2</sup> 184<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> 8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> 200<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> 8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> For example the deposition of Guirauda, wife of Durand of Rouffiac of Laumière, where the words *interrogatus* and *requisitus* in a list of questions have clearly been altered to *interrogata* and *requisita* (181<sup>v</sup>–182<sup>r</sup>). For the opposite, *dictam* has been written for *dictum* on 33<sup>r</sup>, and *interrogata* for *interrogatus* on 73<sup>r</sup>. In the latter case, a number of female persons are mentioned in the vicinity, which may have prompted the confusion.

<sup>8</sup> 76<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> 3<sup>r</sup>.

nem et deus dixit ei quod faceret  
 eum loqui; ipse vero respondit quod  
 non poterat, et tunc Deus inspira-  
 uit in os hominis, et locutus est  
 homo; requisit<sup>us</sup> de loco ubi audiuit eam  
 ista verba dicentem, dixit quod apud  
 tunicum in domibus suis quas  
 habent contiguas inter quas non-  
 dum erat medium, requisit<sup>us</sup> de tempo-  
 re dixit quod ante festum Natalis  
 Domini proxime præteritum  
 fuit annus, dixit etiam quod ipsa  
 interrogavit prædictam fabris-  
 sam quomodo Deus misisset spiritum  
 suum in opus diaboli, et ipsa res-  
 pondit quod voluntatem suam  
 proposuerat ibi, requisit<sup>us</sup> de circum<sup>stantiis</sup> dixit  
 quod nullus alius erat ibi. Item  
 dixit quod audiuit dictam fabris-  
 sam dicentem malum de Clericis, et  
 quod ipsi non habebant bonam  
 fidem nec docebant veritatem cum  
 de opare darent, quod erat corpus  
 Dei, et fuit circa prædictum tem-  
 pus. Item dixit quod ter vel quater

Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Collection Doat 25, 39<sup>r</sup>. Footnotes to the edition of this leaf detail six cases of the Doat scribes deleting, correcting and adding, for example adding '-isita' in lines 5, 9, and 17. These alterations exemplify both the level of errors in copying and also the Doat commission's concern to rectify them.

All these errors speak of scribes working under pressure, as those employed by Jean de Doat were, without the time, or perhaps without the skill, to consider the meaning of the document they were transcribing. They occur more frequently at some places in the document than others—presumably because of changes of scribe—and seem to be more numerous at the beginning of Doat 25, probably because the scribes were having to adjust to the characteristics of a register that was new to them. In some places it is clear that the scribe has not attempted to expand a word himself, and the expansion has been added later, presumably by a supervisor. These expansions are more obvious at some places than at others—for example where they have been added in a different ink—but it does seem, too, that they vary in frequency with the confidence of the original scribe. Sometimes an expansion which had been overlooked has been added, or a correction made, in a very different hand and with a much finer pen: here it would seem that we are seeing the work of a reader.

From this it seems clear that many of these errors must be due to the seventeenth-century copyists. But were they responsible for them all? Yves Dossat, describing Toulouse 609, like the lost original of Doat 25–26 a medieval copy of earlier depositions, notes strikingly similar errors:

Some words that are hardly different from each other are confused. We read for example *vendendum* for *vivendum*, *capiebat* in place of *cupiebat*, *montem* for *pontem*, *ecclesia* where it ought to be *circa*, *natus* instead of *iratus*, *panem* instead of *pacem*. We notice errors arising from inattentiveness, like *pluros alios*. We notice also the absence of certain abbreviations. Some words are repeated, like *nec*, *ea*, *et*. In return, certain terms are omitted, especially in formulae of current usage such as *hereticus*, *inquisitor*, *credidit*, *fecit*, *vidit*, *anni*, and *ejus* in the expression *socium ejus*.<sup>10</sup>

Many of these errors are identical to those listed above. Toulouse 609 reminds us that the depositions in Doat 25–26 have undergone two processes of copying, and that copyists in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century could also be working under pressure, and without thinking carefully about what they were doing.

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<sup>10</sup> Des mots peu différents l'un de l'autre sont confondus; on lit par exemple *vendendum* pour *vivendum*, *capiebat* au lieu de *cupiebat*, *montem* pour *pontem*, *ecclesia* là où il faudrait *circa*, *natus* à la place de *iratus*, *panem* au lieu de *pacem*; on relève des fautes d'inattention comme *pluros alios*; on constate aussi l'absence de certaines abréviations. Des mots ont été répétés, comme *nec*, *ea*, *et*. En revanche certains termes ont été omis, en particulier dans des formules d'usage courant, tels que *hereticus*, *inquisitor*, *credidit*, *fecit*, *vidit*, *anni*, *ejus*, dans l'expression *socium ejus*. Dossat, *Crises*, p. 65.



One similarity is especially interesting. The seventeenth-century scribes of Doat 25–26 appear to have adopted the post-humanist spelling of Latin, replacing the medieval ‘e’ with a more classical ‘æ’, or ‘œ’, and it is not uncommon to find some confusion in this practice: a second declension vocative, for example, written *Sanctæ* rather than *Sancte*,<sup>11</sup> or the village of Saint-Félix written *Felix* on one folio and *Fælix* on the next.<sup>12</sup> The most obvious cause of this would seem to be a copying error, or in some cases hyper-correction. Yet Dossat finds exactly the same problem in Toulouse 609:

The diphthongs æ or œ were not entirely unknown to the notary, but they were used indiscriminately. Thus we find *ipsæ* in the nominative masculine singular. We also meet the forms *Garnærius*, *apparælhamento*, *veniaebant*, *in nemore de Fressenæda*, and *de Villanovæta*.<sup>13</sup>

Toulouse 609, written around 1260, is a rather earlier document than Doat 25–26: its Latin may be somewhat different from that in use twenty or thirty years later. It is also worth noting that Dossat lists only seven examples of this misplaced ‘æ’ in total. The implication is that he could not find many more, and a casual glance at Toulouse 609 confirms that spellings such as *hereticus* or first declension genitive singulars or nominative plurals in ‘e’ are the norm. From this, we can deduce that the vast majority of ‘correct’ uses of ‘æ’ or ‘œ’ in Doat 25–26 are due to the seventeenth-century scribes. But what is striking about Dossat’s examples is that they are (by classical or post-humanist standards) incorrect, and also that they are inconsistent—his example of *Garnærius*, for example, is found in the phrase *vidi Ar. Garnærium filii Garnerii*.<sup>14</sup> So it is worth noting that examples such as the second declension vocative *Sanctæ*, or the inconsistent spelling of Saint-Félix, may well originate in the parent manuscript of Doat 25–26, and be due to the idiosyncrasies of late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century, rather than seventeenth-century, scribes.

<sup>11</sup> 40<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> 99<sup>r</sup>, 99<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Les diphtongues æ ou œ ne sont pas entièrement inconnues du notaire, mais elles ont été utilisées sans discernement. C’est ainsi qu’on trouve *ipsæ* au nominatif masculin singulier; on rencontre aussi les forms *Garnærius*, *apparælhamento*, *veniaebant*, *in nemore de Fressenæda*, *de Villanovæta*. Dossat, *Crises*, p. 63.

<sup>14</sup> Toulouse 609, f. 8<sup>r</sup>.

## ii. *Edition of the original Latin and French*

Detailed here are the criteria followed in the edition of the original manuscript. Our principal aim has been to leave the original text as far as possible exactly as it was, while providing prose that is easy to read. This has been achieved as follows.

Each deposition or set of depositions was introduced by a brief summary in French in the 1669 manuscripts, clearly produced by someone working alongside the Doat scribes. We have left these as they were, distinguishing them typographically by putting them in italic type-face, while the Latin text has been put in upright type-face. Where the Latin text includes words or phrases in Occitan, these are presented without typographical differentiation.

The spelling has been left largely as it appears in the manuscript, with a few exceptions, where we have emended for ease of reading. The main variations are as follows: ‘i’ and ‘j’ have been rendered as ‘i’, as the form of the letter seemed to depend on its position in the word, rather than on its phonetic function. The same applies to long and short ‘s’, which have not been differentiated. The distinction between ‘u’ and ‘v’ follows modern spelling norms. Punctuation follows modern criteria. We have adopted upper case for the initial letter for the following: names of people and their surnames even when they indicate nicknames; God, the Virgin Mary and the Saints; all place-names, but not a type of street or area within a place, thus *Sanctus Paulus de Cadaiovis*, but *carrerria*, *barrio*; the Roman Church (*Ecclesia Romana*), but not local churches.

Expansions of abbreviated words are given in italics. Where there is addition of an omitted word or a conjecture, they are given within square brackets. Errors have been emended directly in the main text, with the original manuscript reading and—where necessary—our discussion provided in footnotes.

## iii. *The English translation*

Here, as in the edition, the seventeenth-century French text is given in italic, and the Latin in upright script. The only exception to this rule is represented by unidentified place-names. These are given in the reverse of the surrounding typeface: within the italic French text, an unidentified place-name is given in upright script, and within the upright type-face of Latin, the unidentified name is given in italic script.

The Latin text shows in square brackets all material inserted as a conjecture by the editors, for example [et], and the translation of such conjectural material has also been contained in square brackets, in this case [and]. In the translation, where there was difficulty and different renderings were possible, this has been signalled in a footnote.<sup>15</sup>

There is a contrast between the aim of the edition, utmost fidelity to the text, and the aim of the English translation, accessibility. In translation there are countless choices of language and meaning, the border between translation and adaptation is often unclear, as also between interpretation and conjectural insertion. Our policy with place-names and personal names needs further comment.

#### a. *Place-names*

The Doat 25–26 register contains a large number of place-names. These range from large and famous cities like Toulouse and Carcassonne to little streams and copses. The notaries supplied Latin versions of names, such as *Podium Laurentium* for Puylaurens, but they also used the vernacular, especially when a deponent was referring to somewhere small or obscure. Dealing with a small place, the notaries sometimes said it was ‘near’ to a more widely recognised place, but not always. With common names of towns and fortified places, such as *Villa Franca* (Villefranche) and *Castrum Novum* (Castelnau) the notaries sometimes supplied the extra detail which specified which Villefranche or Castelnau was in question, but, again, not always. The editors’ problems in identifying place-names are rooted not only in notarial practices but also in the characteristics of the names themselves. In the useful etymological study and list of Occitan place-names written by Bénédicte and Jean-Jacques Fénie<sup>16</sup>—to which the editors have also had recourse—the most striking feature is of course the commonplace of place name studies: that a high proportion of place-names are derived from physical features and forms of habitation. Among the commonest are words for hill or hilly ground (*podium* in Latin, *puy* or *pech* in the vernacular) and for manse, farm or estate (*mansus* in Latin, *mas* in the vernacular). These provide components for place-names which range from the easily recognisable names of important

<sup>15</sup> The most problematic passage that has been found is 24<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> *Toponymie occitane* (Bordeaux, 1997).

places—such as (respectively) *Puylaurens* and *Pechbusque*, and *Mas-Saintes-Puelles*—to very tiny locations known as *pech de*, *puy de* and *mas de*, usually followed by a person's name. These are found in enormous quantities in modern maps. And it seems that beyond the names that established themselves and lasted there were also many other names, such as the 'pech of Arnold' or the 'mas of Roger', which only existed for a few years. Attested in Doat 25–26, they can no longer be traced.

Identification of place-names has been helped mainly by two important modern editions of medieval texts from Languedoc, and also by modern maps. The *Pouillés des provinces d'Auch, de Narbonne et de Toulouse*, edited by Charles-Edmond Perrin and Jacques de Font-Réaulx and published in 1972,<sup>17</sup> prints large numbers of ecclesiastical administrative lists from the high and later medieval ages in which the medieval Latin forms of many names of parishes appear, with identification of their modern forms. When Philip the Bold succeeded to his uncle Alphonse of Poitiers, his taking over of his possessions in the south in 1271–1272 resulted in the document known as *Saisimentum comitatus Tholosani*, which also contains the medieval Latin names of many places in the county. In Yves Dossat's edition of 1966 their modern French equivalents are identified.<sup>18</sup> In the case of places in the Ariège, there is the list of medieval Latin place-names and their modern equivalents provided by Jean Duvernoy in his edition of Jacques Fournier's inquisition register.<sup>19</sup> We have used resources provided by the Institut Géographique National, the electronic version of the seventeenth-eighteenth century Cassini maps, the *Dictionnaire des Toponymes de France*, which lists six million place-names, and their 4 cm: 1 km maps. We have compared our identifications with those of Jean Duvernoy in his 1993 electronic edition.

We have following certain conventions in representing and locating place-names. In the translation, place-names have been rendered in the modern French form. As stated earlier, unidentified ones are given in a type-face the opposite of the type-face of the surrounding text (upright within the italicised translation of the French text, and italics within the upright translation of the Latin). On its first occurrence within the English translation, a place-name located within modern France is given

<sup>17</sup> Font-Réaulx.

<sup>18</sup> *Saisimentum*.

<sup>19</sup> *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier, évêque de Pamiers (1318–1325)*, ed. J. Duvernoy, Bibliothèque Méridionale, 3rd s. 41, 3 vols. (Toulouse, 1965), iii.509–523.

its modern French administrative location in a footnote. This begins with the larger unit, the *département*, and then proceeds upwards from the smallest, detailing where appropriate the *commune* (abbreviated to comm.), the *canton* (abbreviated to cant.) and the *arrondissement* (abbreviated to arrond). Italian place-names are identified by modern province and region. The footnote to a French place-name refers to identification by Font-Réaulx, or if not by him, by Dossat in his *Saisimentum*, or, if by neither, to the *Dictionnaire des Toponymes de France*, under its abbreviation, DTF. The reader needs to be aware that identification of the place-names in Doat 25–26 does not fall into two simple classes of those certainly identified and those that cannot be identified, and that there are shades in between. In many cases the modern linguistic form of a place-name is known, and the name is common. Which place is question can often be inferred either with certainty or a high degree of probability from circumstantial details in the deposition in which the place is named. But sometimes which place it is cannot be inferred. The footnote will point out that a place-name is common, and it will sometimes speculate about possible identifications. The reader should also note one consequence of the editors dealing with a recurring common place-name and being unable to identify in each case the specific location. The index *may* collapse into one entry different places of the same name.

#### b. *Personal names*

The editor of the Latin text has no problem with the names of the hundreds of people who appear in Doat 25–26, because the task is simply to transcribe them exactly. But how should these names appear in the translation? The translator of the names found in inquisition records and the modern historian using these names face a virtually intractable problem in choosing what forms to use. Modern scholars dealing with this problem have solved the problem in different ways. French scholars such as Pales-Gobilliard, Roche and Duvernoy turn names as far as possible into their modern French. *Petrus* (Peter) becomes Pierre, and a familiar genitive family name *Johannis*, ‘of John’, becomes Déjean.<sup>20</sup> Mark Pegg has written within the spirit of Anne Brenon’s list of Occitan forenames.<sup>21</sup> Pegg opted for the Occitan form of forenames and family

<sup>20</sup> For example, Pales-Gobilliard, *Geoffroy d’Ablis*, p. 406.

<sup>21</sup> A. Brenon, *Le petit livre aventureux des prénoms occitans au temps du catharisme* (Portet-sur-Garonne, 1992).

names. However, his choice was part of an attempt to use all the means at the disposal of an imaginative and creative writer to produce for the reader the palpable *feel* of things in mid-thirteenth century Languedoc, including sounds.<sup>22</sup>

Our aims have been different. We have had two objectives: fidelity to the manuscript in the edition of its text, and, in the translation, ease of consultation for the anglophone reader. One general consequence of this policy needs underlining. To achieve a user-friendly translation, we were willing to have inconsistencies, especially in family names. Secondly, we felt we had a license to be inconsistent, and the reason we felt so free also needs underlining. It is the edition of the Latin text that is the tool for scholars doing research on names: not the English translation.

In rendering personal names, the translators have imitated what they regarded as best practice, represented in recent decades by the studies of heresy and inquisition in southern France written by Walter Wakefield. Very famous individuals' names follow modern English use. Thus *Matfredus*, the son of the Emperor Frederick II, is 'Manfred', not 'Matfred'. First names of men are usually rendered in English where there is an equivalent English form for them, such as Arnold, Bernard, John, and William, while first names of women have usually been left in their Latin form, such as Guillelma, Irlanda, and Raymonda; Johanna has been changed to Joanna. This divergent policy was suggested by the fact that women's names were drawn from a much larger and more exotic thesaurus than men's, and exceptions to the main rule would have been too numerous for consistency.<sup>23</sup> Women were very often referred to as 'Na', from 'Domina', lady, and this has been transferred unchanged into the translation. In speech it could sometimes be no more than honorific, as shown by its use for a maidservant.<sup>24</sup> 'Lord' (*dominus*) was conventional for secular figures from kings and counts down to the holders of small lordships, and as an honorific for prelates. The ranks of the ecclesiastical figures accorded the honorific 'lord' were usually those of bishops and abbots,

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<sup>22</sup> M.G. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246* (Princeton, 2001). The choice of Occitan brings its own difficulties. One of these is that anglophone readers have to remind themselves all the time that Joan is not an English name for a woman but an Occitan name for a man: *Johannes* or John in his Occitan form Joan.

<sup>23</sup> On the thesaurus of female and male forenames in Languedoc at this period, see Mundy, *Men and Women*, pp. 38–40.

<sup>24</sup> 317<sup>v</sup>. See also Mundy, *Men and Women*, p. 37.

but they included an ‘archpriest’ and three ‘chaplains’ (parish priests).<sup>25</sup> There was a parallel in the ranks of the Cathars, where a bishop and two deacons were called ‘lord’.<sup>26</sup>

Men’s Italian names have been translated into the current English equivalent, where possible—*Ambrogius* = Ambrose, *Rogerus* = Roger, *Henricus* = Henry, while an italianate form has been adopted in absence of English equivalent, as in *Obertus* = Oberto. The name of a Portuguese priest has been represented in modern Portuguese form, Rodrigo Fernandes.

As for the second names, most people are identified by their provenance or community of origin, name + of + place-name, as in Pons of Gomerville. But there are also several cases of family names or surnames. The fact that this is not very unusual and that late thirteenth-century witnesses and scribes already thought in those terms, is shown by the identification of some people as *cognominatus*, ‘surnamed’. In the case of a man, this is usually genitive singular, as in *Petrus Rogerii* = ‘Peter of Roger’, while in the case of a woman, the second name is made into an adjective, as in *Raymunda Rogeria* = ‘the Roger Raymunda’. The translators have followed the criterion of accessibility, rendering these simply as Peter Roger and Raymunda Roger.

Where there is no plain English version for such second names, and a French one seems recognisable behind the Latin, the French equivalent has been suggested. Here are some of the commoner conversions: -erius = -ier; -elli = -el; -ellus = -el; -elius = -iel; -axius = -aix; -eria = -ière; -evi (and -ion/-ionis) = -ieu.

Where the last name of a person is the name of an occupation, the case may help in deciding whether this is the name of the person’s occupation or of its family (or sur-name). For instance:

Full name	First name	Second name	Third name	Translation
<i>Petrus Raymundi Sabaterius</i>	Peter (forename)	Raymond (family or sur-name)	Sabaterius = Cobbler (occupation)	‘Peter Raymond, the cobbler’
<i>Petrus Raymundus Sabaterius</i>	Peter (forename)	Raymond (second forename)	Sabaterius (family name)	‘Peter Raymond Sabatier’

<sup>25</sup> 87<sup>v</sup>, 161<sup>v</sup>, 214<sup>v</sup>, 8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> 135<sup>v</sup>, 201<sup>r</sup>, 256<sup>r</sup>. See 201<sup>r</sup>, where the fact that someone called the Cathar ‘lord’ is a matter of special comment.

In practice there are often difficulties. Distinction by case-ending becomes impossible, for example, where the role of names in a sentence puts all of them into genitive: *Raymunda, uxor Petri Raymundi Sabaterii* = 'Raymunda, the wife of Peter Raymond, the cobbler' or 'Raymunda, wife of Peter Raymond Sabatier'. There may also be inconsistency, especially with the case of *Faber* (either 'Faure' or 'smith'). In general, according to the above mentioned criteria, *Iohannes Fabri* = 'John Faure', while *Iohannes Faber* = 'John, the smith'. However, the editors have the impression that in this specific case most of the times *Iohannes Faber* = 'John Faure'. In the case cited in the table above, the case-endings of Raymundus and Raymundi are crucial, but either could be a scribal error for the other. The consequence of such an error is that one person, Peter Raymond, comes to be represented as two distinct individuals.

Our texts are legal documents as they are, and as such they show an overriding concern that there should never be any doubt about the identity of an individual. Therefore, notaries constantly used in their sentences technical markers to identify carefully the person who was acting or speaking. The most common occurrences are those of the name preceded by 'the aforesaid', and of *eadem* / *idem*, 'the same', attached to the name of the person in question. Although this use affects the fluency of the prose, the translators have chosen to combine accuracy, clarity and preservation of the original legal tone of the texts. Thus, the style of the original has been kept, and the markers preserved, while trying to diminish as much as possible the weight of these technical repetitions upon the English prose.



ego B. Boneti notarius qui hæc  
scripsi.

Deposition de diuers  
Bourguignons resi-  
dens en Rouergue,  
l'un desquels declara  
qu'il auoit veu brus-  
ler en Bourgoigne  
deux Vaudois.

Prædie Kalendas  
Iulii 1273.

Anno Domini millesi-  
mo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio,  
Prædie Kalendas Iulij Michael  
de Podio Rodeth Bergundus,  
qui manet apud Podium Ro-  
delth diocesis Ruthenensis testis  
Iuratus, et interrogatus super facto  
hæresis, et valdenicie, si cõiderat hæ-  
reticos dixit openitus nihil scire.  
Anno et die quo supra Aymes  
Burgundus

Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Collection Doat 25, 9<sup>v</sup>. The first two lines (i) contain the last words of the copy of a deposition in the medieval Latin register. Lines 3–11 (ii) contain French words, written by the Doat commission in 1669, which summarise the depositions that follow. The last ten lines (iii) contain these, the opening part of the copy of more depositions from the medieval Latin register. Running throughout D25–6 is this interspersing of French summaries written in 1669 and the copies of depositions from the medieval Latin register.

PART TWO

EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF DOAT 25–26



LIST OF DEONENTS, IN ORDER  
OF APPEARANCE IN DOAT 25–26

- 1<sup>r</sup> William of Molières
- 4<sup>r</sup> Petronilla, wife of Daide of Bras (i)
- 5<sup>r</sup> Petronilla, wife of Daide of Bras (ii)
- 5<sup>r</sup> Petronilla, wife of Daide of Bras (iii)
- 5<sup>v</sup> Petronilla, wife of William of Castanet (i)
- 7<sup>v</sup> Petronilla, wife of William of Castanet (ii)
- 9<sup>v</sup> Michael of Pech-Rodil
- 9<sup>v</sup> Aymes the Burgundian
- 10<sup>r</sup> John Leros
- 10<sup>r</sup> Peter of Pech-Rodil
- 10<sup>r</sup> Peter the Burgundian
- 10<sup>r</sup> Garmus the Burgundian
- 10<sup>r</sup> John Blancard
- 10<sup>v</sup> Gerald of Verdié
- 10<sup>v</sup> Bernard of Rival (ii?)
- 14<sup>v</sup> Bernard of Rival (iii?)
- 14<sup>v</sup> William Fournier
- 16<sup>v</sup> Unnamed aforesaid witness (ii?)
- 17<sup>v</sup> Unnamed aforesaid witness (iii?)
- 17<sup>v</sup> Aldric, boy (i)
- 19<sup>v</sup> Aldric, boy (ii)
- 20<sup>r</sup> Durand of Rouffiac of Laumière (i)
- 23<sup>r</sup> Durand of Rouffiac of Laumière (ii)
- 23<sup>v</sup> Gaubert of *Aula* of Bénas (i)
- 25<sup>r</sup> Gaubert of *Aula* of Bénas (ii)
- 26<sup>r</sup> Stephen Roger of Roumens
- 29<sup>r</sup> Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles (i)
- 32<sup>v</sup> Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles (ii)
- 33<sup>v</sup> Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles (iii)
- 34<sup>v</sup> Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles (iv)
- 35<sup>r</sup> Bartholomew Jordan of Rabastens
- 36<sup>v</sup> Master William of *Rosergue*
- 37<sup>v</sup> Guillelma, wife of Thomas of Saint-Flour (i)
- 41<sup>v</sup> Guillelma, wife of Thomas of Saint-Flour (ii)
- 43<sup>r</sup> Guillelma, wife of Thomas of Saint-Flour (iii)
- 43<sup>v</sup> Fabrissa, wife of Peter Vital (i)
- 44<sup>v</sup> Fabrissa, wife of Peter Vital (ii)
- 49<sup>r</sup> Fabrissa, wife of Peter Vital (iii)
- 52<sup>r</sup> Philippa, daughter of Fabrissa (i)
- 52<sup>v</sup> Philippa, daughter of Fabrissa (ii)

- 53<sup>r</sup> Philippa, daughter of Fabrissa (iii)
- 54<sup>v</sup> Arnalda, wife of the late Raymond Darasa (i)
- 58<sup>v</sup> Arnalda, wife of the late Raymond Darasa (ii)
- 61<sup>r</sup> Raymond, chaplain of Cestayrols
- 62<sup>r</sup> Raymond Roque of Cestayrols
- 63<sup>v</sup> Gardouch, knight of Mauremont
- 64<sup>v</sup> William Bernard
- 66<sup>v</sup> Esclarmonda, wife of the late Raymond of Durfort
- 67<sup>v</sup> Bernard Hugh (i)
- 78<sup>r</sup> Bernard Hugh (ii)
- 80<sup>v</sup> Bernard Hugh (iii)
- 82<sup>r</sup> Bona, wife of Bernard of Puy (i)
- 84<sup>v</sup> Bona, wife of Bernard of Puy (ii)
- 85<sup>r</sup> Bona, wife of Bernard of Puy (iii)
- 87<sup>v</sup> Bona, wife of Bernard of Puy (iv)
- 89<sup>r</sup> Bona, wife of Bernard of Puy (v)
- 90<sup>r</sup> Raymond Hugh (i)
- 95<sup>v</sup> Raymond Hugh (ii)
- 108<sup>r</sup> Raymond Hugh (iii)
- 114<sup>r</sup> Raymond Hugh (iv)
- 118<sup>r</sup> Raymond Hugh (v)
- 119<sup>r</sup> Raymond Hugh (vi)
- 124<sup>v</sup> Raymond Hugh (vii)
- 125<sup>r</sup> Raymond Hugh (viii)
- 125<sup>r</sup> Bernard of Puy (ii?)
- 128<sup>r</sup> Bernard of Puy (iii?)
- 128<sup>v</sup> Bernard of Puy (iv?)
- 130<sup>r</sup> Peter William of Roqueville (i)
- 134<sup>r</sup> Peter William of Roqueville (ii)
- 136<sup>r</sup> John of *Torena* (i)
- 137<sup>v</sup> John of *Torena* (ii)
- 138<sup>r</sup> John of *Torena* (iii)
- 139<sup>r</sup> John of *Torena* (iv)
- 139<sup>v</sup> Raymond Baussan
- 147<sup>r</sup> Raymond Gombert
- 149<sup>r</sup> Jordan, son of Jordan of Saissac
- 151<sup>r</sup> Bernard Fournier (i)
- 153<sup>r</sup> Bernard Fournier (ii)
- 154<sup>v</sup> Bernard Fournier (iii)
- 155<sup>r</sup> Bernard Fournier (iv)
- 156<sup>r</sup> Raymond of Estanove (i)
- 158<sup>r</sup> Raymond of Estanove (ii)
- 158<sup>v</sup> Raymond of Estanove (iii)
- 159<sup>r</sup> Bernard of Montesquieu (i)
- 161<sup>v</sup> Bernard of Montesquieu (ii)
- 162<sup>v</sup> Bernard of Montesquieu (iii)
- 164<sup>r</sup> Bezersa, wife of Peter Isarn

- 166<sup>r</sup> Bernard, miller (or Bernard Molinier) (i)
- 170<sup>r</sup> Bernard, miller (ii)
- 170<sup>v</sup> Bernard, miller (iii)
- 171<sup>v</sup> Isarn Bonhomme
- 173<sup>r</sup> Rixendis of Mireval of Graulhet (i)
- 176<sup>v</sup> Rixendis of Mireval of Graulhet (ii)
- 177<sup>r</sup> Rixendis of Mireval of Graulhet (iii)
- 177<sup>v</sup> William Orset
- 181<sup>r</sup> Guirauda, wife of Durand of Rouffiac
- 182<sup>v</sup> Amblard Vassal (i)
- 192<sup>v</sup> Amblard Vassal (ii)
- 192<sup>v</sup> Stephen Vital (i)
- 195<sup>v</sup> Stephen Vital (ii)
- 195<sup>v</sup> Bernard Raymond Baranhon (i)
- 200<sup>r</sup> Bernard Raymond Baranhon (ii)
- 201<sup>v</sup> Bernard Raymond Baranhon (iii)
- 201<sup>v</sup> Aimery of Castelnau of Issel
- 202<sup>v</sup> Adémar Galos (i)
- 205<sup>r</sup> Adémar Galos (ii)
- 205<sup>r</sup> Adémar Galos sent to Castres
- 206<sup>v</sup> Isambard of Saint-Antonin
- 208<sup>v</sup> Bernarda, wife of William of Lafont (i)
- 211<sup>r</sup> Bernarda, wife of William of Lafont (ii)
- 212<sup>r</sup> Peter Raymond
- 214<sup>r</sup> Hugh, archpriest of Gardouch
- 215<sup>v</sup> Peter Perrin
- 217<sup>r</sup> Peter Eugrin
- 218<sup>r</sup> Peter of Sella (i)
- 219<sup>r</sup> Peter of Sella (ii)
- 219<sup>v</sup> Peter of Sella assigned to appear
- 219<sup>v</sup> Arnold Cimordan (i)
- 221<sup>v</sup> Arnold Cimordan (ii)
- 221<sup>v</sup> Arnold Cimordan assigned to appear
- 222<sup>r</sup> Arnold Cimordan (iii)
- 222<sup>v</sup> Arnold Cimordan (iv)
- 225<sup>r</sup> William le Gran
- 226<sup>v</sup> Rodrigo Fernandes
- 228<sup>v</sup> Raymond Bassier
- 230<sup>r</sup> Letter from Pons of Parnac to Raymond, Prior of Dominicans of Montauban
- 232<sup>v</sup> Reply to this letter, containing the depositions of Julian (the) Angevin, Stephen Brito, John Moret, William Colom, Bernard Cunhard, Martin Bergonho, John Board, Perrin Bergonho and John Bergonho.
- 241<sup>r</sup> Raymonda Ferrier of Jul
- 242<sup>v</sup> Bernard of Lambès
- 243<sup>v</sup> Bernard Escolau (i)
- 244<sup>v</sup> Bernard Escolau (ii)

- 246<sup>r</sup> Bernard Escolau (iii)
- 248<sup>r</sup> Peter Pictavin (i)
- 251<sup>v</sup> Peter Pictavin (ii)
- 255<sup>v</sup> Peter Pictavin (iii)
- 259<sup>v</sup> Peter Pictavin (iv)
- 265<sup>v</sup> Peter Pictavin (v)
- 266<sup>v</sup> Peter Pictavin (vi)
- 268<sup>v</sup> Peter Pictavin (vii)
- 270<sup>v</sup> Peter Pictavin (viii)
- 271<sup>v</sup> Raymond of Pouts (i)
- 274<sup>r</sup> Raymond of Pouts (ii)
- 274<sup>v</sup> Raymond Arquier (i)
- 283<sup>r</sup> Raymond Arquier (ii)
- 284<sup>r</sup> Raymond Arquier (iii)
- 286<sup>r</sup> Raymond Arquier (iv)
- 288<sup>r</sup> Ermengardis, wife of the late Isarn Pagès (i)
- 290<sup>r</sup> Ermengardis, wife of the late Isarn Pagès (ii)
- 290<sup>v</sup> William den Ath
- 291<sup>v</sup> Bernard Barra
- 297<sup>r</sup> Peter of Beauville (i)
- 300<sup>v</sup> Peter of Beauville (ii)
- 310<sup>v</sup> Peter of Beauville (iii)
- 313<sup>v</sup> Peter of Beauville (iv)
- 318<sup>v</sup> Peter of Beauville (v)
- 320<sup>r</sup> Peter of Beauville (vi)
- 322<sup>v</sup> Peter of Beauville (vii)
- 324<sup>v</sup> Peter of Beauville (viii)
- 328<sup>r</sup> Peter of Beauville (ix)
- 331<sup>r</sup> Peter of Beauville (x)
- 1<sup>r</sup> Peter of Beauville (xi)
- 2<sup>r</sup> Peter of Beauville (xii)
- 2<sup>v</sup> John Clerc (i)
- 4<sup>v</sup> John Clerc (ii)
- 5<sup>v</sup> Isarn of Corneilhan
- 6<sup>v</sup> Arnold of Corneilhan
- 7<sup>v</sup> Guilabert of Foissac
- 8<sup>r</sup> Peter Gerald of Montgey
- 11<sup>v</sup> William Raffard (i)
- 20<sup>r</sup> William Raffard (ii)
- 32<sup>r</sup> William Raffard (iii)
- 36<sup>r</sup> William Raffard (iv)
- 42<sup>v</sup> William Raffard (v)
- 44<sup>r</sup> William Raffard (vi)
- 45<sup>r</sup> Bernard of Lagarde (i)
- 45<sup>v</sup> Bernard of Lagarde (ii)
- 48<sup>r</sup> Bernard of Lagarde (iii)
- 48<sup>v</sup> Bernard of Lagarde (iv)

- 49<sup>r</sup> Bernard of Lagarde (v)
- 49<sup>r</sup> Jordan of Saissac
- 54<sup>v</sup> Galhard Ros
- 56<sup>r</sup> Pons of Bagnol (i)
- 57<sup>r</sup> Pons of Bagnol (ii)
- 58<sup>r</sup> Pons of Bagnol (iii)
- 58<sup>v</sup> Faydita, wife of Bernard of Montaigu
- 60<sup>r</sup> Irlanda, wife of the late William of Villèle
- 62<sup>r</sup> Irlanda, wife of the late William of Villèle (ii)
- 62<sup>v</sup> Guiraud of *Averro*
- 63<sup>v</sup> Peter Ferrol (i)
- 66<sup>r</sup> Peter Ferrol (ii)
- 68<sup>r</sup> Peter Ferrol (iii)
- 69<sup>v</sup> Peter of Laurac (i)
- 70<sup>r</sup> Peter of Laurac (ii)
- 72<sup>v</sup> Bernard of Villeneuve (i)
- 77<sup>v</sup> Bernard of Villeneuve (ii)





## CALENDAR OF DEPOSITIONS

The following provides a calendar of the depositions in Doat 25–26.<sup>1</sup> Ascribing fixed dates to the contents of a document like ours throws up many problems. A casual glance confirms that the depositions do appear to be arranged in roughly chronological order, but those by one witness have been grouped together for ease of reference, disturbing the sequence; selection and omission by the medieval copyist have further muddled the waters. Two sets of copyists will inevitably have introduced errors. When only ‘In the same year and on the same day as above’ is given at the head of a deposition, it can be very hard to work out a point of reference—or even to be sure that that point of reference still exists.

Not all is quicksand, however. In many cases the date is spelled out in full. In others, there is no year, but a day of the week and a church feast are given: in all these cases, reassuringly, the day has turned out to be correct for that feast in our suggested year. Where there are problems, there are often grounds for plausible conjecture. One example is that where there is a firmly dated deposition (a) and a chronologically problematic one (b), full or partial overlap between the officials assisting at both depositions can be used to suggest the probability that deposition (b) was near in time to (a). The contents of two depositions which refer to the same matter can also in some cases suggest a chronology.

These are the bases on which this calendar has been compiled. It attempts to lay out the depositions in chronological order, using square brackets for any information that is not made absolutely explicit in the depositions itself. Years in the new style are added in round brackets where necessary. The annotation to the English translation provides further comments and explanation.

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<sup>1</sup> Previously attempted by Douais, *Documents*, pp. clxxii–clxxx. His list of depositions is less extensive than ours: most of the time our calendar agrees with his.

**31 May 1273** William of Molières (1<sup>r</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, pridie kalendas Iunii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the day before the kalends of June.

Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.

Brother William of Labarthe, OP.

Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.

**2 June [1273]** Petronilla, wife of Daide of Bras (i) (4<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, secundo die introitus Iunii.

In the same year as above, on the second day from the start of June.

Ranulph, inquisitor.

Brother William of Labarthe, OP.

Master [Berengar] of Vernet, rector of the church of Saint-Félix.

**25 June [1273]** Petronilla, wife of Daide of Bras (ii) (5<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra in crastinum Nativitatis Beati Joannis Baptistæ.

In the same year as above, on the morrow of the Nativity of the Blessed John the Baptist.

Brother William of Labarthe, lieutenant of brother Ranulph, inquisitor.

Brother Alexander, OP.

Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.

**25 June [1273]** Petronilla, wife of William of Castanet (i) (5<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, septimo kalendas Iulii.

In the same year as above, seven days before the kalends of July.

Brother William of Labarthe, acting in place of brother Ranulph, inquisitor.

Brother Alexander, of the Order of Preachers, and Sicard Lunel.

Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.

**30 June 1273** Michael of Pech-Rodil, Burgundian (9<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, pridie kalendas Iulii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the day before the kalends of July.

No witnesses mentioned.

**[30 June 1273]** Aymes the Burgundian (9<sup>v</sup>)

Anno et die quo supra.

In the same year and on the same day as above.

No witnesses mentioned.

**[30 June 1273]** John Leros, Burgundian (10<sup>r</sup>)

Anno et die quo supra.

In the same year and on the same day as above.

No witnesses mentioned.

[30 June 1273] Peter of Pech-Rodil (10<sup>r</sup>)  
 Anno et die quo supra.  
 In the same year and on the same day as above.  
 No witnesses mentioned.

[30 June 1273] Peter the Burgundian (10<sup>r</sup>)  
 Anno et die quo supra.  
 In the same year and on the same day as above.  
 No witnesses mentioned.

[30 June 1273] Garmus the Burgundian (10<sup>r</sup>)  
 Anno et die quo supra.  
 In the same year and on the same day as above.  
 No witnesses mentioned.

[30 June 1273] John Blancard, Auvergnat (10<sup>r</sup>)  
 Anno et die quo supra.  
 In the same year and on the same day as above.  
 No witnesses mentioned.

[30 June 1273] Gerald of Verdié (10<sup>v</sup>)  
 Anno et die quo supra.  
 In the same year and on the same day as above.  
 No witnesses mentioned.

[30 June–9 July 1273 *probable date of first deposition of Bernard Rival*]

1 July [1273] Petronilla, wife of William of Castanet (ii) (7<sup>v</sup>)  
 Anno quo supra, kalendas Iulii.  
 In the same year as above, on the kalends of July.  
 Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.  
 Brother Peter Arsieu, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Carcassonne, and  
 brother William of Labarthe, and brother Alexander OP.  
 Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.  
 And the said witness abjured heresy, and took an oath etc. before brother  
 Ranulph, inquisitor.  
 Master Berengar of Vernet.  
 Bernard Bonet, notary.

3 July [1273] Petronilla, wife of Daide of Bras (iii) (5<sup>r</sup>)  
 Anno quo supra, quinto nonas Iulii.  
 In the same year as above, five days before the nones of July.  
 No witnesses mentioned.

9 July 1273 William Fournier (14<sup>v</sup>)  
 Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, septimo idus  
 Iulii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, seven days before the ides of July.

No witnesses mentioned.

[9 July–21 August 1273 probable date of first deposition of the unnamed aforesaid witness]

**21 August [1273]** Aldric, boy, son of Raymond Saix of Caraman (i) (17<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra in festo Beati Bernardi, confessoris.

In the same year as above, on the feast of the Blessed Bernard, confessor.

Brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor.

Brother William of Labarthe, OP.

Bernard Bonet, public notary.

**25 August [1273]** Unnamed aforesaid witness (ii?) (16<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, in crastinum Sancti Bartholomæi.

In the same year as above, on the morrow of St Bartholomew.

Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.

Brother William of Labarthe, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, notary of the Inquisition.

**4 September [1273]** Unnamed aforesaid witness (iii?) (17<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, secundo nonas Septembris.

In the same year as above, two days before the nones of September.

No witnesses mentioned.

**9 October [1273]** Durand of Rouffiac of Laumière (i) (20<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, in festo Sancti Dionisii.

In the same year as above, on the feast of St Denis.

Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.

Brother William of Labarthe, OP, master Berengar of Vernet, William of Concots.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

**10 October [1273]** Durand of Rouffiac of Laumière (ii) (23<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, in crastinum Sancti Dionisii.

In the same year as above, on the morrow of St Denis.

No witnesses mentioned.

**31 October [1273]** Gaubert of *Aula* of Bénas (i) (23<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum.

In the same year as above, on the eve of All Saints.

Brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor, OP.

Brother John Dulcis, OP, and master Atho of Saint-Victor.

Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.

[4 November 1273] Gaubert of *Aula* of Bénas (ii) (25<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die Sabbati post festum Omnium Sanctorum.

In the same year as above, on the Saturday after the feast of All Saints.

Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.

Brother Hugh of Aragon and brother Hugh of Born, of the Grammontine Order.

Atho, notary of the Inquisition.

11 November 1273 Stephen Roger of Roumens (26<sup>r</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, sabbato in festo Sancti Martini.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the Saturday on the feast of St Martin.

Toulouse.

Brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor.

Master Berengar of Vernet, Sicard Lunel.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

12 November [1273] Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles (i) (29<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, dominica in crastinum Sancti Martini.

In the same year as above, on the Sunday on the morrow of St Martin.

No witnesses mentioned.

[13 November 1273] Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles (ii) (32<sup>v</sup>)

In crastinum.

On the following day.

Toulouse.

Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.

Master Berengar of Vernet, Bernard Bonet.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

[14 November 1273] Bartholomew Jordan of Rabastens (35<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die martis post festum Beati Martini.

In the same year as above, on the Tuesday after the feast of the Blessed Martin.

Brother Ranulph of Plassac OP.

Brother Peter Raymond Baranhon and Sicard Lunel.

Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.

[11 December 1273] Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles (iii) (33<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die lunæ ante festum Sanctæ Lucie.

In the same year as above, on the Monday before the feast of St Lucy.

No witnesses mentioned.

22 January [1273 (1274)] Master William of *Rosergue* (36<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die lunæ in festo Sancti Vincencii.

In the same year as above, on the Monday on the feast of St Vincent.

No witnesses mentioned.

[7 February 1273 (1274)] Guillelma, wife of Thomas of Saint-Flour, joiner (i) (37<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die mercurii post festum Sanctæ Agathæ.

In the same year as above, on the Wednesday after the feast of St Agatha.

Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.

Brothers Peter Rey, and Daide Faure of Montpellier, and Bernard Bonet.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

[7 February 1273 (1274)] Fabrisa, wife of Peter Vital, joiner (i) (43<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die mercurii post festum Sanctæ Agathæ virginis.

In the same year as above, on the Wednesday after the feast of St Agatha, virgin.

Toulouse.

Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, OP, inquisitors.

Brother Peter Rey, Brother Arnold Pica, Bernard Bonet.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

[7 February–10 April 1274 second deposition of Fabrisa, wife of Peter Vital, joiner (44<sup>v</sup>)]

Anno quo supra

In the same year as above.

Brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor.

Atho of Saint-Victor, notary of the Inquisition, and Jaquet, gaoler of the prisoners. Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.

[Probably after 7 February 1274 three depositions of Philippa, daughter of Fabrisa:]

*The first one (52<sup>r</sup>) probably 7–11 February 1274*

Anno quo supra.

In the same year as above.

Toulouse.

Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, OP, inquisitors.

Brother Peter Rey, Bernard Bonet.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

*The second one (52<sup>v</sup>) on the following day.*

In crastinum.

On the following day.

No witnesses mentioned.

*The last one (53<sup>r</sup>) probably after 10 April 1274*

Anno quo supra.

In the same year as above.

Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, OP, inquisitors.

Brother Peter Barrau and brother Bartholomew of Arcagne, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

**11 February 1273 (1274)** Arnalda, wife of the late Raymond Darasa of Cordes (i) (54<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, in crastino Sanctæ Scolasticæ, virginis, scilicet tertio idus Februarii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the morrow of St Scholastica, virgin, that is three days before the ides of February.

St Antonin, in the diocese of Rodez, in the monastery of the said saint.

Brothers Ranulph, and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors.

Master Berengar of Vernet.

Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.

**12 February [1273 (1274)]** Arnalda, wife of the late Raymond Darasa of Cordes (ii) (58<sup>v</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, pridie idus Februarii.

Item, in the same year as above, on the day before the ides of February.

The said monastery of St Antonin.

The inquisitor.

Master Berengar of Vernet.

**13 February 1273 (1274)** Raymond, chaplain of Cestayrols (61<sup>r</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, idus Februarii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the ides of February.

Gaillac.

Brothers Ranulph, and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors.

The then lord abbot of Gaillac, and master Berengar of Vernet.

Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.

**[13 February 1273 (1274)]** Raymond Roque of Cestayrols, cleric (62<sup>r</sup>)

Anno et die quibus supra.

In the same year and on the same day as above.

Gaillac, in the abbey.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Master Berengar of Vernet.

Bernard Bonet, public notary of the Inquisition.

**20 February 1273 (1274)** Gardouch, knight of Mauremont (63<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, die martis ante festum Beati Petri ad Cathedram.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the Tuesday before the feast of the Chair of Blessed Peter.

Brothers of the Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors.

Robin, servant of the keeper of the prisoners.

Bernard Bonet, public notary of the Inquisition.



[21 February 1273 (1274)] Bernard Rival (ii?) (10<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die mercurii ante festum Sancti Petri ad Cathedram.

In the same year as above, on the Wednesday before the feast of the Chair of St Peter.

Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, OP, inquisitors.

Master Berengar of Vernet, William de Concots, Sicard Lunel.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

[?25 February 1273 (1274)] Bernard Rival (iii?) (14<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, Dominica in Quadragesima.

In the same year as above, on the [first] Sunday in Lent.

Before me, Atho, the aforesaid notary.

Bernard Bonet, Sicard Lunel, Jacquet the gaoler.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

7 March 1273 (1274) William Bernard, squire (64<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, nonas Martii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the nones of March.

Toulouse, a captive in the Château Narbonnais.

Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, OP, inquisitors.

Perrin of Monède, Sicard Lunel, Giles of Lastours, Jacquet the gaoler, Bernard Bonet.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

9 March 1273 (1274) lady Esclarmonda, wife of the late Raymond of Durfort (66<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, die veneris ante festum Sancti Gregorii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the Friday before the feast of St Gregory.

Toulouse ... held in the white tower of the Château Narbonnais.

Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, OP, inquisitors.

Brother William of Puy and brother William Pierre of Toulouse, OP, Sicard Lunel, Jacquet the gaoler.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

[15 March 1273 (1274)] Guillelma, wife of Thomas of Saint-Flour, joiner (ii) (41<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die iovis post festum Sancti Gregorii.

In the same year as above, on the Thursday after the feast of St Gregory.

Toulouse.

Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, OP, inquisitors.

William Capellier and William Rotond in the church of the Dalbade, Sicard Lunel.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

**2 April [1274]** *Raymond and Bernard Hugh captured and put to the question by lord Eustace, seneschal of Toulouse.*

(77<sup>v</sup>) ... *crastinum Paschæ proxime transactum, videlicet quarto nonas Aprilis.*

... *the morrow of last Easter, that is, four days before the nones of April.*

(113<sup>v</sup>) ... *nuper in crastino Paschæ, scilicet quarto nonas Aprilis.*

... *recently, on the morrow of Easter, that is to say, four days before the nones of April.*

**4 April 1273 [1274]** Guillelma, wife of Thomas of Saint-Flour, joiner (iii) (43<sup>r</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, secundo nonas Aprilis.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, two days before the nones of April.

No witnesses listed.

**5 April 1274** Bernard Hugh, brother of Raymond Hugh (i) (67<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, nonas Aprilis.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, on the nones of April.

Toulouse.

Brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors.

Brothers Peter Barrau and Vital of *Vassaron*, OP, master Berengar of Vernet, Bernard Bonet.

Atho of Saint-Victor, notary of the Inquisition.

**[5 April 1274]** Raymond Hugh, son of the late William Hugh of Roquevidal (i) (90<sup>r</sup>)

Anno et die quibus proximo supra.

In the same year and on the same day as immediately above.

Brothers Ranulph and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors.

William of Concots, Raymond Boer, *bailli* of Lavaur, Constantine of L'Estelle.

Master Berengar of Vernet.

**[6 April 1274]** Raymond Hugh, son of William Hugh of Roquevidal (ii) (95<sup>v</sup>)

Item in crastinum adiecit ...

Item, on the following day he added ...

No witnesses mentioned.

**[7 April 1274]** Raymond Hugh (iii) (108<sup>r</sup>)

Item, sequenti die, addidit ...

Item, on the following day, he added ...

Brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors.

Brother Peter Barrau and brother Vital of *Vassaron*, OP, Atho of Saint-Victor.

Master Berengar of Vernet.

**7 April [1274]** Raymond Hugh, son of William Hugh of Roquevidal (iv) (114<sup>r</sup>)  
Item septimo idus Aprilis prædictus Raymundus Hugonis, rediens, addidit  
confessionem suam ...

Item, seven days before the ides of April, the aforesaid Raymond Hugh,  
returning, added to his confession ...

The aforesaid brother inquisitors.

Brother Vital of *Vassaron*.

Master Berengar of Vernet.

**[7 April 1274]** Raymond Hugh, son of William Hugh of Roquevidal (v) (118<sup>r</sup>)

Item audivit prædictos hæreticos dicentes ...

Item, he heard the aforesaid heretics saying ...

This he attested before the aforesaid.

**10 April 1274** Fabrisa, wife of Peter Vital, joiner (iii) (49<sup>r</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, quarto idus  
Aprilis.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, four days  
before the ides of April.

Brother Ranulph, and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors.

Brother Peter Barrau, and brother Tolsan of the Order of Preachers.

Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.

**10 April [1274]** Raymond Hugh, son of William Hugh of Roquevidal (vi)  
(119<sup>r</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, quarto idus Aprilis.

Item, in the same year as above, four days before the ides of April.

Brothers Ranulph, and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors.

Brother Peter Ferrand and Arnold Aucard.

Master Berengar of Vernet.

**[10 April 1274]** Raymond Hugh, son of William Hugh of Roquevidal (vii)  
(124<sup>v</sup>)

Item addidit quod ...

Item, he added that ...

These things he attested before the aforesaid.

**[10 April 1274]** Raymond Hugh, son of William Hugh of Roquevidal (viii)  
(125<sup>r</sup>)

Item addidit quod ...

Item, he added that ...

These things he attested before the aforesaid.

**[15 April 1274]** Bernard Fournier of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux (i) (151<sup>r</sup>)

Anno et die quibus supra.

In the same year and on the same day as above.

Brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor.

Brother Arnold Aucard, OP, and Sicard Lunel, and Constantine.  
Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.

**16 April 1274** Bernard Hugh, brother of Raymond Hugh (ii) (78<sup>r</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, decimo sexto  
kalendas Maii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, sixteen  
days before the kalends of May.

The aforesaid inquisitor.

Brothers Peter Ferrand and Arnold Aucard, OP.

Bernard Bonet, the aforesaid notary.

**16 April [1274]** Bona, wife of Bernard of Puy (i) (82<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, decimo sexto kalendas Maii.

In the same year as above, sixteen days before the kalends of May.  
Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Arnold Aucard and brother Peter Ferrand, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

**16 April [1274]** Bernard Fournier of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux (ii) (153<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, decimo sexto kalendas Maii, *prædictus testis in crastinum*  
*correxit se.*

In the same year as above, sixteen days before the kalends of May, the aforesaid  
witness on the following day corrected himself.

The aforesaid inquisitor.

Brothers Arnold Aucard and Peter Ferrand, OP.

Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.

**27 April [1274]** Bernard of Puy of Prades (ii?) (125<sup>r</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, quinto kalendas Madii, *Bernardus* de Podio de Pradis  
*adiecit confessioni suæ ...*

Item, in the same year as above, five days before the kalends of May, Bernard of  
Puy of Prades added to his confession ...

Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.

Brother Peter Ferrand and Constantine.

Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, public notary.

**[27 April 1274]** Bernard of Puy of Prades (iii?) (128<sup>r</sup>)

Item quod quando ...

Item, that when ...

Before the said inquisitor.

With the aforesaid witnesses.

**27 April [1274]** Raymond of Estanove (i) (156<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, quinto kalendas Maii.

In the same year as above, five days before the kalends of May.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Arnold Aucard and brother Peter Ferrand, OP, master Berengar of Vernet, master Peter of Vaure.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

**28 April [1274]** Bona, wife of Bernard of Puy (ii) (84<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, quarto kalendas Maii.

In the same year as above, four days before the kalends of May.

No witnesses mentioned.

**2 May 1274** Bona, wife of Bernard of Puy (iii) (85<sup>r</sup>)

Item, anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, sexto nonas Maii.

Item, in the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, six days before the nones of May.

Brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors.

Lord Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, Bernard Bonet, notary.

Master Berengar of Vernet.

**7 May 1274** Bernard of Montesquieu, son of lord Saix of Puylaurens (i) (159<sup>r</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, in crastino Sancti Iohannis ante portam Latinam.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, on the morrow of St John outside the Latin Gate.

Of this confession, received at the command of the inquisitors, there are witnesses: master William of Puylaurens, and lord William chaplain of Guitalens, and Aimery, priest, his colleague.

**8 May [1274]** Bernard Hugh, brother of Raymond Hugh (iii) (80<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, octavo Idus Maii.

In the same year as above, eight days before the ides of May.

Toulouse.

Brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, OP, inquisitors.

Brother Ranulph William OP, master Peter of Vaure, Jacquet the gaoler.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the inquisition.

**9 May [1274]** Bernard of Puy of Prades (iv?) (128<sup>v</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, septimo idus Madii.

Item, in the same year as above, seven days before the ides of May.

The brothers inquisitors, that is ... brother Ranulph and brother Pons of Parnac.

Brother Raymond William, OP.

Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary.

**10 May [1274]** Bona, wife of Bernard of Puy (iv) (87<sup>v</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, sexto idus Madii.

Item, in the same year as above, six days before the ides of May.

Brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor.

Brother Raymond William and brother Arnold, OP.

Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary.

**11 May [1274]** Bona, wife of Bernard of Puy (v) (89<sup>r</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, quinto idus Madii.

Item, in the same year as above, five days before the ides of May.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Master Berengar of Vernet and master Atho, notary of the Inquisition.

Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary.

**12 May 1274** Aldric, boy, son of Raymond Saix of Caraman (ii) (19<sup>v</sup>)

Item anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, quarto idus Maii.

Item, in the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, four days before the ides of May.

Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.

Master John of Vaure and brother Arnold Gervase.

Master Berengar of Vernet.

**18 May [1274]** Peter William of Roqueville, squire (i) (130<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra decimo quinto kalendas Iunii.

In the same year as above, fifteen days before the kalends of June.

Toulouse.

Brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, OP, inquisitors.

Jacquet the gaoler.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

**19 May [1274]** Lady Bezersa, the wife of Peter Isarn of Cestayrols (164<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo proximo, decimo quarto kalendas Iunii.

In the same year as above, fourteen days before the kalends of June.

Brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor.

Brother Arnold Gervase, OP, and Constantine of L'Estelle.

Bernard Bonet, public notary.

**[?19 May 1274]** Bernard, miller (or Bernard Molinier) (i) (166<sup>r</sup>)

Anno et die quibus proximo.

In the same year and on the same day as immediately above.

Brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors.

Constantine of L'Estelle and Raymond of Moulis.

Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse.

**[?21 May 1274]** Peter William of Roqueville, squire (ii) (134<sup>r</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, duodecimo kalendas Iunii.

Item, in the same year as above, twelve days before the kalends of June.  
 Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.  
 Brothers Ranulph William and Arnold Gervase, OP.  
 Master Berengar of Vernet.

**21 May 1274** John of *Torena*, alias John den Hug (i) (136<sup>r</sup>)  
 Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, duodecimo  
 kalendas Iunii.  
 In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, twelve  
 days before the kalends of June.  
 Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.

[**21 May 1274**] John of *Torena*, alias John den Hug (ii) (137<sup>v</sup>)  
 Item dixit quod ...  
 Item, he said that ...  
 Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.  
 Brother Ranulph William, William of Concots, procurator of heresy,  
 Constantine of L'Estelle.  
 Master Berengar of Vernet.

**23 May [1274]** John of *Torena*, alias John den Hug (iii) (138<sup>r</sup>)  
 Item, decimo kalendas Iunii.  
 Item, ten days before the kalends of June.  
 Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.  
 Brothers Ranulph William and Arnold Gervase OP, Constantine of L'Estelle.  
 Master Berengar of Vernet.

**23 May [1274]** Bernard, miller (or Bernard Molinier) (ii) (170<sup>r</sup>)  
 Item, anno quo supra, decimo kalendas Iunii.  
 Item, in the same year as above, ten days before the kalends of June.  
 Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.  
 Brothers Ranulph William and Arnold Gervase, Jacquet the gaoler.  
 Master Berengar of Vernet.

**24 May, [1274]** Raymond Baussan of Lagarde (139<sup>v</sup>)  
 Anno quo supra, nono kalendas Iunii.  
 In the same year as above, nine days before the kalends of June.  
 Toulouse in the house of the Brothers Preacher.  
 Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.  
 Brother Bernard of La Treille, lector, and brother William of Saint-Geniès, of  
 the same order, William of Concots, Bernard Bonet.  
 Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

[**?24 May 1274**] Raymond Gombert of La Cassaigne (147<sup>r</sup>)  
 Anno et die quo supra.  
 In the same year and on the same day as above.  
 Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Elias Manha, of the Order of Preachers, Bernard Bonet, Sicard Lunel.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**12 June [1274]** Bernard, miller (or Bernard Molinier) (iii) (170<sup>v</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, secundo idus Iunii.

Item, in the same year as above, two days before the ides of June.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brothers Peter Ferrand and Elias Manhan, OP, Atho of Saint-Victor, notary of the Inquisition.

Master Berengar of Vernet.

**13 June [1274]** John of *Torena*, alias John den Hug (iv) (139<sup>r</sup>)

Postmodum, anno quo supra, idus Iunii.

Afterwards, in the same year as above, on the ides of June.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Elias, OP, Sicard Lunel, and Constantine, master Bernard Bonet, notary.

Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe.

**13 June [1274]** Raymond of Estanove (ii) (158<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, idus Iunii.

In the same year as above, on the ides of June.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Master Berengar of Vernet and master Peter of Vaure, Bernard Bonet.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**29 June [1274]** Jordan, squire, son of lord Jordan of Saissac (149<sup>r</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, in festo Petri et Pauli.

Item, in the same year as above, on the feast of Peter and Paul.

Puylaurens.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Elias, OP, brother Daurde, brother Arnold Pica, OP, master Berengar of Vernet.

Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary.

**15 July [1274]** Bernard of Montesquieu, son of lord Saix of Puylaurens (ii) (161<sup>v</sup>)

Postea, anno Domini quod supra, idus Iulii.

Afterwards, in the same year of Our Lord as above, on the ides of July.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Elias Manhan OP, master Atho of Saint-Victor, Bernard Bonet, notary of the Inquisition ... and William of *Contour*, the Lord King's procurator for forfeitures for heresy.

Master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote these things.



[15 July 1274] Bernard of Montesquieu, son of lord Saix of Puylaurens (iii)  
(162<sup>v</sup>)

Item dixit quod ...

Item, he said that ...

These things he attested before the aforesaid inquisitor and witnesses.

**16 July [1274]** Isarn Bonhomme, knight of Hautpoul (171<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, decimo septimo kalendas Augusti.

In the same year as above, seventeen days before the kalends of August.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Elias Manhan, master Peter of Vacquiers.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

[16 July 1274] Rixendis of Mireval of Graulhet, otherwise known as of La  
Borie (i) (173<sup>r</sup>)

Anno et die propredictis.

In the same year and on the same day as immediately above.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Elias Manhan, master Berengar of Vernet, master Peter of  
Vacquiers.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

[16 July 1274] William Orset of Espinas (177<sup>v</sup>)

Anno et die propredictis.

In the same year and on the same day as immediately above.

Toulouse

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Elias Manhan, OP, master Berengar of Vernet.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

[?16 July 1274] Guirauda, wife of Durand of Rouffiac (181<sup>r</sup>)

Anno et die prædictis.

In the aforesaid year and on the aforesaid day.

Toulouse.

Before the aforesaid inquisitor.

And the witnesses: as above.

**6 August [1274]** Rixendis of Mireval of Graulhet, otherwise known as of La  
Borie (ii) (176<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, octavo idus Augusti.

In the same year as above, eight days before the ides of August.

Toulouse.

The aforesaid brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, master Peter of Vacquiers.

Atho of Saint-Victor, notary.

**7 August 1274** Raymond of Estanove (iii) (158<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, septimo idus Augusti.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, seven days before the ides of August.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, OP, master John of Essey, notary of the Inquisition.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**10 August [1274]** Bernard Fournier of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux (iii) (154<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, in festo Sancti Laurentii.

In the same year as above, on the feast of St Lawrence.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, William of Concots.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**25 September 1274** Amblard Vassal of La Roque d'Arifat (i) (182<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, die Martis post festum Sancti Mathæi, apostoli et evangelistæ.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, on the Tuesday after the feast of St Matthew, apostle and evangelist.

Toulouse.

Brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, OP, inquisitors.

Brother Peter of the Ispani and brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

**[?25 September 1274]** Stephen Vital of Baraigne (i) (192<sup>v</sup>)

Anno et die quo proximo.

In the same year and on the same day as immediately above.

Toulouse.

Brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, OP, inquisitors.

Brother Ermengaud, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Castres, and brother Bernard of Boussagues.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[?25 September 1274]** Stephen Vital of Baraigne (ii) (195<sup>v</sup>)

Item, the aforesaid witness, asked about the departure of Pons Raymond of Beateville, answered ...

Item prædictus testis, interrogatus de recessu Pontii Raymundi de Bautevilla, respondit ...

Hæc deposit anno et die prædictis.

These things he attested in the aforesaid year and on the aforesaid day.

Before the same inquisitors and witnesses.

[?25 September 1274] Bernard Raymond Baranhon (i) (195<sup>v</sup>)

Anno et die quo supra.

In the same year and on the same day as above.

Brothers inquisitors Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac.

Brother Raymond of Escalquens, guardian, and brother Raymond Arrin,

OP, and brother Peter Raymond Baranhon and brother Peter of the Ispani  
OP.

Peter of Vacquiers, public notary of Toulouse and of the said inquisitors.

29 September 1274 Amblard Vassal of La Roque d'Arifat (ii) (192<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, sabbato in festo Sancti Michaelis.

In the same year as above, on the Saturday on the feast of St Michael.

Toulouse.

Before the aforesaid inquisitors.

Witnesses as above.

[26 October 1274] Rixendis of Mireval of Graulhet, otherwise known as of La Borie (iii) (177<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die veneris ante festum apostolorum Simonis et Iudæ.

In the same year as above, on the Friday before the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude.

Brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, OP, inquisitors.

Brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, and brother Peter of the Ispani [Spaniards],

OP, Peter of Vacquiers, cleric.

Atho of Saint-Victor, notary.

6 November [1274] Bernard Raymond Baranhon (ii) (200<sup>r</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, octavo idus Novembris.

Item, in the same year as above, eight days before the ides of November.

No witnesses mentioned.

21 March 1274 (1275) Aimery of Castelnau of Issel, knight (201<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, die jovis proxima ante festum Anunciationis Dominicæ.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, on the

Thursday before the feast of the Annunciation of the Lord.

The said inquisitors, Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac.

Peter of Vacquiers, notary of the said inquisitors.

24 April [1275] Bernard Fournier of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux (iv) (155<sup>r</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, octavo kalendas Madii.

Item, in the same year as above, eight days before the kalends of May.

Brother Ranulph, inquisitor.

Brother Peter Ferrand and brother Arnold, OP.

Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary.

**25 May [1275]** Adémar Galos, the son of William Galos of Montesquieu (i) (202<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die sabbati post festum Ascentionis Domini.

In the same year as above, on the Saturday after the feast of the Ascension of the Lord.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Raymond Baranhon, OP, Peter of Vacquiers.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[25 May 1275]** Adémar Galos, the son of William Galos of Montesquieu (ii) (205<sup>r</sup>)

Addit etiam ibidem, et coram prædictis, quod ...

He also added there, and before the aforesaid, that ...

Again he acknowledged them before the aforesaid inquisitor, in the house of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse, in the chapel of the infirmary.

Brother William of Puy, prior, and brother Bernard Guiraud, lector, of the same house.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary,

Adémar Galos, the son of William Galos of Montesquieu is then sent to Castres with letter, dated **[26 May 1275]** (205<sup>v</sup>).

... dominica post festum Ascentionis Domini.

... on the Sunday after the feast of the Ascension of the Lord.

**[30 May 1275]** Isambard of Saint-Antonin (206<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die iovis ante festum Penthecostes.

In the same year as above, on the Thursday before the feast of Pentecost.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, Peter of Vacquiers.

Atho of Saint-Victor.

**1 June 1275** Bernarda, wife of William of Lafont (i) (208<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, sabbato in vigilia Penthecostes, Bernarda, uxor Guillelmi de Fonte, molendinarii de Cantaleriis.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, on the Saturday on the eve of Pentecost, Bernarda, the wife of William of Lafont, the miller of Caucalières.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Raymond of Lafont and brother William of Plaigne, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**10 September [1275]** Date assigned to Adémar Galos, the son of William Galos of Montesquieu (205<sup>r</sup>)

Assignata fuit ei dies martis post festum Nativitatis Beatæ Mariæ proxime futurum.

He was assigned the Tuesday after the next feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary.

**30 September 1275** Bernarda, wife of William of Lafont (ii) (211<sup>r</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, die lunæ in crastinum Sancti Michaelis Septembris.

Item, in the same year as above, on the Monday on the morrow of St Michael in September.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother William of Montclar, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**9 November 1275** Peter Raymond, son of lord Isarn of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux (212<sup>r</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, die sabbati ante festum Sancti Martini hiemalis.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, on the Saturday before the feast of St Martin in winter.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Peter Raymond Baranhon.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**20 November 1275** Bernard Raymond Baranhon (iii) (201<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, die Mercurii post octavam Sancti Martini.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, on the Wednesday after the octaves of St Martin.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother William of Puy, prior of the Preachers of Toulouse, brother Peter Vital, brother Bernard Guiraud, of the same order.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**23 November 1275** Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles (iv) (34<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, die sabbati in festo Sancti Clementis.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, on the Saturday on the feast of St Clement.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Peter Raymond Baranhon.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition.

**14 January [1275 (1276)]** Lord Hugh, archpriest of Gardouch (214<sup>r</sup>)  
 Anno quo supra, die martis post octavam Epiphaniæ.  
 In the same year as above, on the Tuesday after the octave of Epiphany.  
 Toulouse.  
 Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.  
 Brother Bernard of Villèle, OP, Michael, prior of Avignon.  
 Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**16 January [1275 (1276)]** Peter Perrin of Puylaurens (215<sup>v</sup>)  
 Anno quo supra, die iovis post octavam Epiphaniæ.  
 In the same year as above, on the Thursday after the octave of Epiphany.  
 Toulouse.  
 Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.  
 Brother Peter Raymond Baranhon.  
 Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[?18 January 1275 (1276)]** Peter Eugrin of Puydaniel (217<sup>r</sup>)  
 Anno quo supra, die sabbati post Epiphaniam (?octavam Epiphaniæ).  
 In the same year as above, on the Saturday after (?the octave of) Epiphany.  
 No witnesses mentioned.

**19 January 1275 (1276)** Peter of Sella, of Monferrato in Lombardy (i) (218<sup>r</sup>)  
 Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, dominica post  
 octavam Epiphaniæ.  
 In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, on the  
 Sunday after the octave of Epiphany.  
 No witnesses mentioned.

**[?19 January 1275 (1276)]** Arnold Cimordan of Gascogne (i) (219<sup>v</sup>)  
 Anno et die quibus proximis.  
 In the same year and on the same day as immediately above.  
 Toulouse.  
 Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.  
 Brother Bernard of Villèle.  
 Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[?19 January 1275 (1276)]** Arnold Cimordan of Gascogne (ii) (221<sup>v</sup>)  
 Postmodum, eadem die.  
 Afterwards, on the same day.  
 In the presence of the said inquisitor.  
 Brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, OP, Peter of Vacquiers.  
 Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[?19 January 1275 (1276)]** William le Gran (225<sup>r</sup>)  
 Anno et die quibus supra.  
 In the same year and on the same day as above.  
 No witnesses mentioned.

[21 January 1275 (1276)] Peter of Sella, of Monferrato in Lombardy (ii) (219<sup>r</sup>)  
 Die martis proxime sequenti.  
 On the following Tuesday.  
 No witnesses mentioned.

[24 January 1275 (1276)] Peter of Sella assigned to appear (219<sup>v</sup>)  
 Assignata fuit ei dies veneris proxima ad audiendum mandatum  
 inquisitoris.  
 He was assigned the following Friday to hear the command of the  
 inquisitor.

5 March [1275 (1276)] Arnold Cimordan of Gasconne assigned to appear  
 (221<sup>v</sup>)  
 Et fuit ei assignata ad audiendum mandatum inquisitoris, dies iovis post  
 instans festum Sancti Albini.  
 And he was assigned, to hear the command of the inquisitor, the Thursday  
 after the next feast of St Albin.

[9 March 1275 (1276)] Arnold Cimordan of Gasconne (iii) (222<sup>r</sup>)  
 Qua die non comparuit, quia detentus erat in carcere apud Viridifolio, sed  
 comparuit coram dicto inquisitore die lunæ sequenti.  
 On which day he did not appear, because he was held in prison at Verfeil, but  
 he appeared before the said inquisitor on the following Monday.  
 Before the said inquisitor.  
 No witnesses mentioned.

[10 March 1275 (1276)] Arnold Cimordan of Gasconne (iv) (222<sup>v</sup>)  
 Rediit igitur mane sequenti et respondit ...  
 Therefore he returned the next morning and answered ...  
 Toulouse.  
 Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.  
 Brother Peter Raymond Baranhon.  
 Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

20 April 1276 Rodrigo Fernandes, priest, native of Portugal (226<sup>v</sup>)  
 Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo sexto, die lunæ ante  
 festum Sancti Marchi Evangelistæ.  
 In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-six, on the  
 Monday before the feast of St Mark the Evangelist.  
 Toulouse.  
 Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.  
 Brother Raymond Aimery, of the Order of Preachers.  
 Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

21 May [1276] Raymond Bassier of Caraman (228<sup>v</sup>)  
 Anno quo supra, duodecimo kalendas Iunii.  
 In the same year as above, twelve days before the kalends of June.

Brother Pons of Parnac and brother Hugh of Bouniols, inquisitors.  
 Brother Bernard of Villèle, and brother Raymond Aymery, OP, Peter of  
 Vacquiers.  
 Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**11 October 1276** Letter sent from from Pons of Parnac to Raymond, Prior of  
 Dominicans of Montauban, concerning Bernard of Souillac of Montauban  
 (230<sup>r</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo sexto, dominica post  
 festum Sancti Dionisii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-six, on the  
 Sunday after the feast of St Denis.

**13 October [1276]** Note of reception of this letter (232<sup>v</sup>)

Item, anno quo supra, die martis post festum Sancti Dionisii.

Item, in the same year as above, on the Tuesday after the feast of St Denis.

[?post **11 October 1276**] Raymonda Ferrier of Jul (241<sup>r</sup>)

Anno et die prædictis.

In the aforesaid year and on the aforesaid day.

Toulouse

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Hugh Amiel, prior of Toulouse, brother Peter Arsieu, and brother  
 Peter Raymond, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

[?post **11 October 1276**] Bernard of Lambès squire (242<sup>v</sup>)

Anno et die quibus proximis.

In the same year and on the same day as immediately above.

No witnesses mentioned.

**14 April 1277** Bernard Escolau, illegitimate son of Peter Escolau of Saint-Paul-  
 Cap-de-Joux (i) (243<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo septimo, decimo octavo  
 kalendas Maii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven,  
 eighteen days before the kalends of May.

No witnesses mentioned.

**24 April [1277]** Peter Pictavin the elder of Sorèze (i) (248<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, in crastinum Sancti Georgii.

In the same year as above, on the morrow of St George.

Brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse, and brother  
 Peter Arsieu OP, acting in place of brother Pons of Parnac and brother  
 Hugh of Bouniols, inquisitors of heresy.

Brothers Peter Raymond Baranhon <and> Arnold Mantrini, OP.

Peter of Vacquiers, public notary of Toulouse.



**2 May [1277]** Bernard Escolau, illegitimate son of Peter Escolau of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux (ii) (244<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, sexto nonas Maii.

In the same year as above, six days before the nones of May.

Toulouse, in court.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Peregrine, and brother Peter Feltrier, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[post 2 May 1277]** Bernard Escolau, illegitimate son of Peter Escolau of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux (iii) (246<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra.

In the same year as above.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Peter Raymond Baranhon, Arnold John, Aimery Barrau, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[10 May 1277]** Peter Pictavin the elder of Sorèze (ii) (251<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die lunæ post festum Sancti Iohannis ante Portam Latinam.

In the same year as above, on the Monday after the feast of St John outside the Latin Gate.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac and brother Hugh of Bouniols, inquisitors.

Brothers Peregrine and Peter Feltrier, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**5 June 1277** Raymond of Pouts of Sorèze (i) (271<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducesimo septuagesimo septimo, die sabbati post festum Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven, on the Saturday after the feast of Saints Marcellin and Peter.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, James of *Saumeri*, the keeper of the prison.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[9 June 1277]** Peter Pictavin the elder of Sorèze (iii) (255<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, die mercurii ante festum Sancti Barnabæ Apostoli.

In the same year as above, on the Wednesday before the feast of St Barnabas the Apostle.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brothers Peregrine, Arnold Talharic, Peter Feltrier, Peter Raymond Baranhon, [and] Raymond Aymery OP

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**4 September [1277]** Raymond of Pouts of Sorèze (ii) (274<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, secundo nonas Septembris.

In the same year as above, two days before the nones of September.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.

Brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse, brother

Ermengau Lautier, James *de Savineri*, the keeper of the prison.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**22 September [1277]** Raymond Arquier, alias Baussan (i) (274<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, decimo kalendas octobris.

In the same year as above, ten days before the kalends of October.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse, acting in place of the inquisitor.

Brother Pons of Parnac, brother Amiel of Blan.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**27 September [1277]** Ermengardis, wife of the late Isarn Pagès of Blan (i) (288<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, quinto kalendas Octobris.

In the same year as above, five days before the kalends of October.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse, acting in place of the inquisitor.

Brother Amiel of Blan, James the keeper of the prison.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**18 November 1277** William de Ath, son of William den Ath of Sorèze (290<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo septimo, decimo quarto kalendas Decembris.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven, fourteen days before the kalends of December.

Toulouse.

Brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor.

Brother Bernard of L'Isle, OP.

Atho of Saint Victor, public notary.

**27 November [1277]** Ermengardis, wife of the late Isarn Pagès of Blan (ii) (290<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, quinto kalendas Decembris.

In the same year as above, five days before the kalends of December.

Toulouse.

Brother Peter Arsieu.

Brother Peter Vascon, brother Bernard de l'Isle, brother Amiel of Blan.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**2 December [1277]** Bernard Barra of Sorèze (291<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, quarto nonas Decembris.

In the same year as above, four days before the nones of December.

Toulouse.

Brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor.

Master Raymond of *Bante*, monk of Sorèze, and brother Bernard of L'Isle,  
OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**10 January [1277 (1278)]** Peter of Beauville of Avignonet (i) (297<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, quarto idus Ianuarii.

In the same year as above, four days before the ides of January.

Toulouse.

Brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor.

Brother Pons of Parnac, brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher,  
brother Bernard of L'Isle.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**13 January [1277 (1278)]** Peter of Beauville of Avignonet (ii) (300<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, idus Ianuarii.

In the same year as above, on the ides of January.

No witnesses named.

**[?shortly after 13 January 1277 (1278)]** Peter of Beauville of Avignonet (iii)  
(310<sup>v</sup>)

In the same year as above.

Anno quo supra.

Toulouse.

Peter Arsieu, inquisitor.

Brother Hugh Amiel, brother Pons of Parnac and brother Bernard of L'Isle,  
OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**2 March [1277 (1278)]** John Clerc (i) (2<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, sexto nonas Martii.

In the same year as above, six days before the nones of March.

Toulouse.

Brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor.

Brother Pons of Prat, brother Bernard de l'Isle, and brother Raymond of  
Laroque of the Agenais.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**9 March [1277 (1278)]** Raymond Arquier, alias Baussan (ii) (283<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, septimo idus Martii.

In the same year as above, seven days before the ides of March.

Toulouse.

Brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor.

Brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother Raymond Guilabert, brother William  
Aymery, OP.  
Atho of Saint Victor, public notary.

**13 March [1277 (1278)]** Raymond Arquier, alias Baussan (iii) (284<sup>r</sup>)  
Anno quo supra, tertio idus Martii.  
In the same year as above, three days before the ides of March.  
No witnesses named.

[**13 March 1277 (1278)**] Raymond Arquier, alias Baussan (iv) (286<sup>r</sup>)  
Item adiecit confessioni suæ.  
Item, he added to his confession.  
Toulouse.  
Brother Arsieu, inquisitor.  
Brother Bartholomew of Arcagne, brother Amiel of Blan, brother Bernard of  
L'Isle, OP.  
Atho of Saint Victor, public notary.

**23 March 1278** Isarn of Corneilhan (5<sup>v</sup>)  
Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo octavo, decimo kalendas  
Aprilis.  
In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-eight, ten days  
before the kalends of April.  
Toulouse.  
Brother Bernard of L'Isle, acting in place of brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor.  
Brother Bernard of Villèle, brother Vital of *Valle Seron*, brother Amiel of Blan,  
OP.  
Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**27 March [1277 (1278)]** John Clerc (ii) (4<sup>v</sup>)  
Anno quo supra, sexto kalendas Aprilis.  
In the same year as above, six days before the kalends of April.  
Toulouse.  
Brother Bernard of L'Isle, the inquisitor's lieutenant.  
Brother Arnold of Valcabrière, brother Amiel of Blan, brother Adémar of  
Saint-Paul, OP.  
Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**16 April [1278]** Lord Jordan of Saissac (49<sup>r</sup>)  
Anno quo supra, decimo sexto kalendas Maii.  
In the same year as above, sixteen days before the kalends of May.  
Carcassonne.  
Brother Hugh of Bouniols, inquisitor.  
Brother Raymond Sicre, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Castres, brother  
John of Falgous, brother Paul, OP.  
John of Essey, notary.

**16 May 1278** Peter Pictavin the elder of Sorèze (iv) (259<sup>v</sup>)  
 Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo octavo, decimo septimo kalendas Iunii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-eight, seventeen days before the kalends of June.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh of Bouniols and brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitors.

Brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother John Falgous, brother John of Aspremont, and brother Bernard of *Monte Cathedra* OP, Master Berengar of Vernet, Peter of Vacquiers.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[17 May 1278]** Peter Pictavin the elder of Sorèze (v) (265<sup>v</sup>)

In crastinum.

On the following day.

No witnesses named.

**18 May [1278]** Peter Pictavin the elder of Sorèze (vi) (266<sup>v</sup>)

Item, [anno] quo supra, decimo quinto kalendas Iunii.

Item, in the same year as above, fifteen days before the kalends of June.

Toulouse.

Brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor.

Brother Arnold Vascon, brother Peter Vital, brother Raymond Aymery.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**30 May [1278]** Arnold of Corneilhan (6<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, tertio kalendas Iunii.

In the same year as above, three days before the kalends of June.

No witnesses mentioned.

**[30 May 1278]** Guilabert of Foissac (7<sup>v</sup>)

Anno et die prædictis.

In the aforesaid year and on the aforesaid day.

No witnesses mentioned.

**1 June [1278]** Peter Pictavin the elder of Sorèze (vii) (268<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, kalendas Iunii.

In the same year as above, on the kalends of June.

Toulouse.

Brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor.

Brother Raymond Mans, brother Peter Vital, brother Bernard of L'Isle.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**22 June [1278]** Peter Gerald of Montgey (8<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, decimo kalendas Iulii.

In the same year as above, ten days before the kalends of July.

Montgey in the house of the chaplain.

Brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor Brother Bernard of L'Isle, OP, Peter Aymais, chaplain [of Montgey].  
[Atho] of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**22 June [1278]** Galhard Ros (54<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, decimo kalendas Iulii.

In the same year as above, ten days before the kalends of July.

Toulouse, in the house of the Brothers Preacher.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Pons of Parnac, brother Bernard of L'Isle.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**2 August [1278]** Pons of Bagnol (i) (56<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, quarto nonas Augusti.

In the same year as above, four days before the nones of August.

No witnesses mentioned.

**10 August [1278]** William Raffard of Roquefort (i) (11<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, quarto idus Augusti.

In the same year as above, four days before the ides of August.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, acting in place of the inquisitor.

Brother Bernard of Lisle, brother Arnold of Valcabrière.

Peter Vital, notary of the inquisitor.

**16 August [1278]** William Raffard of Roquefort (ii) (20<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, decimo septimo kalendas Septembris.

In the same year as above, seventeen days before the kalends of September.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, brother Peter Vascon, brother James of *Cunno*

*Faverio*.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**18 August [1278]** William Raffard of Roquefort (iii) (32<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, decimo quinto kalendas Septembris.

In the same year as above, fifteen days before the kalends of September.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, brother Peter Vascon, brother James of *Cunno Faureio*.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**31 August [1278]** William Raffard of Roquefort (iv) (36<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, secundo kalendas Septembris.

In the same year as above, two days before the kalends of September.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel and brother John Galand, inquisitors.

Brother Bernard of L'Isle and brother Arnold Archambaud, OP.  
Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**15 September [1278]** Peter of Beauville of Avignonet (iv) (313<sup>v</sup>)  
Anno quo supra, decimo septimo kalendas Octobris.  
In the same year as above, seventeen days before the kalends of October.  
Toulouse.  
Brother Hugh, the prior, and brother Pons of Parnac, acting in place of the  
inquisitor. Brother Pons of Mourières and Brother Amiel of Blan.  
Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**15 November [1278]** Peter of Beauville of Avignonet (v) (318<sup>v</sup>)  
Anno quo supra, decimo septimo kalendas Decembris.  
In the same year as above, seventeen days before the kalends of December.  
No witnesses named.

**22 November [1278]** Peter of Beauville of Avignonet (vi) (320<sup>r</sup>)  
Anno quo supra, decimo kalendas Decembris.  
In the same year as above, ten days before the kalends of December.  
Toulouse.  
Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.  
Brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother Peter Escriva, OP.  
Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**9 December 1278** Peter of Beauville of Avignonet (vii) (322<sup>v</sup>)  
Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo octavo, quinto idus  
Decembris.  
In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-eight, five  
days before the ides of December.  
Toulouse.  
Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.  
Brother Bernard of L'Isle and brother Pons of Parnac, OP.  
Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[13 December 1278]** Peter of Beauville of Avignonet (viii) (324<sup>v</sup>)  
Anno quo proximo, idus Decembris.  
In the same year as immediately above, on the ides of December.  
Toulouse.  
Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.  
Brother Pons of Parnac, brother Raymond Aymery, and brother Bernard of  
L'Isle, OP.  
Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[14 December 1278]** Peter of Beauville of Avignonet (ix) (328<sup>r</sup>)  
In crastinum.  
On the following day.  
Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Raymond of Caubous, prior, brother Arnold John, and brother Bernard of L'Isle, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**17 January 1278 (1279)** Bernard of Lagarde (i) (45<sup>r</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo octavo, decimo sexto kalendas Februarii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-eight, sixteen days before the kalends of February.

No witnesses mentioned.

**11 February [1278 (1279)]** Lady Irlanda, wife of the late William of Villèle (i) (60<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, tertio idus Februarii.

In the same year as above, three days before the ides of February.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Pons of Morières, brother Bernard of Villèle, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**12 February [1278 (1279)]** Bernard of Lagarde (ii) (45<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, secundo idus Februarii.

In the same year as above, two days before the ides of February.

Toulouse.

Brother Pons of Parnac, acting in place of the inquisitor.

Brother Peter of Laures, brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, brother Peter

Ferrand, OP; Sicard of Lunel, James the keeper of the prison.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[12 February 1278 (1279)]** Lady Irlanda, wife of the late William of Villèle (ii) (62<sup>r</sup>)

In crastinum.

On the following day.

Toulouse.

Before the aforesaid inquisitor.

Brother Bernard of Villèle, brother Arnold of *Crasso*, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**17 February [1278 (1279)]** Faydita, wife of Bernard of Montaignu (58<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, decimo tertio kalendas Martii.

In the same year as above, thirteen days before the kalends of March.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Raymond of Caubous, prior of Toulouse, brother Arnold Talharic, and brother Arnold of *Crasso*, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.



**2 March [1278 (1279)]** Bernard of Lagarde (iii) (48<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, sexto nonas Martii.

In the same year as above, six days before the nones of March.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor, brother Raymond Siguar, and brother  
Bernard of L'Isle, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**7 March [1278 (1279)]** Pons of Bagnol (ii) (57<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, nonas Martii.

In the same year as above, on the nones of March.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Raymond of Caubous, prior, brother Bernard Guiraud of Montauban,  
brother Arnold of *Crasso*.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**10 March [1278 (1279)]** Peter of Beauville of Avignonet (x) (331<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, sexto idus Martii.

In the same year as above, six days before the ides of March.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Raymond of Caubous, prior, brother Arnold John, and brother  
Bernard of L'Isle, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**10 March [1278 (1279)]** Guiraud of *Averro* (62<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, sexto idus Martii.

In the same year as above, six days before the ides of March.

No witnesses mentioned.

**11 March [1278 (1279)]** Pons of Bagnol (iii) (58<sup>r</sup>).

Anno quo supra, quinto idus Martii.

In the same year as above, five days before the ides of March.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother Arnold of *Crasso*, brother John of Saint-  
Germier. Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**[Date not specified] 1279** Peter Pictavin the elder of Sorèze (viii) (270<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducesimo septuagesimo nono.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, and brother John Galand, inquisitors.

Brother Arnold Archimbaud and brother Bernard of L'Isle, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**8 April 1279** Bernard of Lagarde (iv) (48<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo nono, sexto idus Aprilis.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine, six days before the ides of April.

No witnesses mentioned.

**27 April [1279]** Peter Ferrol (i) (63<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, quinto kalendas Maii.

In the same year as above, five days before the kalends of May.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Bernard of l'Isle, brother Bartholomew of Arcagne, and brother

Bernard Raymond, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, notary.

**2 May [1279]** Peter of Laurac (i) (69<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, sexto nonas Maii.

In the same year as above, six days before the nones of May.

No witnesses mentioned.

**5 May [1279]** Peter Ferrol (ii) (66<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, tertio nonas Maii.

In the same year as above, three days before the nones of May.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Bernard of l'Isle, brother Pons of Parnac, and brother Peter of Laures,

OP. Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**9 May [1279]** Peter Ferrol (iii) (68<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, septimo idus Maii.

In the same year as above, seven days before the ides of May.

No witnesses mentioned.

**12 May 1279** Peter of Beauville of Avignonet (xi) (1<sup>r</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo nono, quarto idus

Maii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine, four days before the ides of May.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother William Aymery, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**12 May [1279]** Peter of Laurac (ii) (70<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, quarto idus Maii.

In the same year as above, four days before the ides of May.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother James Loutrier, and brother William Aymery, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**16 May 1279** William Raffard of Roquefort (v) (42<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo nono, decimo septimo kalendas Iunii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine, seventeen days before the kalends of June.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Pons of Parnac, brother Peter of Laures, and brother Bernard of L'Isle, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**16 May [1279]** Bernard of Lagarde (v) (49<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo proximo, decimo septimo kalendas Iunii.

In the same year as immediately above, seventeen days before the kalends of June.

No witnesses mentioned.

**4 August [1279]** Peter of Beauville of Avignonet (xii) (2<sup>r</sup>)

Anno quo supra, secundo nonas Augusti.

In the same year as above, two days before the nones of August.

Toulouse.

Brothers Hugh Amiel and John Galand, of the Order of Preachers, inquisitors.

Brother Arnold Archambaud and brother Peter of Laures, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**12 January [1279 (1280)]** Bernard of Villeneuve (i) (72<sup>v</sup>)

Anno quo supra, secundo idus Ianuarii.

In the same year as above, two days before the ides of January.

Toulouse.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Pons of Parnac, brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother Raymond William of Saint-Félix, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**1 February 1279 (1280)** Bernard of Villeneuve (ii) (77<sup>v</sup>)

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo nono, kalendas Februarii.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine, on the kalends of February.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Brother Pons of Parnac, brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother Raymond William, OP. Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.

**26 January 1281 (1282)** William Raffard of Roquefort (vi) (44')

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo octuagesimo primo, die lunæ in  
crastino conversionis Sancti Pauli.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and eighty-one, on the

Monday on the morrow of the conversion of Saint-Paul.

Toulouse.

Brother John Galand, inquisitor.

Brother Arnold Archambaud and brother Arnold *del Gras*, OP.

Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary.



## THE EDITION AND TRANSLATION

- 1<sup>r</sup> *Interrogatoires et depositions des heretiques Albigeois pardevant les inquisiteurs de la foy, dont la substance et les dattes sont marquées dans les tiltres particuliers, extraittes d'un livre en parchemin des archives de l'Inquisition de Thoulouse.*

*Depuis lannée 1273 jusqu'en lannée 1278.*<sup>1</sup>

- 1<sup>v</sup> *Deposition faite par Guillaume de Moleriis, | prestre, par devant Ranulphe, inquisiteur, contenant qu'il avoit rencontré, sur le chemin de Rome, Girard Bonpian,<sup>2</sup> de lordre des freres de Ste Croix de Tholose, qui s'en alloit, avec deux femmes de ladite ville, en Lombardie, vers les heretiques; et qu'il avoit soustenu que la confession estoit inutile, que dans l'Eglise Romaine il ny avoit que superbe, et qu'on ne pouvoit point se sauver que dans la secte des heretiques, qui avoit leurs eveques et leurs diacres depuis le commencement*  
 2<sup>r</sup> *par succession, et qu'il ne souhaitoit | que de se faire martirizer et brusler pour soustenir ce qu'il disoit.*

*Avec une autre deposition de Petronilla de Villefranche de Rovergue, qui declara avoir veu de faidits ou fugitifs de leur pais pour fuir la justice des inquisiteurs; et qu'un, s'estant refugié en Lombardie,<sup>3</sup> il y avoit esté si mal traité par le meschant monde qu'il y avoit trouvé, qu'il avoit esté contraint d'en sortir.*

*Du mois de juin 1273.*

- 2<sup>v</sup> Anno<sup>4</sup> Domini millesimo ducente|simo septuagesimo tertio, pridie kalendas Iunii, Guillelmus de Moleriis, sacerdos, testis iuratus et interrogatus<sup>5</sup> si viderat hæreticos [vel] Valdenses, vel audiverat vel comoderat

<sup>1</sup> altered in margin from 1284 in different hand and ink.

<sup>2</sup> -a- altered.

<sup>3</sup> ms Lombarardie.

<sup>4</sup> The unusually high rate of mistakes and corrections in this deposition, the first in Doat 25, and the consequently high proportion of passages whose meaning is unclear or uncertain, suggest that the scribes or scribes were having difficulty adjusting to the original.

<sup>5</sup> -rogatus added.

*Interrogations and depositions of Albigensian heretics before the inquisitors of the faith—whose content and dates are indicated in the individual rubrics—extracted from a parchment book from the archives of the inquisition of Toulouse.* 1<sup>r</sup>

*From the year 1273 up to the year 1278.*

*The deposition made by William of Molières, | priest, before Ranulph, inquisitor, containing that on the road to Rome he had met Gerard Bonpain, of the Order of the Brothers of the Holy Cross of Toulouse, who was going with two women from the said city to Lombardy, to the heretics; and that he had maintained that confession was useless, that in the Roman Church there was nothing but pride, and that one could only be saved in the heretics' sect; that they had had their bishops and deacons from the beginning by succession, and that he desired | only to have himself martyred and burnt for maintaining what he said.* 1<sup>v</sup> 2<sup>r</sup>

*With another deposition, of Petronilla of Villefranche-de-Rouergue, who stated that she had seen exiles or fugitives from their country, in flight from the justice of the inquisitors; and that one, having taken refuge in Lombardy, had been so badly treated by the evil world that he found there, that he had been forced to leave.*

*From the month of June 1273.*

*In the year of Our Lord one thousand two | hundred and seventy-three, on the day before the kalends of June,<sup>1</sup> William of Molières,<sup>2</sup> priest, sworn in as a witness and, asked if he had seen heretics or Waldensians,* 2<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> May 31 1273.

<sup>2</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, arrond. Montauban, according to Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 2. But Molières is a common place-name in Languedoc; Font-Réaulx, p. 980; *Saisimentum*, p. 427; DTF.



cum eis, dixit quod dum esset in via eundi ad Curiam Romanam, invenit quemdam<sup>1</sup> hominem nomine fratrem Bernardum<sup>2</sup> Bonum Panem, Ordinis Fratrum Sanctæ Crucis, de civitate Tholosa oriundum,<sup>3</sup> cum duabus mulieribus, quarum una vocabatur Bona Fœmina, et alia Vesiada, quæ ambæ morabantur in civitate Tholosana, scilicet Vesiada pro ancilla in carraria ubi vocatur apud Basaculum, et alia cum Iacobo prope Prædicatores, et cum quodam homine, qui vocabatur *Bernardus*, qui habebat uxorem, et infantes, qui morabantur Tholosæ: de quo fratre Bernardo credit quod sit hæreticus.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> quomodo credebatur, dixit quod idem frater Bernardus<sup>3r</sup> revelavit<sup>5</sup> se scire<sup>6</sup> | quod volebat ire apud Lombardiam, ad hæreticos, quod et fecit; cum primo scivit<sup>7</sup> quod volebat, et proponebat<sup>8</sup> ire causa poenitentiae apud Romam<sup>9</sup> et inde ultra mare.

Dixit etiam idem testis quod frater Bernardus dixit sibi quod non erat salus in aliquo alio statu<sup>10</sup> nisi in statu hæreticali.

<sup>1</sup> -em- altered.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Girardum. This man would seem to be identical with the 'frater Bernardus' discussed below, and his name has been emended accordingly; see notes to translation for a fuller discussion of the issue.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* oriumdum.

<sup>4</sup> -rogatus added.

<sup>5</sup> -eve- altered.

<sup>6</sup> altered.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* scibit; originally sibi.

<sup>8</sup> -ro- added, superscript, p- altered.

<sup>9</sup> originally Romanam.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* statutu; first -u- altered.

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<sup>8</sup> 'Heretic' is the term used by the inquisitor and his scribe to denote a Good Man or Good Woman. This was a person who had received the *consolamentum* in their Church ('sect' to the inquisitor) and followed a religious life with certain abstinences. Inquisitors sometimes called them 'fully-fledged' or 'finished' heretics (*heretici perfecti*) to distinguish them from their followers, their 'believers'. In Italy Catholic polemical theologians often called them 'Cathars'. Modern historians' blanket use of 'Cathar' to designate this faith, church and its Good Men and Women, as well as 'Perfects' as a noun for these Good Men and Women, constitutes an insidious distortion and simplification.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly using pilgrimage to Rome as a disguise. On heretics pretending to be pilgrims, see Y. Dossat, 'Types exceptionnels de pèlerins: l'hérétique, le voyageur déguisé, le professionnel', *CaF* 15 (1980), pp. 207–225. See 8<sup>r</sup> below.

<sup>10</sup> 'To go overseas' when doing penance usually means 'to go to the Holy Land'.

or if he had heard or eaten with them, said that while he was on the road going to the Roman Curia, he met a certain man named Brother Bernard<sup>3</sup> Bonpain, of the Order of the Brothers of the Holy Cross,<sup>4</sup> a native of the city of Toulouse, with two women—one of whom was called Bonnefemme, and the other Veziada, both of whom lived in the city of Toulouse, that is, Veziada as a maidservant in the street which is called 'At the Bazacle',<sup>5</sup> and the other with James near the Preachers<sup>6</sup>—and with a certain man who was called Bernard, who had a wife and children who lived at Toulouse: of which Brother Bernard<sup>7</sup> he believes that he is a heretic.

Asked how he believed this, he said that the same Brother Bernard revealed that he knew that | he wanted to go to Lombardy, to the heretics,<sup>8</sup> 3<sup>r</sup> which he did; as soon as he knew what he wished, he proposed to go for penance to Rome,<sup>9</sup> and from there overseas.<sup>10</sup>

The same witness also said that Brother Bernard said to him that there was no salvation in any state except the heretical state.

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<sup>3</sup> 'Brother Gerald has been changed to 'Brother Bernard'. See n. 7 below. Here and later where there are such emendations in the Latin text and its translation, the editors have not produced correlative alterations in the French introduction and its translation.

<sup>4</sup> The Order of the Holy Cross or Crutched Brothers was approved as a religious Order in 1247. The only convent in the Midi was at Toulouse, founded by 1256; R.W. Emery, *The Friars in Medieval France: A Catalogue of French Mendicant Convents, 1200–1550* (New York and London, 1962), p. 64; M. de Fontette, 'Les mendiants supprimés au 2<sup>e</sup> concile de Lyon (1274), Frères sachets et frères pies', *CaF* 8 (1973), pp. 197–198.

<sup>5</sup> The topography of Toulouse in the high middle ages is described in Wakefield, *Heresy*, pp. 59–62 and Mundy, *Society*, pp. 9–26. Here and later, for sites in Toulouse reference should be made to maps in Wakefield, *Heresy*, p. 58, Mundy, *Society*, opposite p. 7, and Sibly, *William of Puylaurens*, map 2 on p. xi. On the Bazacle, site of mills and a castle and possibly the head of the Bazacle bridge, see Mundy, *Society*, p. 7, no. 4.

<sup>6</sup> 'Preachers' and 'Order of Preachers' were the terms for the Dominicans and the Dominican Order. For the site of the Dominicans in Toulouse, see the maps of Toulouse in Wakefield, *Heresy*, p. 58, and Mundy, *Society*, opposite p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Both in the French introduction and on first appearance, the Brother is Gerald, not Bernard. Clearly, one version of his name would appear to be wrong. The witness's attempt to distinguish between two people called Bernard suggests that Gerald is wrong. We suggest this: William confessed to meeting two men called Bernard, the first of them Brother Bernard Bonus Panis (mistakenly called Gerald) and the second Bernard, a married man with children. When stating that he believed the first to be a heretic, for the sake of clarity William referred to him as 'the Brother' Bernard.

Dixit etiam sibi quod matrimonium<sup>1</sup> nihil valebat neque confessio, neque ecclesia Romana erat vera ecclesia, quia non erat in ea nisi pura superbia, sed ecclesia hæreticorum erat vera ecclesia.

Dixit etiam idem testis quod frater Bernardus dixit ei quod hæretici habebant episcopum et diaconum, et cum quæreret ab eo idem testis unde haberent, respondit ei quod a principio habuerunt<sup>2</sup> unus ab alio.

Dixit etiam idem testis quod cum quæreret utrum idem frater Bernardus redierit<sup>3</sup> Tholosæ, respondit quod non, nisi pro martirio sustinendo; dicebat enim quod non erat ita pulcra mors sicut per ignem.

3<sup>v</sup> Item cum idem testis diceret quod<sup>4</sup> ibat<sup>5</sup> Romæ causa confitendi peccata sua, dictus frater Bernardus, stupefactus, petiit ab eo si unquam revelaret ea quæ sibi dixerat, et si vellet eum ducere ad mortem ac si vellet dicere quod non esset probus homo.<sup>6</sup>

Item dixit quod idem frater Bernardus dixit sibi quod nunquam eius anima gauderet quousque disputaret contra omnes volentes contra eum disputare.

Item dixit quod idem<sup>7</sup> frater Bernardus volebat ire apud Paviam, et quod inveniret eum ibi<sup>8</sup> in redditu quia ibi<sup>9</sup> inveniret Pontium de Gonnivilla et eius filium fugitivos.

Interrogatus dictus testis si comedit cum dicto fratre Bernardo, respondit quod non, ex quo novit eum talem.

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<sup>1</sup> *ms* minimum; probably a mistaken expansion of *mm* (with contraction sign), standing for *matrimonium*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* haberunt.

<sup>3</sup> perhaps originally redient.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* quando; altered.

<sup>5</sup> altered.

<sup>6</sup> The words *si vellet* follow here: it would seem that the copyist has either mistakenly repeated them or omitted a following object.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* eidem.

<sup>8</sup> added, superscript.

<sup>9</sup> altered.

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<sup>13</sup> See the deposition below of Raymond Baussan (May 24 1274, 145<sup>v</sup>), referring to Bernard of the Order of the Holy Cross being at Sirmione in the presence of two Cathar bishops and witnessing their administration of the *consolamentum*, about a year before. If Bernard gained his information about hierarchy on this occasion, the conversation reported here must have been very recent.

<sup>14</sup> Town in south-western Lombardy.

<sup>15</sup> Disappeared place of Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, near Montgaillard; Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 275, 370; Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 2. Toulouse 609, f. 47<sup>r</sup>, 80<sup>r</sup>: Gomervila.

He also said to him that marriage was worth nothing nor was confession, nor was the Roman church the true church, because there was nothing in it except pure pride, but that the church of the heretics was the true church.

The same witness also said that Brother Bernard said to him that the heretics had a bishop<sup>11</sup> and a deacon,<sup>12</sup> and when the same witness asked him where they had them from, he answered him that from the beginning they had one [ordained] by another.<sup>13</sup>

The same witness also said that when he asked whether the same Brother Bernard would return to Toulouse, he answered that he would not, except to suffer martyrdom; for he said that there was no death so beautiful as that by fire.

Item, when the same witness said that he was going to Rome to confess 3<sup>v</sup> his sins, the said Brother Bernard, horrified, asked him if he would ever reveal what he had told him, and if he wanted to lead him to his death, as if he wanted to say that he was not a worthy man.

Item, he said that the same Brother Bernard said to him that his soul would never be happy until he argued against all who wanted to argue against him.

Item, he said that the same Brother Bernard wished to go to Pavia,<sup>14</sup> and that he was to find him there on his return because he would find Pons of Gomerville<sup>15</sup> and his son fugitives there.

When the said witness was asked if he ate with the said brother Bernard, he answered no, because he knew what sort of man he was.

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<sup>11</sup> See below individual bishops of the heretics: Aimery of Collet (from 7<sup>r</sup>), Andricus of Arosio (145<sup>r-v</sup>, 15<sup>v</sup>), Bertrand Oliba (from 144<sup>v</sup>), Peter Polhan (51<sup>v</sup>), Vivent (142<sup>v</sup>, 300<sup>v</sup>), William Peter (15<sup>v</sup>), unnamed (132<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>12</sup> This description of hierarchy omits Elder and Younger Son; below, 301<sup>v</sup> n. 24. On the hierarchy see Borst, *Katharer*, pp. 202–213 and 231–239 (list of dioceses and bishops); Barber, *Cathars*, pp. 74–76; Duvernoy, *Religion*, pp. 236–240. Duvernoy, *Histoire*, pp. 347–351, provides a list of the hierarchy on Languedoc. The dioceses and bishops of Languedoc are described in Guiraud, *Inquisition*, i. 201–212, while there is a recent monograph on the diocese of Carcassonne, Roche, *Église cathare*. With errors but still useful is the list of deacons given by Guiraud, *Inquisition*, i. 212–226. See deacons below: Arnold Bos (53<sup>r</sup>), Arnold Hugh (256<sup>r</sup>), Bernard Bonafos (298<sup>r-v</sup>), Bernard of Mayreville (320<sup>v</sup>), Guiraud of Gourdon (65<sup>r</sup>), Peter Capellan (52<sup>r</sup>), Philip the Catalan (303<sup>v</sup>), Pons of Sainte-Foy (12<sup>v</sup>), Raymond of Carlipa (283<sup>r</sup>), Raymond of Mas-Saintes-Puelles (29<sup>v</sup>), Raymond Sans (316<sup>r</sup>), Sicard Lunel (52<sup>r</sup>), William John (13<sup>v</sup>), William Vital (26<sup>v</sup>).

Interrogatus de mulieribus, utrum fratrem Bernardum secutæ<sup>1</sup> fuerint, credit quod sic, licet dissuasisset eis.

Interrogatus<sup>2</sup> de<sup>3</sup> homine, quid factum sit de eo, dixit quod intravit  
4<sup>r</sup> Lombardiam, et remansit ibi, sicut ipsemet<sup>4</sup> homo | dixerat ei quod  
nunquam ad terram istam proponebat redire.<sup>5</sup>

Interrogatus de tempore, dixit quod in die cœnæ Domini.

Interrogatus<sup>6</sup> si scit de loco, dixit quod inter civitatem Lucanensem et Pistora.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Ranulpho, inquisitore. Testes:<sup>7</sup> frater Guillelmus de Barda, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, et ego, Bernardus Boneti, publicus Tholosæ notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

*Autre deposition.*

Anno quo supra, secundo die introitus Iunii,<sup>8</sup> Petronilla, uxor Deide de Bras de Villafranca, diocesis Ruthenensis, testis<sup>9</sup> iurata et interrogata,<sup>10</sup> dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos nisi publice commorantes dum erat puellula, sed nunquam adoravit nec credidit, nec participationem,<sup>11</sup> nec familiaritatem cum eis habuit.

4<sup>v</sup> Interrogata<sup>12</sup> si nunquam vidit | fugitivum pro hæresi, dixit quod sic, quondam, qui vocabatur Guillelmus, qui dicebat se esse de prope Albia; qui dixit ipsi testi<sup>13</sup> quod ipse erat faiditus de terra sua propter timorem inquisitorum, qui immuraverant ei sororem suam et virum eius, et quod ipse fugerat<sup>14</sup> in Lombardiam et post modum revererat. Et dictus

<sup>1</sup> -æ perhaps altered.

<sup>2</sup> altered.

<sup>3</sup> added in margin.

<sup>4</sup> ms ipse met.

<sup>5</sup> -ire altered.

<sup>6</sup> -tus or -atus added.

<sup>7</sup> ms Testis.

<sup>8</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>9</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>10</sup> -a superscript, -ata added.

<sup>11</sup> ms parti pationem.

<sup>12</sup> -a superscript, altered from -us.

<sup>13</sup> ms testis.

<sup>14</sup> -era- altered.

Asked about the women, whether they followed Brother Bernard, he believes so, although he had advised them against this.

Asked about the man, what happened to him, he said that he entered Lombardy and remained there—as the man himself | had said to him, 4<sup>r</sup> that he proposed never to return to this land.

Asked about the time, he said that it was on the day of the Lord's Supper.<sup>16</sup>

Asked if he knew anything about the place, he said that it was between the city of Lucca and Pistoia.

These things he attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor.<sup>17</sup> Witnesses, brother William of Labarthe,<sup>18</sup> of the Order of Brothers Preacher, and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse,<sup>19</sup> who wrote these things.

*Another deposition.*

In the same year as above, on the second day from the start of June,<sup>20</sup> Petronilla, the wife of Daide of Bras<sup>21</sup> of Villefranche,<sup>22</sup> in the diocese of Rodez,<sup>23</sup> sworn in as a witness and questioned, said that she never saw any heretics, except living openly when she was a little girl, but she never adored or believed, or had any dealings or close association with them. Asked whether she ever saw | a fugitive for heresy, she said that she 4<sup>v</sup> did, once, a man who was called William, who said that he came from near Albi.<sup>24</sup> He said to the same witness that he was an exile from his land through fear of the inquisitors, who had imprisoned<sup>25</sup> his sister and her husband, and that he had fled into Lombardy and had afterwards

<sup>16</sup> Easter Thursday, probably 1273.

<sup>17</sup> See pp. 50–51 above.

<sup>18</sup> Labarthe is a very common place-name (one possibility is Aude, cant. Salle-sur-l'Hers, comm. Belflou; Font-Réaulx, pp. 790, 800) and Labarde is quite common; *DTF*.

<sup>19</sup> On Bernard, see pp. 90–93 above.

<sup>20</sup> June 2 1273.

<sup>21</sup> Aveyron, comm. Saint-Salvadou, cant. Rieupeyroux, arrond. Villefranche-de-Rouergue.

<sup>22</sup> Aveyron, Villefranche-de-Rouergue, ch.lieu.

<sup>23</sup> Aveyron.

<sup>24</sup> Tarn; city, diocese.

<sup>25</sup> Literally 'walled up'. See pp. 59–59 above on 'wall' as a name for prison.

Willelmus fuit bis in domo ipsius testis, receptus per eandem, et una de dictis duabus vicibus fuit ibi per duos dies, alia vero ultima per unam noctem.

Dixit etiam ipsa testis quod dictus Willelmus in Lombardia invenerat malam gentem, et quod eum male receptaverant, et quod ideo redierat.

Dixit etiam interrogata<sup>1</sup> quod dictus Guillelmus nunquam dixit sibi in quo loco fuisset in Lombardia, sive in qua villa, nec quod vidisset hæreticos, vel quod loquutus fuisset cum eis in Lombardia.

5<sup>r</sup> Interrogata<sup>2</sup> si nunquam habuit panem benedictum | hæreticorum, vel comedit, dixit quod non.

Hoc deposuit coram Ranulpho, inquisitore. Testes: frater Guillelmus de Barda, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, et magister ...<sup>3</sup> de Verneto, rector ecclesiæ Sancti Fœlicis.

Anno quo supra in crastinum Nativitatis Beati Joannis Baptistæ, præfata Petronilla addidit confessioni suæ quod quidam ...<sup>4</sup> de Lombardia apor-tavit sibi<sup>5</sup> panem benedictum ab hæreticis, et tradidit: quod ipsa recepit.

Hoc addidit dicta<sup>6</sup> testis coram fratre Guillelmo de Barda, tunc tenente locum fratris Ranulphi, inquisitoris.<sup>7</sup> Testes: frater Alexander, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Bernardus Boneti, publicus notarius Tholosæ, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, quinto nonas Iulii, Petronilla testis prædicta iurata, capta, adducta de carcere,<sup>8</sup> addidit confessioni suæ quod vidit duos faidi-  
5<sup>v</sup> tos | pro hæresi in domo sua, et dedit eis ad comedendum<sup>9</sup> et bibendum de suo; dedit etiam cuique illorum pilleum lineum.

Dixit etiam quod monuerunt eam quod iret una cum ipsis in Lombardiam.

<sup>1</sup> -a superscript, altered from -us.

<sup>2</sup> -a superscript, altered from -us.

<sup>3</sup> space left for name.

<sup>4</sup> space left for name.

<sup>5</sup> altered.

<sup>6</sup> ms dictus.

<sup>7</sup> ms iquisitoris.

<sup>8</sup> altered.

<sup>9</sup> -n- deleted before first -d-, -n- before second -d- altered.

<sup>30</sup> Not found in ACP.

<sup>31</sup> July 3 1273.

returned. And the said William was twice in the house of the same witness, received by her, and on one of the said two occasions he was there for two days, and on the other and last occasion for one night.

The same witness also said that the said William had found a bad set of people in Lombardy, and that they had received him badly, and that he had therefore returned.

She also said, questioned, that the said William never said to her in what place he had been in Lombardy, or in what town, or that he had seen heretics, or that he had spoken with them in Lombardy.

Asked if she had ever possessed the blessed bread | of the heretics, or 5<sup>r</sup> eaten it, she said no.

This she attested before Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses, brother William of Labarthe,<sup>26</sup> of the Order of Brothers Preacher, and master ... of Vernet,<sup>27</sup> rector of the church of Saint-Félix.<sup>28</sup>

In the same year as above, on the morrow of the Nativity of the Blessed John the Baptist,<sup>29</sup> the aforesaid Petronilla added to her confession, that a certain ... of Lombardy brought her bread blessed by the heretics, and gave it to her: which she received.

The said witness added this before brother William of Labarthe, then lieutenant of brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Alexander, of the Order of Preachers,<sup>30</sup> and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, five days before the nones of July,<sup>31</sup> the aforesaid witness Petronilla, sworn in, a captive, brought out from prison, added to her confession that she saw two exiles | for heresy in her house, 5<sup>v</sup> and gave them to eat and drink from her own supplies; she also gave each of them a linen cap.

She also said that they advised her to go together with them into Lombardy.

<sup>26</sup> Many Dominicans can be traced and parts of their careers followed in the acts of the provincial councils of the Dominican Order, *ACP*. Here and later, either these acts will be cited or it will be noted that the brother in question cannot be found in the acts. William of Labarthe is not found in *ACP*. See Douais, *Documents*, p. cxxxvii and n. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Berengar of Vernet. On him, see pp. 89–90 above.

<sup>28</sup> Probably Saint-Félix-de-Lauragais: Haute-Garonne, comm. Roumens, cant. Revel, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1960.

<sup>29</sup> 25 June 1273.



*Audition de Petronilla, femme de Guillaume de Castaneto de Viridi Folio au diocese de Rodes, detenue pour crime d'heresie, contenant quelle avoit mangé avec des hereticques dans la maison, et les avoit adorés, en leur disant a genoux 'Benedicite', et qu'ils respondoient 'Sanctus Spiritus vos benedicat'; quelle avoit mangé de leur pain benit, et qu'ils avoient salué*  
 6<sup>r</sup> *sondit mary de | la part d'Aymeric de Colleto, eveque des heretiques; et quelle avoit fait resolution d'aler en Lombardie pour sy refugier ches les heretiques.*

*7<sup>o</sup> kalendas Iulii 1273.*

Anno quo supra, septimo kalendas Iulii, Petronilla, uxor Willelmi de Castaneto, de Viridi Folio, diocesis Ruthenensis, capta pro facto hæresis, educta de carcere, testis iurata et interrogata<sup>1</sup> [si] viderat uel audiverat hæreticos vel comederat cum eis, dixit quod sic.

Interrogata<sup>2</sup> de loco dixit quod in domo dicti Willelmi, viri sui, vidit duos hæreticos.

Interrogata<sup>3</sup> si comedit vel bibit cum eis in dicta domo dixit quod sic, una cum Willelmo de Castaneto<sup>4</sup> et familia sua.

6<sup>v</sup> Interrogata<sup>5</sup> si adoravit dictos hæreticos | dixit quod sic.

Interrogata<sup>6</sup> in quo loco, dixit quod in domo propria dicti viri sui, bis, et semel in area sua extra villam.

Interrogata<sup>7</sup> quo modo adoravit eos, dixit quod flexis genibus dicens 'Benedicite'; et ipsi respondebant 'Sanctus Spiritus vos benedicat'.

Interrogata<sup>8</sup> quibus nominibus hæretici vocabantur, *respondit* quod nesciebat.

Interrogata<sup>9</sup> utrum credebat hæreticos esse bonos homines et veraces, et per ipsos posse salvari, dixit quod sic.

<sup>1</sup> -gata added, superscript.

<sup>2</sup> -gata added, superscript.

<sup>3</sup> originally in terrogata, -gata added.

<sup>4</sup> second -a- altered, perhaps from -e-.

<sup>5</sup> -gata added, superscript.

<sup>6</sup> -gata added, superscript.

<sup>7</sup> -gata added, superscript.

<sup>8</sup> -gata added, superscript.

<sup>9</sup> -gata added, superscript.

*The hearing of Petronilla, wife of William of Castanet of Verfeil in the diocese of Rodez, held for the crime of heresy, containing that she had eaten with heretics in her house, and had adored them, kneeling and saying to them, 'Bless me', and they would reply, 'May the Holy Spirit bless you'; that she had eaten of their blessed bread, and that they had greeted her said husband on | behalf of Aimery of Collet, bishop of the heretics; and that she 6<sup>r</sup> had resolved to go to Lombardy to find refuge there with the heretics.*

*7 days before the kalends of July 1273.*

In the same year as above, seven days before the kalends of July,<sup>1</sup> Petronilla, the wife of William of Castanet,<sup>2</sup> of Verfeil<sup>3</sup> in the diocese of Rodez, captured on the matter of heresy, brought out from prison, sworn in as a witness and, asked whether she had seen or heard heretics or had eaten with them, said that she had.

Asked about the place, she said that she saw two heretics in the house of the said William, her husband.

Asked whether she ate or drank with them in the said house, she said that she did, together with William of Castanet and her household.

Asked if she adored the said heretics, | she said that she did. 6<sup>v</sup>

Asked in what place, she said twice in her said husband's own house, and once on her plot<sup>4</sup> outside the village.

Asked how she adored them, she said genuflecting, saying, 'Bless me'. And they replied, 'May the Holy Spirit bless you'.

Asked by what names the heretics were called, she answered that she did not know.

Asked whether she believed that the heretics were good men and truthful, and that one could be saved through them, she said yes.

<sup>1</sup> June 25 1273.

<sup>2</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Beaumont-de-Lomagne, comm. Gariès; *Saisimentum*, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val, arrond. Montauban; *DTF*.

<sup>4</sup> The word *area* can mean a piece of unoccupied land, but it can also mean a threshing-floor, and this may be what is intended here.

Interrogata<sup>1</sup> si audivit prædicationes et monitiones eorundem hæreticorum, dixit quod sic.

Dixit etiam ipsa testis quod Raimonda<sup>2</sup> Aimerica fuit in domo eiusdem Willelmi de Castaneto, et tempore quo ipsa adoravit dictos hæreticos, ipsa Raimonda<sup>3</sup> comedit cum ipsa teste et Willelmo de Castaneto eadem die, et sero.

Interrogata<sup>4</sup> utrum aliqui alii fuerint præsentés, dixit quod non.

Item dixit ipsa testis quod Sicardus, Petrus et Willelmus, faiditi pro  
7<sup>r</sup> facto hæresis venerunt ad domum dictæ testis, et recepit<sup>5</sup> eos pro hospitibus semel, et comedit et bibit cum eis.

Dixit etiam dicta testis quod Amblardus Vassalli, fugitivus<sup>6</sup> pro facto hæresis, veniens de Lombardia, apportavit eis de pane benedicto hæreticorum, ex parte eorundem.

Dixit etiam dicta testis quod idem Amblardus salutavit dictum virum suum Willelmum de Castaneto ex parte Aymerici de Colletto, episcopi hæreticorum.

Dixit etiam ipsa testis quod comederat<sup>7</sup> de eodem pane benedicto, et tam ipsa testis quam vir eius Willelmus de Castaneto receperunt eundem Amblardum<sup>8</sup> cum magno gaudio.

Item dixit dicta testis quod dictus Amblardus, fugitivus,<sup>9</sup> cum aliis fugitivis,<sup>10</sup> venit ad domum<sup>11</sup> eiusdem testis aliis duobus vicibus.

Interrogata<sup>12</sup> de tempore quo adoravit dictos hæreticos, quod tres anni vel circa.

7<sup>v</sup> Item dixit dicta testis quod annus est elapsus, paulo ante festum Beati | Ioannis Baptistæ, apportavit eisdem et dicto viro suo panem benedictum.

Item dixit ipsa testis quod duo anni vel circa sunt, quod vidit et recepit dictos fugitivos<sup>13</sup> superius nominatos.

<sup>1</sup> -gata added, superscript.

<sup>2</sup> Raim- written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> Raim- written over deletion.

<sup>4</sup> -rogata added in right margin. Two letters, apparently ro, deleted at start of next line.

<sup>5</sup> ms recepti; gap left, as though for expansion.

<sup>6</sup> originally fugitimis.

<sup>7</sup> -der- written over deletion, -me- added in margin.

<sup>8</sup> -m altered.

<sup>9</sup> originally fugitimis.

<sup>10</sup> originally fugitimis.

<sup>11</sup> -um added.

<sup>12</sup> -gata added, superscript.

<sup>13</sup> originally fugitimos.

Asked if she heard the preachings and admonitions of the same heretics, she said that she had.

The same witness also said that Raymonda Aimery was in the house of the same William of Castanet, and at the time when she adored the said heretics, the same Raymonda ate with the same witness and William of Castanet, on the same day, and in the evening.

Asked whether any others were present, she said no.

Item, the same witness said that Sicard, Peter and William, exiles for the matter of heresy, | came to the said witness's house, and she received 7<sup>r</sup> them once as guests, and ate and drank with them.

The said witness also said that Amblard Vassal,<sup>5</sup> a fugitive for the matter of heresy, coming from Lombardy, brought them some of the blessed bread of the heretics, on their behalf.

The said witness also said that the same Amblard greeted her said husband William of Castanet on behalf of Aimery of Collet, bishop of the heretics.<sup>6</sup>

The same witness also said that she had eaten of the same blessed bread, and that both the same witness and her husband William of Castanet received the same Amblard with great joy.

Item, the said witness said that the said Amblard, as a fugitive, with other fugitives, came to the same witness's house on another two occasions.

Asked about the time when she adored the said heretics: it was three years ago or thereabouts.

Item, the said witness said that a year ago, shortly before the feast of the Blessed | John the Baptist, he brought them and her said husband blessed 7<sup>v</sup> bread.

Item the same witness said that it was two years ago or thereabouts, that she saw and received the said fugitives named above.

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<sup>5</sup> See his depositions below, 182<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Aimery of Collet, bishop of the church of Albi, 1242–1270; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 347; see also pp. 284, 307; Borst, *Katharer*, p. 232; Roche, *Église cathare*, pp. 225–226, 255, 274–275, 372. Collet is a very common place-name; DTF.

Hæc deposuit dicta testis coram fratre Willelmo de Barda, gerente vices fratris Ranulphi inquisitoris. Testes: frater Alexander, de Ordine<sup>1</sup> Prædicatorum, et Sicardus Lunelli, et ego, *Bernardus Boneti*, publicus Tholosæ notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno<sup>2</sup> quo supra, kalendas Iulii, dicta testis addidit confessioni suæ quod quadam die visitavit compatrem<sup>3</sup> suum Deodatum de Brass, et commatrem suam Petronillam, qui sunt de Villa Franca, et in domo ipsorum iacuit, et comedit. Et facto mane, cum esset dies dominica, et populus ivisset ad ecclesiam, ipsa testis remansit sola cum dicta Petronilla, commatre sua, et cum ostendisset ei<sup>4</sup> domum et bladum, et vinum, et alia  
8<sup>r</sup> quæ | habebat, dixit quod omnia ista erant diaboli.

Dixit etiam dicta testis quod eadem commater sua<sup>5</sup> dixit sibi quod si posset habere denarios quod fingeret<sup>6</sup> se ire causa peregrinationis, et ita affugeret ad<sup>7</sup> bonos<sup>8</sup> homines, scilicet hæreticos; ad Lombardiam, ut ipsa credit.

Interrogata<sup>9</sup> de filia sua, si vidit hæreticos, dixit quod sic,<sup>10</sup> sed nesciebat ipsos hæreticos.

Interrogata<sup>11</sup> si filia sua comedit de pane benedicto,<sup>12</sup> dixit quod sic.

Interrogata<sup>13</sup> testis si comedit ipsa testis de pane benedicto hæreticorum,<sup>14</sup> dixit quod sic.

Item dixit quod recepit<sup>15</sup> per commatrem suam quendam<sup>16</sup> coussinum quod misit sibi Galhart Boneti de Villa Franca quando affugit in Lombardiam, quia sciebat Willelmum de Castaneto amicum hæretici<sup>17</sup> Willelmi.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Ordinis.

<sup>2</sup> *line added between depositions, by later hand.*

<sup>3</sup> -o- altered.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* et.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* eidem commatri suae; commatri: -i originally -e.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* fungeret.

<sup>7</sup> *added, superscript.*

<sup>8</sup> *second -o- altered, probably from -a-.*

<sup>9</sup> -gata *added, superscript.*

<sup>10</sup> *added, superscript.*

<sup>11</sup> -gata *added, -a altered.*

<sup>12</sup> *ms* benedictio.

<sup>13</sup> -gata *added, superscript.*

<sup>14</sup> -c- *perhaps altered.*

<sup>15</sup> -it *perhaps added.*

<sup>16</sup> *originally* quondam.

<sup>17</sup> *ms* hæreticum.

These things the said witness attested before brother William of La-barthe, acting in place of brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Alexander, of the Order of Preachers, and Sicard Lunel,<sup>7</sup> and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, on the kalends of July,<sup>8</sup> the said witness added to her confession that one day she visited her godfather Daide of Bras and her godmother<sup>9</sup> Petronilla, who are from Villefranche, and she slept in their house, and ate. And in the morning, since it was a Sunday and the people had gone to church, the same witness remained alone with the said Petronilla, her godmother, and when she had shown her the house, and the corn, and the wine, and the other things which | she had, she said 8<sup>r</sup> that all these things were of the devil.

The said witness also said that her same godmother said to her that if she could get the money she would pretend to go on pilgrimage, and in this way she would flee to the good men, that is, to the heretics; to Lombardy, so she believes.

Asked about her daughter, if she saw the heretics, she said that she did, but that she did not know that they were heretics.

Asked if her daughter ate of the blessed bread, she said that she did.

The witness, asked whether the same witness ate of the blessed bread of the heretics, said that she did.

Item, she said that she received through her godmother a certain cushion which Galhard Bonet of Villefranche sent her when he fled to Lombardy, because he knew that William of Castanet was a friend of William the heretic.

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<sup>7</sup> Former heretical Good Man who had a long later career working for inquisitors; see pp. 56–57 and 108 above. He is sometimes ‘of Lunel’, a common place-name; *DTF*.

<sup>8</sup> July 1 1273.

<sup>9</sup> Here and later (8<sup>r</sup>, 45<sup>v</sup>, 100<sup>r</sup>, 188<sup>v</sup> and 247<sup>r</sup>) *comater* and *compater* have been translated as godmother and godfather. A contrast between Latin and English needs to be noted. In the reference to ‘someone’s godfather’ in English, ‘someone’ is the godchild. In Latin, although the ‘someone’ may be the godchild of the *comater* or the *compater*, ‘someone’ may also be a parent of the godchild, or a fellow godparent. In D25–26 *comater* or *compater* are usually used by the parent of a child, speaking of the god-parent.

Item interrogata<sup>1</sup> si maritus suus unquam ivisset in Lombardiam, dixit  
 8<sup>v</sup> quod non, sed<sup>2</sup> dixit quod non libenter ivisset in | Lombardiam nisi<sup>3</sup> ipsa<sup>4</sup>  
 testis vellet recedere cum ipso Willelmo de Castaneto.

Dixit etiam ipsa testis quod dictus Willelmus de Castaneto dicebat ei  
 quod nemo poterat salvari nisi in secta<sup>5</sup> hæreticorum, et quod omnia  
 visibilia erant opera diaboli.

Item interrogata<sup>6</sup> si Guillelmus de Castaneto, vir suus, habebat ali-  
 quem familiarem in villa de Viridifolio, dixit quod si, Petrum de Fro-  
 senxs, qui multum erat sibi familiaris.

Item dixit dicta testis quod Isarnus de Quærio et Amblardus<sup>7</sup> Vassalli  
 et Raimundus de Connaco, qui alio nomine vocatur Willelmus de Tre-  
 smesinas, et Petrus Bes, iverunt in Lombardiam.

Interrogata<sup>8</sup> de tempore, dixit quod duo anni circa festum Omnium  
 Sanctorum proximo præteritum.

Item dixit quod quando recesserunt dicti fugitivi de Viridifolio, hospi-  
 tati sunt apud Villam Francam in domo Deodati de Brass, et uxor ipsius  
 9<sup>r</sup> Deodati dedit duo|bus ex illis, scilicet Isarno de Quærio et Petro Bes, pil-  
 leos lineos, secundum quod audivit ab eis.

Item dixit ipsa testis quod Geraldus Boneti, quando debuit fugere  
 in Lombardiam, dedit Willelmo de Castaneto, viro suo, supertunicales,  
 dicendo sibi quod de albo vel bruno reciperet.

Item dixit dicta testis quod in prima confessione confessa est quod  
 timore dixerat, quod adoravit hæreticos cum non fecisset, ut dixit ipsa  
 testis.

Hoc deposuit dicta testis coram fratre Ranulpho, inquisitore. Testes:  
 frater Petrus Arsivi, prior Fratrum Prædicatorum Carcassonæ, et frater  
 Willelm<sup>9</sup> de Barda, et frater Alexander de Ordine Prædicatorum, et ego,

<sup>1</sup> -gata added, superscript.

<sup>2</sup> ms sid; originally sit.

<sup>3</sup> ms si.

<sup>4</sup> altered.

<sup>5</sup> -c- altered.

<sup>6</sup> -gata added, superscript.

<sup>7</sup> ms Ambardus.

<sup>8</sup> -gata added, superscript.

<sup>9</sup> space left for expansion.

Item, asked if her husband had ever gone to Lombardy, she said no, but she said that he would not willingly have gone | to Lombardy unless the same witness had wanted to go away with the same William of Castanet.<sup>10</sup> 8<sup>v</sup>

The same witness also said that the said William of Castanet said to her that no-one could be saved except in the sect of the heretics, and that all visible things were the works of the devil.

Item, asked if William of Castanet, her husband, had any familiar associate in the village of Verfeil, she said that he did, Peter of Frouzins,<sup>11</sup> who was very close to him.

Item, the said witness said that Isarn of Quié<sup>12</sup> and Amblard Vassal and Raymond of Connac,<sup>13</sup> who is also called William of Tresmèzes,<sup>14</sup> and Peter Bes, went to Lombardy.

Asked about the time, she said about two years before the feast of All Saints last.

Item, she said that when the said fugitives left Verfeil, they stayed at Villefranche in the house of Daide of Bras, and the wife of the same Daide gave two | of them, namely Isarn of Quié and Peter Bes, linen caps, 9<sup>r</sup> according to what she heard from them.

Item, the same witness said that when Gerald Bonet had to flee to Lombardy, he gave William of Castanet, her husband, surcoats, telling saying to him to take the white or the brown one.

Item, the said witness said that in her first confession she confessed what she had said through fear, that she had adored<sup>15</sup> heretics when she had not done so, so the same witness said.

This the said witness attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Peter Arsieu,<sup>16</sup> prior of the Brothers Preacher of Carcassonne,<sup>17</sup> and brother William of Labarthe, and brother Alexander of the

<sup>10</sup> The original text would have been translated 'he would not willingly have gone to Lombardy if the same witness had wanted to go'.

<sup>11</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant and arrond. Muret; Font-Réaulx, p. 933.

<sup>12</sup> Ariège, cant. Tarascon-sur-Ariège, arrond. Foix; Font-Réaulx, p. 1017.

<sup>13</sup> Possible identifications include Aveyron, cant. Réquista, arrond. Rodez, Tarn, comm. Paulinet, cant. Alban, and Tarn, cant. Valence-d'Albigeois.

<sup>14</sup> Aude, comm. and cant. Belpèch, is a possible identification; Font-Réaulx, p. 1095, where the Latin is *Tres menses*, not *Tres Mezinias*. Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 7, suggests the possibility of a deformation of *Tres Eminas*, a well-known surname.

<sup>15</sup> Adore: inquisitors' word for believer's act when participating in heretical Good Men's rite of *melioramentum*; see 19<sup>r-v</sup> below.

<sup>16</sup> See pp. 49–50 above.

<sup>17</sup> City, diocese; Aude.



*Bernardus* Boneti, publicus Tholosæ notarius, qui hoc scripsi. Et dicta  
testis abiuravit<sup>1</sup> hæresim, et iuravit etcetera<sup>2</sup> coram fratre Ranulfo, inqui-  
9<sup>v</sup> sitore.<sup>3</sup> Testes: magister Berengarius de Verneto, | ego, *Bernardus* Boneti,  
notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> *ms* ab iuravit.

<sup>2</sup> -c *superscript*, added over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> -e *added*.

Order of Preachers, and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse, who wrote this.

And the said witness abjured heresy, and took an oath etc. before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: master Berengar of Vernet, | I, 9<sup>v</sup>  
Bernard Bonet, notary, who wrote these things.

*Deposition de divers Bourguignons residents en Rouergue, l'un desquels declara qu'il avoit veu brusler en Bourgoigne deux Vaudois.*

*Pridie kalendas Julii 1273.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, pridie kalendas Iulii, Michael de Podio Rodelli, Bergundus, qui manet<sup>1</sup> apud Podium Rodelli, diocesis Ruthenensis,<sup>2</sup> testis iuratus et interrogatus super facto hæresis et Valdenciæ, si viderat hæreticos, dixit penitus nihil scire.

10<sup>r</sup> Anno et die quo supra, Aymes, | Burgundus de Alsona, eiusdem diocesis, testis iuratus et interrogatus, dixit idem quod primus.

Anno et die quo supra Ioannes Leros, Burgundus, qui manet apud Alsonam, eiusdem diocesis, testis iuratus et interrogatus, dixit idem quod alii, excepto quod addidit quod dum esset in terra sua in Burgundia, vidit duos Valdenses comburi.

Anno et die quo supra, Petrus de Podio Rodelli, qui stat apud Podium Rodelli, eiusdem diocesis, testis iuratus et interrogatus, dixit idem quod primus.

Anno et die quo supra,<sup>3</sup> Petrus Burgundus, qui manet apud Alsonam, eiusdem diocesis, testis iuratus, dixit se nihil scire.

Anno et die quo supra, Garmus Burgundus, qui manet apud Alsonam, testis iuratus, dixit se nihil scire.

10<sup>v</sup> Anno et die quo supra, Ioannes | Blancardus, Alvernus, qui manet apud Alsonam, eiusdem diocesis, testis iuratus et interrogatus, dixit se nihil scire.

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<sup>1</sup> -et added, over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> -h- added, interlined.

<sup>3</sup> ms supro.

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<sup>3</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Verfeil, cant. Saint-Antonin, arrond. Montauban. Bernard Gui sentenced a Peter Aimon, also of Alzonne, who had received Waldensians, beginning with a date forty-five years before his confession in 1320, that is to say, in 1275 or around this date; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, ii.1490–1491. Similarity of name and place of habitation, and the nearness of a date which may have been an approximation, suggest that the two men were related.

*The deposition of various Burgundians living in Rouergue, one of whom stated that he had seen two Waldensians burnt in Burgundy.*

*The day before the kalends of July 1273.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the day before the kalends of July,<sup>1</sup> Michael of Pech-Rodil,<sup>2</sup> a Burgundian, who lives at Pech-Rodil, in the diocese of Rodez, sworn in as a witness and questioned about the matter of heresy and of Waldensianism, if he had seen heretics, said that he knew absolutely nothing.

In the same year and on the same day as above, Aymes | the Burgun- 10<sup>r</sup>  
dian, of Alzonne,<sup>3</sup> in the same diocese, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said the same as the first.

In the same year and on the same day as above, John Leros, a Burgundian, who lives at Alzonne, in the same diocese, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said the same as the others, except that he added that while he was in his own country in Burgundy, he saw two Waldensians burnt.

In the same year and on the same day as above, Peter of Pech-Rodil, who lives at Pech-Rodil, in the same diocese, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said the same as the first.

In the same year and on the same day as above, Peter the Burgundian, who lives at Alzonne, in the same diocese, sworn in as a witness, said that he knew nothing.

In the same year and on the same day as above, Garmus the Burgundian, who lives at Alzonne, sworn in as a witness, said that he knew nothing.

In the same year and on the same day as above, John | Blancard, an 10<sup>v</sup>  
Auvergnat, who lives at Alzonne, in the same diocese, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said that he knew nothing.

<sup>1</sup> June 30 1273.

<sup>2</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Varen, cant. Saint-Antonin, arrond. Montauban; DTF.

Anno et die quo supra, Geraldus de Viridario, qui manet apud Pao-  
lhactum, diocesis Ruthenensis, testis iuratus et interrogatus super facto  
hæresis, dixit se nihil scire.

In the same year and on the same day as above, Gerald of Verdié,<sup>4</sup> who lives at Paulhac,<sup>5</sup> in the diocese of Rodez, sworn in as a witness and questioned about the matter of heresy, said that he knew nothing.

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<sup>4</sup> Both Verdié and Verdier are very common place-names in Languedoc.

<sup>5</sup> Aveyron, comm. Vitrac-en-Viadène, cant. Sainte-Geneviève-sur-Argence, arrond. Rodez, or Aveyron, comm. Saint-Symphorien-de-Thénières, cant. Saint-Amans-des-Cots, arrond. Rodez; *DTF*.

*Audition de Bernard de Rivali, qui se corrigea après avoir tenu la prison pendant longtemps, qui declara qu'il avoit adoré Raimond David et Bernard Rastelli, heretiques, a Aurinh; que Pons de Ste Foy, diacre des heretiques de Lantar, ayant esté prins avec Guillaume Joannis et | d'autres heretiques, Bertrand Alamanni alla a leur priere<sup>1</sup> apud Bonacium pour sçavoir dudit diacre, a qui il pretendoit resigner sa charge, lequel la donna audit Guillaume Joannis, par des<sup>2</sup> caracteres<sup>3</sup> qu'il grava sur de la cire que ledit Alamanni luy avoit aportée; et ledit Guillaume, estant allé au chasteau de Montsegur pour se faire ordonner, il y fût bruslé quand ledit chasteau fut prins.*

*Du mecredy avant la Chaire<sup>4</sup> de Sainct Pierre 1273.*

11<sup>v</sup> Anno quo supra, die | mercurii ante festum Sancti Petri<sup>5</sup> ad Cathedram, prædictus Bernardus Rivali, diu detentus in carcere,<sup>6</sup> correxuit se, et dixit quod apud Aurinh, in area dels Rastels, vidit quadam vice Raimundum David et Bernardum Rastelli socium eius, hæreticos. Et ibi adoravit eos bis, flexis genibus secundum modum eorum, dicendo 'Benedicite', sicut iidem hæretici docuerunt eum; et ipsi respondebant 'Deus vos benedicat'.

De tempore requisitus,<sup>7</sup> dixit quod sunt viginti quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod in parrochia Sanctæ Malaniæ, in loco vocato Gran Fon, vidit eosdem hæreticos, et salutavit eos, et credit quod exhibant de Aurinh. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod in parrochia Sancti Andrææ de Assers vidit eosdem hæreticos, et ibi adoravit<sup>8</sup> eos. Et fuit eodem tempore.

<sup>1</sup> -e added, over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> originally les.

<sup>3</sup> second -c- added, superscript.

<sup>4</sup> -ai- written over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> Petri written over deletion, possibly ending -nis.

<sup>6</sup> ms incarceration.

<sup>7</sup> -situs added.

<sup>8</sup> -ravat added, superscript.

<sup>6</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Aurin, cant. Lanta; Font-Réaulx, p. 1028.

<sup>7</sup> Font-Réaulx, p. 1028: Saint-André 'de Assenchis' and 'd'Azies'. Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 10, provides Assès.

*The hearing of Bernard of Rival, who corrected himself after being held in prison for a long time, who stated that he had adored Raymond David and Bernard Rastel, heretics, at Aurin; that after Pons of Sainte-Foy, deacon of the heretics from Lanta, had been seized, together with William John and | other heretics, Bertrand Alaman went at their request to Bonnac in order to learn from the said deacon to whom he meant to hand over his office; who [the deacon] gave it to the said William John, by letters which he engraved on the wax which the said Alaman had brought to him; and the said William, having gone to the castle of Montségur to have himself ordained, was burnt there when the said castle was seized.* 11<sup>r</sup>

*From the Wednesday before the Chair of St Peter 1273.*

In the same year as above, on the Wednesday | before the feast of the Chair of St Peter,<sup>1</sup> the aforesaid Bernard Rival,<sup>2</sup> held in prison for a long time, corrected himself, and said that on a certain occasion at Aurin<sup>3</sup> he saw Raymond David and Bernard Rastel his companion, heretics, at the plot<sup>4</sup> of the Rastels. And there he adored them twice, genuflecting according to their custom, saying, 'Bless me', as the same heretics taught him. And they replied 'May God bless you.'

Asked about the time, he said that it was twenty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that in the parish of Sainte-Apollonie,<sup>5</sup> in the place called 'Gran Fon', he saw the same heretics, and he greeted them, and he believes that they were leaving Aurin. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that he saw the same heretics in the parish of Saint-André<sup>6</sup> of Assers,<sup>7</sup> and he adored them there. And this was at the same time.

<sup>1</sup> [February 21 1273 (1274)]. This is clearly the second deposition by this witness: if the depositions are copied in roughly chronological order, the first deposition would probably have taken place between 30 June and 9 July 1273: which would explain 'held in prison for a long time'.

<sup>2</sup> Rival is a very common place-name; *DTF*.

<sup>3</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Lanta, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1031.

<sup>4</sup> See above, 6<sup>v</sup> n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> The parish church of Aurin, Sainte-Apollonie, which appears as *Malonia* in Latin; Font-Réaulx, p. 1031.



Item dixit quod apud Mansum de Rivali in domo ipsius testis vidit<sup>1</sup>  
 12<sup>r</sup> Raimundum | David et Petrum Boerii de Varenis, hæreticos, qui steterunt  
 ibi per<sup>2</sup> tres<sup>3</sup> dies et noctes. Tenebat enim eos ibi Pagesia, uxor eius  
 quondam, sed ipse testis non vidit eos ibi nisi semel quadam nocte. Et  
 tunc ipse testis, et dicta Pagesia, uxor ipsius testis, et Grassus, nuntius  
 eorum de Gaure, audiverunt verba et monitiones ipsorum hæreticorum.  
 Et ipse testis et dicta<sup>4</sup> Pagesia adoraverunt<sup>5</sup> eos.<sup>6</sup>

Dixit etiam quod Bernarda filia sua, tunc puella undecim annorum vel  
 circa, et Pontius filius eius, tunc puer octo annorum vel circa,<sup>7</sup> [erant] in<sup>8</sup>  
 domo prædicta. Tamen non recordatur ipse testis quod videret eos cum  
 dictis hæreticis simul; sed<sup>9</sup> bene sciebant ipsos esse in domo.

Credit tamen ipse testis quod ignorabant iidem pueri<sup>10</sup> cuius modi  
 homines essent prædicti hæretici.

De tempore requisitus,<sup>11</sup> dixit quod sunt viginti quinque anni vel circa.  
 12<sup>v</sup> Adiecit etiam ipse testis quod ipse et | Pagesia, uxor ipsius testis,  
 et Grassus nuntius eorum prædictus, comederunt de pane a prædictis  
 hæreticis benedicto, sed prædictus Grassus erat iuvenis duodecim anno-  
 rum, et non adoravit<sup>12</sup> eos.

Item dixit quod in parrochia supradicta Sancti Andrææ de Asers, in  
 nemore del Vacairil vidit prædictos<sup>13</sup> Raimundum David, B. Rastelli,  
 hæreticos, et ibi adoravit<sup>14</sup> eos ut supra.

Requisitus<sup>15</sup> de tempore, dixit quod sunt viginti quatuor anni vel  
 circa.

<sup>1</sup> *altered.*

<sup>2</sup> *altered.*

<sup>3</sup> *altered.*

<sup>4</sup> *altered.*

<sup>5</sup> *-averunt added, partly over deletion, partly in margin.*

<sup>6</sup> *added in margin.*

<sup>7</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>8</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>9</sup> *altered.*

<sup>10</sup> *word deleted, possibly pœnitentia: pueri partially written over it.*

<sup>11</sup> *-situs added.*

<sup>12</sup> *-ravit added, superscript.*

<sup>13</sup> *-o- altered.*

<sup>14</sup> *-ravit added, superscript.*

<sup>15</sup> *-situs added.*

Item, he said that he saw Raymond | David and Peter Boer of Varen- 12<sup>r</sup>  
 nes,<sup>8</sup> heretics, in the same witness's house at the Rival *mas*; and they  
 stayed there for three days and nights. For Pagesia, his late wife, kept  
 them there, but the same witness did not see them there except once,  
 one night. And then the same witness, and the said Pagesia, the same  
 witness's wife, and Gras, their messenger from Gauré,<sup>9</sup> heard the words  
 and admonitions of the same heretics. And the same witness and the said  
 Pagesia adored them.

He also said that Bernarda, his daughter, then a girl of eleven years or  
 thereabouts, and Pons, his son, then a boy of eight years or thereabouts,  
 were in the aforesaid house. The same witness, however, does not remem-  
 ber seeing them together with the said heretics; but they knew well that  
 they were in the house.

However the same witness believes that the same children did not  
 know what sort of people the aforesaid heretics were.

Asked about the time, he said that it was twenty-five years ago or  
 thereabouts.

The same witness also added that he and | Pagesia, the same witness's 12<sup>v</sup>  
 wife, and Gras, their aforesaid messenger, ate bread blessed by the afore-  
 said heretics; but the aforesaid Gras was a youth of twelve years, and did  
 not adore them.

Item, he said that he saw the aforesaid Raymond David and Bernard  
 Rastel, heretics, in the aforesaid parish of Saint Andrew of *Assers*, in the  
 wood of *Vacairil*, and there he adored them as above.

Asked about the time, he said that it was twenty-four years ago or  
 thereabouts.

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<sup>8</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Mourvilles-Basses, cant. Montgiscard, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1100. A Raymond Boer (R[amun]dus Boerius) of Varennes testified (June 13 1246) that he had a brother who was a heretic, probably Peter Boer; Toulouse 609, f. 209<sup>r</sup>. A Petrus Boerius, heretic, was seen together with his companion at Renneville and Saint-Romain before 1245; see below, 28<sup>r</sup> n. 10, 134<sup>r</sup> n. 20, and 304<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Verfeil, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 937.

Item dixit quod quando Pontius de Sancta Fide, diaconus hæreticorum, Lantarus,<sup>1</sup> et Bernardus Rastelli, hæretici, fuerunt capti in parietibus et nemore Pontii de Montibus quondam, inter Caram<sup>2</sup> et Lantar,<sup>3</sup> evaserunt alii duo hæretici, scilicet prædictus Raimundus David, et Guillelmus Ioannis, qui fugientes venerunt versus Auri ad maleolum Pontii Rastelli, in quo putabant idem | testis et ipse Pontius,<sup>4</sup> et fuerunt ibi loqui cum ipso<sup>5</sup> Pontio<sup>6</sup> Rastelli, fratre alterius hæreticorum qui erant capti, et cum ipso teste. Et condixerunt ibi quod ipse Pontius<sup>7</sup> Rastelli pergeret incontinenti versus Cargodas, ad Bertrandum Alamanni, amicum<sup>8</sup> hæreticorum, et diceret eidem Bertrando ex parte ipsorum hæreticorum quod portaret unam pastellam de cera prædicto diachono hæreticorum, ubi captus erat, in qua scriberet idem diaconus quem volebat esse ordinem, scilicet diachonum, loco sui, et sic scriptam reportaret prædictam ceram reddendam dictis hæreticis qui evaserant. Et sicut condixit cum prædictis hæreticis, dictus Pontius Rastelli ivit statim ad Bertrandum Alamanni, et dixit ei prædicta verba ex parte hæreticorum. Et dixit prædicta verba et tradidit ceram ei, et idem Bertrandus cum dicta  
 13<sup>r</sup> cera ivit confestim versus Bonacum | ubi erant prædicti hæretici capti. Et dicens custodibus quod volebat eos videre et temptare, si vellent converti, fuit admissus, et tradidit ceram inscribendam<sup>9</sup> dicto diacono hæreticorum. Et inscriptam<sup>10</sup> recepit eam, et reddidit hæreticis, sicut dictus Pontius Rastelli post modum retulit ipsi testi.<sup>11</sup> Et scripsit dictus diaconus

<sup>1</sup> -n- altered.

<sup>2</sup> space left for expansion.

<sup>3</sup> space left for expansion.

<sup>4</sup> -us or -ius *perhaps added*.

<sup>5</sup> -so added.

<sup>6</sup> -o altered.

<sup>7</sup> -us added.

<sup>8</sup> letter deleted between -u- and -m.

<sup>9</sup> *originally* in scribendam.

<sup>10</sup> *originally* in scriptam.

<sup>11</sup> letter, possibly -s, deleted.

<sup>17</sup> Bertrand of (the) Alamans of Saint-Germier (Bertrandus de Alamans de sancto Germerio) was questioned, December 18 1242 and February 22 1244, and he admitted contact with heretics from around 1227; D23, f. 65<sup>r</sup>–70<sup>r</sup>. He led William Richard, deacon, to Montségur; Toulouse 609, f. 174<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Perhaps Aude, comm. and cant. Alaigne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Limoux (DTF) or Ariège, cant. Pamiers, ch.-lieu arrond.; Font-Réaulx, p. 814. Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 11 n. 7, suggests disappeared place near Lanta.

Item, he said that when Pons of Sainte-Foy,<sup>10</sup> deacon of the heretics,<sup>11</sup> a native of Lanta,<sup>12</sup> and Bernard Rastel, heretics, were captured within the walls and wood of the late Pons of Mons,<sup>13</sup> between Caraman<sup>14</sup> and Lanta, the other two heretics escaped, namely the aforesaid Raymond David, and William John, and they came fleeing towards Aurin to Pons Rastel's newly-planted vineyard,<sup>15</sup> in which the same | witness and the same 13<sup>r</sup> Pons were pruning, and there they spoke with the same Pons Rastel, the brother of one of the heretics who had been captured, and with the same witness. And there they came to an agreement that the same Pons Rastel should procede immediately to Caragoudes,<sup>16</sup> to Bertrand Alaman,<sup>17</sup> a friend of the heretics, and tell the same Bertrand on behalf of the same heretics that he should take a wax tablet to the aforesaid deacon of the heretics, where he was held captive—on which the same deacon would write whom he wanted to be the 'Order', that is deacon, in his place, and he [Pons Rastel] would bring back the aforesaid wax tablet, inscribed in this way, to be given to the said heretics who had escaped. And just as he had agreed with the aforesaid heretics, the said Pons Rastel went immediately to Bertrand Alaman, and said the aforesaid words to him on behalf of the heretics. And he said the aforesaid words and gave him the wax tablet, and the same Bertrand went at once with the said wax tablet to Bonnac<sup>18</sup> | where the aforesaid heretics were held captive. And, 13<sup>v</sup> saying to the guards that he wanted to see them and try them, to see if they were willing to convert, he was let in, and he gave the wax tablet to the said deacon of the heretics to be inscribed. And when it had been written on, he received it back, and returned it to the heretics, as the said

<sup>10</sup> There are several Sainte-Foi and Sainte-Foy, but this seems to be Sainte-Foy-d'Aigrefeuille, Haute-Garonne, cant. Lanta, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1054.

<sup>11</sup> Pons was deacon of Lanta c. 1242–1256; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, pp. 285, 301 and 348.

<sup>12</sup> Haute-Garonne, ch.-lieu, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 954.

<sup>13</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Toulouse-Sud; Font-Réaulx, p. 988.

<sup>14</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. and cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 899.

<sup>15</sup> A 'maleolum' is a vineyard planted with young vines.

<sup>16</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 899.

in prædicta cera quod volebat esse ordinem, scilicet diaconum, loco sui Guillelmum Ioannis, socium suum hæreticum, qui evaserat. Et tunc idem Guillelmus Ioannis ivit versus Montem Securum pro ordinatione sua, ubi fuit conbustus cum omnibus aliis: fuit enim tempore quo captum fuit castrum<sup>1</sup> Montis Securi.

Item dixit se audivisse dici quod Guillelma, uxor Vitalis de Manso de Aurinhol, parrochiana Sanctæ Malaniæ, ivit in Lombardiam ad hæreticos, et cum ea Petrus filius eius, | qui alias vocatur Tholosanus. Et credit ipse testis quod associaverunt<sup>2</sup> eos Pontius alter filius dictæ Guillelmæ, et Brito nepos eius, portantes eam super equam usque ad aliquem locum; et audivit dici<sup>3</sup> ipse testis quod iverunt cum Raimundo Saxii de Caramanno. Et erat annus circa proximum Pascha quod dicta mulier et eius filius recesserunt.

Interrogatus dixit se nihil amplius scire de facto hæresis.

Prædictos hæreticos credidit esse bonos homines et veraces,<sup>4</sup> et habere bonam fidem, et posse salvari per eos. Et ipse testis etiam, si tunc moretur, vellet eos habere. Et fuit in illa credentia per decem quinque annos.

Hæc deposuit<sup>5</sup> coram fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum Ranulpho de Placiacho et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus.<sup>6</sup> Testes: magister Berengarius de Verneto, Guillelmus de Cumcouts, Sicardus de Lunello, et ego, 14<sup>v</sup> Ato de Sancto<sup>7</sup> Victore, | publicus Inquisitionis<sup>8</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsit.

<sup>1</sup> *altered.*

<sup>2</sup> *-unt added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-ci altered.*

<sup>4</sup> *letter deleted between -r- and -a-.*

<sup>5</sup> *-uit added, superscript, -s- altered.*

<sup>6</sup> *-ibus added.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms Santo.*

<sup>8</sup> *ms inquisitor.*

<sup>25</sup> Lot, cant. Limogne-en-Quercy, arrond. Cahors. William of Concots is described as *procurator heresis* below, 137<sup>v</sup>. He may be identifiable with W. *de Concoutz*, chaplain of Cahors, who witnessed sentences in Cahors (1244) and Toulouse (1246) (Douais, *Documents*, pp. 38, 42). See William of *Contour*, 162<sup>v</sup> below; *Contour* may be a mistake for Concots. If the two men are one, then the title given here is probably an abbreviation of procurator for confiscations for heresy.

<sup>26</sup> On Atho, see pp. 90–91 above.

Pons Rastel afterwards told the same witness. And the said deacon wrote on the aforesaid wax tablet that he wanted William John, the heretic who was his companion, who had escaped, to be 'Order', that is deacon, in his place.<sup>19</sup> And then the same William John went to Montségur<sup>20</sup> for his ordination, where he was burnt with all the others: for it was at the time when the fortress of Montségur was captured.<sup>21</sup>

Item, he said that he had heard it said that Guillelma, the wife of Vital of the *mas* of *Aurinhol*,<sup>22</sup> a parishioner of Sainte-Melanie, went to Lombardy to the heretics, and with her Peter her son, | who is also called 'Tolsan'.<sup>14<sup>r</sup></sup> And the same witness believes that Pons, the said Guillelma's other son, and Brito, her nephew,<sup>23</sup> accompanied them, carrying her on a mare as far as some place or other; and the same witness heard it said that they went with Raymond Saix of Caraman. And it was about a year before last Easter that the said woman and her son left.

Questioned, he said that he knew nothing more about the matter of heresy.

He believed that the aforesaid heretics were good men and truthful, and that they had a good faith, and that one could be saved through them. And also, if the same witness had been dying then, he would have wanted to have them. And he was in that belief for fifteen years.

These things he attested before the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac,<sup>24</sup> inquisitors. Witnesses: master Berengar of Vernet, William de Concots,<sup>25</sup> Sicard Lunel, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, | public notary of the Inquisition,<sup>26</sup> who wrote these things.<sup>14<sup>v</sup></sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Deacon 1243–1244; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 348 (where he is cited as Bernard Dejean). He was seen by his mother Joanna, wife of Raymond John, barber, in their own house at Tarabel (Haute-Garonne, cant. Lanta, arrond. Toulouse) within the last three years (deposition of 1245), and in a wood near Damiac (Haute-Garonne, comm. Fourquevaux, cant. Montgiscard, arrond. Toulouse) around 1244; Toulouse 609, f. 205<sup>r</sup>, 207<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Ariège, cant. Lavelanet, arrond. Foix; Font-Réaulx, p. 990. This famous stronghold was developed after the peace of Paris (1229) and especially after 1232 as the headquarters and principal safe haven of the Cathars.

<sup>21</sup> March 1244.

<sup>22</sup> Although not identified, close to (and presumably derived from) Aurin.

<sup>23</sup> Or 'grandson'.

<sup>24</sup> See p. 49 above.

Anno quo supra, Dominica in Quadragesima,<sup>1</sup> sero, Bernardus de Rivali prædictus, diu detentus, et adhuc<sup>2</sup> existens in carcere compeditus, pro eo quod reperiebatur minus plene confessus, repertus est in capite vulneratus. Et recognovit coram me, Athone, notario supradicto, qui veneram ad carcerem visurus eundem Bernardum<sup>3</sup> et auditurus si plura confiteri vellet, quod ipsemet se percusserat et vulneraverat in capite mori desiderans, et se volens interficere.

Horum testes sunt Bernardus Boneti, Sicardus Lunelli, Iaquetus carcerarius, et ego, prædictus Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>4</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -esima *altered*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* ad huc.

<sup>3</sup> *letter deleted: probably originally* Bernardus.

<sup>4</sup> *originally* inquisitor.

In the same year as above, on the Sunday in Lent,<sup>27</sup> in the evening, the aforesaid Bernard of Rival, held for a long time and still kept in prison in leg-irons, because he was found to have confessed less than fully, was found wounded in the head. And he acknowledged before me, Atho, the aforesaid notary, who had come to the prison to see the same Bernard and to hear if he wished to confess anything further, that he himself had hit and wounded himself in the head, wishing to die, and wanting to kill himself.

Witnesses to these things are Bernard Bonet, Sicard Lunel, Jacquet the gaoler, and I, the aforesaid Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

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<sup>27</sup> This deposition would seem to date from shortly after the preceeding one. Exactly which Sunday in Lent is meant is unclear: the first Sunday would be a likely conjecture, but in 1273 (1274) the first Sunday in Lent was February 18—before the previous deposition. We therefore suggest the following Sunday, February 25, as the most likely date.



- 15<sup>r</sup> *Deposition faite pardevant Ranulphe | de Galiaco, inquisiteur de Tholose, par Guillaume Fornerii, contenant qu'un nommé Bernard Demerii de Tholose disoit que les freres precheurs, et les mineurs, estoient ceux dont parle l'evangile 'Attendite a falsis prophetis',<sup>1</sup> et qu'ils persecutoient les bonnes gens, qu'on appelloit heretiques, comme lon avoit persecuté les saints martirs, que sil avoit osé il auroit soustenu que les corps des hommes*  
 15<sup>v</sup> *estoient louvrage des demons, et que les ames avoient | esté créés au ciel.*

7<sup>o</sup> idus Julii 1273.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, septimo idus Iulii, Willelmus Fornerii, qui manet iuxta domum Trinitatis, testis iuratus et interrogatus super facto hæresis, dixit se nunquam vidisse nec audivisse hæreticos nec Valdenses.

Interrogatus si aliquid sciebat de aliis, dixit quod habet quendam<sup>2</sup> hominem suspectum de hæresi, scilicet Bernardum Demerii, tornerium qui est de parrochia Deaurate,<sup>3</sup> qui manet in Carreria Torneriorum apud Petram.

- Interrogatus quare habebat ipsum suspectum dixit quod semel erat in ecclesia de Coquinis cum dicto Bernardo, et ostendit sibi dictus Bernardus  
 16<sup>r</sup> *imagines | sanctorum qui passi erant pro Christo, et dixit dictus Bernardus dicto testi quod ita erat hodie sicut antiquitus, quod boni homines persequabantur a malis.*

Dixit etiam dictus Bernardus quod Minores et Prædicatores erant illi de quibus loquitur Dominus in evangelio, dicens 'Attendite a falsis prophetis'. Et tunc et dictus testis dicens, quod imo erant hæretici, respondit Bernardus prædictus quod imo erant Prædicatores et Minores, qui persequabantur bonos homines.

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<sup>1</sup> *second -p- added, superscript.*

<sup>2</sup> *originally quondam.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms de Aurate.*

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<sup>5</sup> Square and market in Toulouse; Mundy, *Society*, p. 8 no. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Franciscans.

<sup>7</sup> Matthew 7. 15.

*The deposition made before Ranulph | of Gaillac, Inquisitor of Toulouse, 15<sup>r</sup>  
by William Fournier, containing that someone named Bernard Demier of  
Toulouse said that the Brothers Preacher and the Brothers Minor were  
those about whom the Gospel says, 'Beware of false prophets', and that they  
persecuted the good people, who were called 'heretics', just as people had  
persecuted the holy martyrs; that if he had dared he would have maintained  
that the bodies of men were the work of demons, and that souls had | been 15<sup>v</sup>  
created in heaven.*

*7 days before the ides of July 1273.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, seven days before the ides of July,<sup>1</sup> William Fournier (or William, baker), who lives near the House of the Trinity,<sup>2</sup> sworn in as a witness and questioned about the matter of heresy, said that he had never seen or heard heretics or Waldensians.

Asked whether he knew anything about others, he said that he suspected a certain man of heresy, namely Bernard Demier, a turner who is of the parish of the Daurade,<sup>3</sup> who lives in Turners' Street<sup>4</sup> by La Pierre.<sup>5</sup>

Asked why he suspected him, he said that he was once in the church of Saint-Pierre-des-Cuisines with the said Bernard, and the said Bernard showed him the images | of the saints who had suffered for Christ, and 16<sup>r</sup>  
the said Bernard said to the said witness that it was the same today as formerly: good men were persecuted by bad.

The said Bernard also said that the Brothers Minor<sup>6</sup> and Brothers Preacher were those of whom the Lord speaks in the gospel, saying: 'Beware of false prophets.'<sup>7</sup> And then, when the said witness said that, on the contrary, these were the heretics, the aforesaid Bernard replied that on the contrary, they were the Brothers Preacher and Brothers Minor, who persecuted good men.

<sup>1</sup> July 9 1273.

<sup>2</sup> Hospital (outside the Narbonne Gate) of the Holy Trinity or, perhaps, the convent of the Trinitarians; Mundy, 'Hospitals', p. 187 n. 21; *HGL*, iv.706.

<sup>3</sup> Wakefield, *Heresy*, p. 58; Mundy, *Society*, no. 18 on map opposite p. 7; Sibly, *William of Puylaurens*, map 2, p. xi.

<sup>4</sup> See no. 7 on the map in Mundy, *Society*, p. 7.

Item dixit dictus testis quod dictus *Bernardus* quæsivit<sup>1</sup> ab eo ‘Nonne<sup>2</sup> credis quod animæ hominum sint creatæ in cœlo, et corpora in terra?’ Et cum respondit dictus testis quare volebat dicere, et utrum volebat dicere quod diabolus fecisset corpora, et ipse *Bernardus* respondit quod<sup>3</sup> non diceret, sed si audiret, benediceret.

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<sup>1</sup> -æſ- altered.

<sup>2</sup> originally *nomine*.

<sup>3</sup> *superfluous* -d, apparently not deleted.

Item, the said witness said that the said Bernard asked him, 'Don't you believe that men's souls are created in heaven, and their bodies on earth?'. And when the said witness answered by asking him why he wished to say that, and whether he wished to say that the devil had made bodies, the same Bernard answered that he would not say that, but if he heard it, he would bless it.

- 16<sup>v</sup> *Deposition d'Aldricus puer, fils de Raymond Saichii de Caraman, contenant qu'estant fugitifs, son pere et luy, a cause de heresie, ils avoient rencontré dans la Lombardie Pierre Maurelli d'Auriac, Pierre Galhardi, freres, Guillaume Boerii de Caraman, et autres; passant par Alexandrie, par Ast, par Pavie, Milan, Cremonne, et autres endroits, ils avoit trouvé des heretiques ches lesquels ils avoient loge; que quand on adoroit les heretiques on*  
 17<sup>r</sup> *disoit 'Benedicite, et parcite no|bis', et ils respondoient 'Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus parcat vobis, et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra', qu'après on disoit le Pater Noster en metant 'panem supersubstantialem', et autres oraisons.*

*De l'année 1274.*

Anno quo supra, in crastinum Sancti Bartholomæi,<sup>1</sup> testis prædictus correxuit se et addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod ipse loquutus fuerat cum Aladaicia, uxore den Bugaralh de Palais Villa, ut ipsa loqueretur cum Petro Maurelli, quod duceret eam secum in Lombardiam ad hæreticos, et mutuarent sibi pecuniam pro expensis.

- Interrogatus de illis qui erant recessuri,<sup>2</sup> dixit quod nesciebat, nec  
 17<sup>v</sup> illa Aladaicia id sibi | voluit revelare. Tamen dixit sibi quod ecclesia habebat aliquos bonos et magnos amicos in terra ista, a quibus<sup>3</sup> habebat pecuniam, quia de pauperibus parum aut nihil poterat habere.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Ranulpho, inquisitore.<sup>4</sup> Testes: frater Guillelmus de Barda, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Ato de Sancto Victore, notarius<sup>5</sup> Inquisitionis,<sup>6</sup> qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> -æ- altered, probably from -e-.

<sup>2</sup> added, superscript.

<sup>3</sup> ms aquibus.

<sup>4</sup> -e added.

<sup>5</sup> -ius added.

<sup>6</sup> originally inquisitor.

*The deposition of the boy Aldric,<sup>1</sup> son of Raymond Saix of Caraman, 16<sup>v</sup>  
 containing that while he and his father were fugitives because of heresy, they  
 had met in Lombardy Peter Maurel of Auriac and Peter Galhard, brothers,  
 William Boer of Caraman, and others; passing through Alessandria, Asti,  
 Pavia, Milan, Cremona, and other places, they had found heretics with  
 whom they had lodged; that when people adored the heretics they would  
 say, 'Bless, and spare us', | and they would reply, 'May the Father, the Son 17<sup>r</sup>  
 and the Holy Spirit spare you and remit all your sins', and that afterwards  
 they would say the Our Father, adding to it 'supersubstantial bread', and  
 other prayers.*

*From the year 1274.*

In the same year as above, on the morrow of St Bartholomew,<sup>2</sup> the aforesaid witness corrected himself and added to his confession, saying that he had spoken with Aladaicis, the wife of En Bugarel of Palleville,<sup>3</sup> to get her to speak with Peter Maurel, so that he would take her with him into Lombardy to the heretics, and they would lend him [or her] money for expenses.

Questioned about those who were to leave, he said that he did not know, nor did that Aladaicis want to | reveal it to him. However, she said 17<sup>v</sup>  
 to him that the church had some good and powerful friends in this land, from whom it had money, because it could get little or nothing from the poor.

These things he attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother William of Labarthe, of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

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<sup>1</sup> Despite this rubric, it would seem from their very different content that the first two depositions here were made not by Aldric, but by some other, unknown, witness.

<sup>2</sup> August 25 [1273]. If the depositions are copied in roughly chronological order, this witness's first deposition would probably have taken place between July 9 and August 21 1273.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn, comm. Belleserre, cant. Dourgne, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1001.

Anno<sup>1</sup> quo supra, secundo nonas Septembris, prædictus testis<sup>2</sup> recognovit et dixit quod nuper propter timorem inquisitorum<sup>3</sup> recessit de civitate Tholosana, et fugiens ivit errabundus<sup>4</sup> per devia<sup>5</sup> in Viridi Folesio per dies quatuor, se absentans contra iuramentum quod præstiterat de non recedendo sine licentia inquisitorum.<sup>6</sup>

18<sup>r</sup> Anno quo supra in festo Beati Bernardi, confessoris, Aldricus puer, filius Raimundi Saichii de Caramanno, requisitus de | veritate dicenda super facto hæresis, tam de<sup>7</sup> se quam<sup>8</sup> de aliis, dixit quod isto anno post festum Paschæ recessit de Caramanno una cum patre sua prædicto, et inde venerunt apud Sanctum Martinum de Landa. Et ibi invenerunt Petrum Maurelli de Auriaco, et Willelmum Boerium de Caramanno, et Fabrissam, uxorem Vassaroni de Cambiaco, fugitivos pro facto hæresis. Et in dicta villa de Sancto Martino in domo cuiusdam mulieris, cuius nomen ignorat, quæ erat tota sola<sup>9</sup> sine familia in quadam extremitate eiusdem villæ, hospitati fuerunt omnes insimul<sup>10</sup> prædicti fugitivi. Et iacuerunt et steterunt et comederunt et biberunt cum dicta muliere per octo dies, quæ mulier, hospes prædicta, sciebat totum factum dictorum fugitivorum. Et dictus Petrus Maurelli inde<sup>11</sup> recessit<sup>12</sup> 18<sup>v</sup> et ivit apud Limos, et inde duxit tres mulieres et unum pue|rum, quarum mulierum duæ uocabantur Willelmæ, tertia vero Cathalana, et puer vocabatur<sup>13</sup> Raimundus, dictæ Cathalanæ filius. Et inde eos duxit idem Petrus Maurelli apud Biterrim,<sup>14</sup> ubi invenerunt Raimundum Saichinum et eius filium qui loquitur, et Willelmum<sup>15</sup> Boerii, et Fabrissam prædictos. Et inde venerunt ad Bellicadrum,<sup>16</sup> et inde intraverunt in

<sup>1</sup> line added between depositions, by later hand.

<sup>2</sup> altered from or to testes.

<sup>3</sup> -orum added.

<sup>4</sup> -d- altered.

<sup>5</sup> ms perdevia.

<sup>6</sup> inquisit- altered.

<sup>7</sup> superscript.

<sup>8</sup> originally sequam.

<sup>9</sup> so- altered.

<sup>10</sup> ms in simul.

<sup>11</sup> ms in de.

<sup>12</sup> -sit added in margin, and -serit deleted in line below.

<sup>13</sup> originally vocabantur.

<sup>14</sup> letter, perhaps -e, deleted.

<sup>15</sup> ms Willillelmum.

<sup>16</sup> -a- altered.

In the same year as above, two days before the nones of September,<sup>4</sup> the aforesaid witness acknowledged and said that lately, for fear of the inquisitors, he left the city of Toulouse, and fled, wandering around unfrequented places in the Verfeil<sup>5</sup> area for four days, absenting himself contrary to the oath which he had made not to leave without the permission of the inquisitors.

In the same year as above, on the feast of the Blessed Bernard, confessor,<sup>6</sup> the boy Aldric, the son of Raymond Saix of Caraman, asked to | tell the 18<sup>r</sup> truth about the matter of heresy, about both himself and others, said that this year, after the feast of Easter, he left Caraman together with his aforesaid father, and from there they came to Saint-Martin-Lalande.<sup>7</sup> And there they found Peter Maurel of Auriac,<sup>8</sup> and William Boer of Caraman, and Fabrissa, the wife of Vassarion of Cambiac,<sup>9</sup> fugitives for the matter of heresy. And all the aforesaid fugitives were lodged together in the said village of Saint-Martin, in the house of a certain woman, whose name he does not know, who lived all alone without a household at one end of the same village. And they slept and lived and ate and drank with the said woman for eight days.<sup>10</sup> This woman, their aforesaid host, knew all about the said fugitives. And the said Peter Maurel left there and went to Limoux,<sup>11</sup> and from there he brought three women and one boy. | Two 18<sup>v</sup> of these women were called Guillelma, and the third Catalana, and the boy was called Raymond, the son of the said Catalana. And from there the same Peter Maurel took them to Béziers,<sup>12</sup> where they found Raymond Saix and his son, who is speaking, and the aforesaid William Boer and Fabrissa. And from there they came to Beaucaire,<sup>13</sup> and from there they

<sup>4</sup> September 4 [1273].

<sup>5</sup> Haute-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1101.

<sup>6</sup> August 21 [1273].

<sup>7</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Sud, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1043.

<sup>8</sup> Almost certainly Haute-Garonne, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 869. See also Auriac, Aude, cant. Mouthounet, and other places of this name listed in *DTF*.

<sup>9</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Cambiac, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 896.

<sup>10</sup> Usage for 'a week'.

<sup>11</sup> Aude, ch.-lieu; Font-Réaulx, p. 963.

<sup>12</sup> City and diocese; Hérault.

<sup>13</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. and cant. Lauzerte, arrond. Castelsarrasin; *Saisimentum*, p. 358.



Lombardiam, et inde venerunt apud Achoniam, et ibi iacuerunt in domo<sup>1</sup> cuiusdam mulieris quæ vocatur Arnalda, quæ est de terra ista. Et ibi invenerunt fratrem Petri Maurelli, qui vocatur Petrus Galhardi. Et inde venerunt apud Ast, et inde in Alexandriam, ubi invenerunt alium fratrem ipsius Petri Maurelli nomine Bernardo. Et inde venerunt apud Papiam, et iacuerunt in domo cuiusdam Lombardi, qui vocatur Raimundus Galterius. | Et ibi remansit Willelmus Boerii, textor prædictus.

Dixit etiam quod fuerunt apud Manta, et ibi invenerunt duos homines de Limoso, quorum alter vocabatur<sup>2</sup> Raymundus de Limoso, textor, et alterius nomen ignorat. Et inde venerunt in Cremonam, inde Mediolanum, et inde redierunt apud Conium, et deinde ad propria, videlicet apud Castrum Nouum de Arrio in domo den Casali. Et ibi remansit ipse puer qui loquitur; et inde recessit dictus pater suus Raimundus Saischi, et venit apud Seguevilla in domo Guillelmi Moco, soceri sui.

Dixit etiam idem testis quod quando fuerunt in Papia invenerunt Raimundum Adalberti ibi, et Ioannem Fabri. Qui Ioannes Fabri docuit ipsum ut adoraret bonos homines, et diceret ‘Benedicite’ et ‘Parcite nobis’, et alia quæ dicunt<sup>3</sup> hæretici<sup>4</sup> quando adorantur, scilicet ‘Pater et Filius et  
19<sup>v</sup> Spiritus Sanctus | parcat vobis et dimittat vobis<sup>5</sup> omnia peccata vestra’. Et tunc dicebantur Pater Noster, et in medio orationis ‘panem nostrum supersubstantialem’. Et in fine Patris Nostri adorabant, et dicebant ‘quoniam tuum est regnum, et virtus, et gloria, in sæcula,<sup>6</sup> amen. Benedicamus Patrem et Filium cum Sancto Spiritu. Gratia nostri domini<sup>7</sup> Iesu Christi sit cum omnibus nobis, amen.’ Et tunc adorabant et dicebant ‘Benedicite’, et ‘Parcite nobis’, et tunc hæretici respondebant ‘Dominus vos<sup>8</sup> benedicat’.

Et tunc dixit etiam quod Ioannes Faber prædictus, qui docebat ipsam doctrinam hæreticorum dedit sibi zonam quam portabat.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* indomo.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* vocabantur.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* dicuntur.

<sup>4</sup> *letter deleted, -i perhaps written over deletion.*

<sup>5</sup> *-bis added, -is superscript.*

<sup>6</sup> *-æ- altered, probably from -e-.*

<sup>7</sup> *added, superscript.*

<sup>8</sup> *-s added.*

entered Lombardy, and from there they came to Cuneo,<sup>14</sup> and there they slept in the house of a certain woman who is called Arnalda, who is from that land. And there they found the brother of Peter Maurel, who is called Peter Galhard. And from there they came to Asti, and from there to Alessandria,<sup>15</sup> where they found another brother of the same Peter Maurel called Bernard. And from there they came to Pavia, and slept in the house of a certain Lombard, who is called Raymond Gualtero. | And 19<sup>r</sup> William Boer, the aforesaid weaver, remained there.

He also said that they were at Mantua,<sup>16</sup> and there they found two men from Limoux, of whom one was called Raymond of Limoux, weaver, and he does not know the name of the other. And from there they came to Cremona,<sup>17</sup> and from there to Milan,<sup>18</sup> and from there they returned to Cuneo, and from there to their own, that is to Castelnauary,<sup>19</sup> to the house of En Casali. And there the same boy who is speaking remained; and his said father, Raymond Saix, left there, and came to Ségreville,<sup>20</sup> to the house of William Moco, his father-in-law.

The same witness also said that when they were in Pavia they found Raymond Adalbert there, and John Faure (*or* John, smith). And this John Faure taught him to adore the good men, and to say 'Bless us' and 'Have mercy upon us', and other things which the heretics say when they adore, namely 'May the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit | have mercy on 19<sup>v</sup> you and forgive you all your sins'.<sup>21</sup> And then they said the Our Father, and in the middle of the prayer 'our supersubstantial bread'. And at the end of the Our Father they adored, and said 'for Thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, for ever and ever, amen. Let us bless the Father and the Son, with the Holy Spirit. May the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all, amen.' And then they adored and said 'Bless us', and 'Have mercy upon us', and then the heretics answered 'May the Lord bless you'.

And then he also said that the aforesaid John Faure, who taught him this doctrine of the heretics, gave him the belt he was wearing.

<sup>14</sup> City in Piedmont, capital of province of Cuneo; Coni in French.

<sup>15</sup> City in Piedmont, capital of province of Alessandria.

<sup>16</sup> City in Lombardy, capital of province of Mantua.

<sup>17</sup> City, capital of province of Cremona, Lombardy.

<sup>18</sup> City in Lombardy; one of the largest of Latin Christendom at the period.

<sup>19</sup> Aude, cant. and arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 903.

<sup>20</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1079.

<sup>21</sup> On the heretical rite of *melioramentum*, described here, see Duvernoy, *Religion*, pp. 208–211; Lambert, *Cathars*, pp. 74–75, 141–142. Cf. M.G. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246* (Princeton, 2001), ch. 13.

Hæc deposuit dictus testis coram fratre Ranulpho de Placiaco, inquirentore. Testes: frater Willelmus de Barda, de Ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum, et ego, *Bernardus* Boneti, notarius publicus, qui hæc scripsi.

20<sup>r</sup> Item<sup>1</sup> anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo | septuagesimo quarto, quarto idus Maii, prædictus Aldricus,<sup>2</sup> vocatus, adiecit quod semel adoravit<sup>3</sup> hæreticos prædictos, ter dicendo ‘Benedicite’, flexis genibus secundum morem hæreticorum.<sup>4</sup>

Hæc deposuit<sup>5</sup> coram<sup>6</sup> fratre Ranulpho, inquirentore. Testes: magister Ioannes de Baure, et frater *Arnaldus* Gervasii, et magister Berengarius de Verneto, qui hæc scripsit.

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<sup>1</sup> *line added between depositions, by later hand.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ald- altered.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms adoravet. -ravet added, interlined.*

<sup>4</sup> *-orum added.*

<sup>5</sup> *originally de posuit; -suit altered.*

<sup>6</sup> *-ram added, perhaps altered.*

These things the said witness attested before brother Ranulph of Plas-sac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother William of Labarthe, of the Order of Brothers Preacher, and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary, who wrote these things.

Item, in the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred | and seventy- 20<sup>r</sup>  
four, four days before the ides of May,<sup>22</sup> the aforesaid Aldric, summoned, added that he once adored the aforesaid heretics, saying 'Bless me' three times, genuflecting, after the manner of the heretics.

These things he attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: master John of Vaure<sup>23</sup> and brother Arnold Gervase,<sup>24</sup> and master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote these things.

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<sup>22</sup> May 12 1274.

<sup>23</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. and cant Revel, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1100.

<sup>24</sup> Not found in *ACP*.

*Deposition de Durand de Rofiac Ulmeria, contenant qu'il avoit dit que dans le corps de l'homme il n'y avoit point d'autre ame que le sang; que si le corps de Jesus Christ estoit au saint sacrement, les clerks l'auroient mangé quand*  
 20<sup>v</sup> *il auroit esté si grand qu'une montagne; que | Saint Laurens navoit pas souffert volontairement le martir; et autres choses y exprimées, dont il se retracta<sup>1</sup> en presence de Ramnulf, inquisiteur.*

*Du jour de Saint Denis 1273.*

Anno quo supra, in festo Sancti Dionisii, Durandus de Rufiaco de Ulmeria, parrochiae<sup>2</sup> Sancti Saturnini de Rofiac, diocesis Ruthenensis, testis iuratus et interrogatus super facto hæreticis et Valdesiæ,<sup>3</sup> dixit nihil sicut nuper.

Dixit tamen post veritatem tacitam et negatam, se dixisse quod anima nihil aliud est in corpore nisi sanguis.<sup>4</sup>

21<sup>r</sup> Requisitus<sup>5</sup> quotiens dixit illud, dixit quod per | duas vel tres vices.

Interrogatus in quibus locis dixit illa verba, dixit quod semel in mercato de Caslutio, sub capella communi.

Interrogatus de aliis locis, dixit se non recordari.

Interrogatus de tempore, dixit quod a quinque annis citra. Et interrogatus de hiis qui fuerunt præsentés, dixit quod Ugo de Palharels, et Pontius de Liuron' de Caslutio.

Interrogatus quid movit eum ad illud dicendum, dixit quod Pontius de Liuron' dixit ipsi et Ugoni de Palharels prædicto, ludendo, sic: 'Curetis de<sup>6</sup> animabus<sup>7</sup> vestris, vos alii, quia satis curastis<sup>8</sup> de corpore'; ad quod ipse testis respondit sibi, sic dicendo: 'Et creditis vos quod sit anima in corpore hominis, nisi sanguis?'<sup>9</sup> Hoc fuit quod movit eum ad dicendum prædicta verba.

<sup>1</sup> r- altered.

<sup>2</sup> ms parrachiae.

<sup>3</sup> -esiæ added.

<sup>4</sup> originally sanguinis.

<sup>5</sup> -situs perhaps added.

<sup>6</sup> originally te.

<sup>7</sup> originally animatibus.

<sup>8</sup> c- altered.

<sup>9</sup> originally sanguinis.

*The deposition of Durand of Rouffiac [of] Laumière, containing that he had said that in man's body there was no soul other than blood; that if the body of Jesus Christ was in the holy sacrament, even if it had been as large as a mountain the clergy would have eaten it up; that | Saint Lawrence had not undergone martyrdom willingly; and other things expressed here, which he retracted in the presence of Ranulph, inquisitor.* 20<sup>v</sup>

*From Saint Denis's day, 1273.*

In the same year as above, on the feast of St Denis,<sup>1</sup> Durand of Rouffiac<sup>2</sup> of Laumière,<sup>3</sup> of the parish of Saint-Sernin of Rouffiac, in the diocese of Rodez, sworn in as a witness and questioned about the matter of heresy and Waldensianism, said nothing, as he had recently.

However, after keeping silent about the truth and denying it, he said that he had said that the soul is nothing else in the body other than blood.

Asked how often he said that, he said | two or three times. 21<sup>r</sup>

Asked in what places he said those words, he said once in Caylus<sup>4</sup> market, in the common chapel.

Asked about the other places, he said that he does not remember.

Asked about the time, he said within the last five years; and asked about those who were present, he said Hugh of Paillayrols,<sup>5</sup> and Pons of Livron,<sup>6</sup> of Caylus.

Asked what moved him to say that, he said that Pons of Livron said this to him and to the aforesaid Hugh of Paillayrols, by way of a joke: 'Take care of your souls, you lot, because you have taken enough care of your bodies'; to which the same witness answered him, saying this: 'And do you believe that there is a soul in the human body, other than the blood?' This was what moved him to say the aforesaid words.

<sup>1</sup> October 9 [1273].

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Saint-Nazaire-de-Valentane, cant. Bourg-du-Visa, arrond. Castelsarrasin. There are several places called Rouffiac and one Ruffiac in Languedoc; *DTF*.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Espinas, cant. Caylus, arrond. Montauban; *DTF*.

<sup>4</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, ch.-lieu.; *Saisimentum*, p. 378.

<sup>5</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, ch.-lieu Caylus; *DTF*.

<sup>6</sup> There are several places close to Caylus, Lacapelle-Livron, Notre-Dame de Livron and Saint-Pierre-Livron (Tarn-et-Garonne, ch.-lieu Caylus); *DTF*.

Interrogatus si ipse testis credebat quod asserebat coram eis, dixit quod non, nec modo credit.

21<sup>v</sup> Item interrogatus si dixerat unquam quod si corpus Christi | esset ita magnum sicut unus mons, clerici comedissent illud diu est, dixit quod sic.

Interrogatus quotiens<sup>1</sup> dixit illud, dixit quod semel.

Interrogatus<sup>2</sup> ubi, dixit se non<sup>3</sup> recordari.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> de circumstantibus,<sup>5</sup> dixit se non recordari.

Interrogatus<sup>6</sup> de tempore, dixit quod non recolit, sed credit quod a decem annis citra.

Interrogatus<sup>7</sup> si credit<sup>8</sup> quod ipse dixit circa<sup>9</sup> corpus Domini, dixit quod non, imo credit sicut alii fideles, quod hostia consecrata sit<sup>10</sup> verus Deus et verus homo.

Interrogatus<sup>11</sup> si unquam dixit quod stultus<sup>12</sup> erat, qui prætermitebat lucrari<sup>13</sup> propter peccatum, dixit quod sic.

Interrogatus<sup>14</sup> quotiens dixit, respondit quod semel.

Interrogatus<sup>15</sup> ubi, dixit<sup>16</sup> se non recordari.

Interrogatus<sup>17</sup> de circumstantibus, dixit quod Grimaldus de Ulmeria.

Interrogatus<sup>18</sup> de tempore, dixit quod a quinque annis citra.

22<sup>r</sup> Interrogatus si circa<sup>19</sup> istud credidit quod asserebat, dixit quod non, nec modo cre|dit, imo credit usuram rapinam, et alia iniusta et illicita lucra esse peccata.

<sup>1</sup> -iens *added*.

<sup>2</sup> -us *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *written over deletion*.

<sup>4</sup> -us *added*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* circumstantibus.

<sup>6</sup> -us *added*.

<sup>7</sup> -us *added*.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* cedit.

<sup>9</sup> *originally* citra.

<sup>10</sup> -t *altered*.

<sup>11</sup> -us *added*.

<sup>12</sup> First -t- *altered*.

<sup>13</sup> *ms* lucrati. -t- *altered*.

<sup>14</sup> -us *added*.

<sup>15</sup> -us *added*.

<sup>16</sup> -it *added over longer deletion*.

<sup>17</sup> -us *perhaps added*.

<sup>18</sup> -us *perhaps added*.

<sup>19</sup> *altered, probably from* citra.

Asked if the same witness believed what he maintained in their company, he said no, nor does he believe it now.

Item, asked if he had ever said that even if the body of Christ | were as 21<sup>v</sup>  
large as a mountain, the clerics would have eaten it long ago, he said yes.

Asked how often he said that, he said once.

Asked where, he said that he does not remember.

Asked about bystanders, he said that he does not remember.

Asked about the time, he said that he does not recall, but he believes that it was within the last ten years.

Asked if he believes what he said about the body of the Lord, he said no—in fact, he believes as others of the faithful do, that the consecrated host is true God and true man.

Asked if he ever said that the person who passed over an opportunity for profit on account of sin was stupid, he said yes.

Asked how often he said it, he replied once.

Asked where, he said that he does not remember.

Asked about bystanders, he said Grimald of Laumière.

Asked about the time, he said within the last five years.

Asked if he believed what he maintained about this, he said no, nor does he believe | it now—in fact, he believes that usury is robbery, and 22<sup>r</sup>  
that other unjust and illicit profits are sins.



Item interrogatus si dixerat unquam quod Deus nunquam subtrahebat unquam ea quæ creabat<sup>1</sup> ut primum, vel alia bona, dixit quod non, nec audivit ab aliquo dici quod recolat.

Item interrogatus si unquam dixerat quod Beatus<sup>2</sup> Laurentius et alii martires sustinuerant martirium coacti, dixit se recordari quod quadam vice cum Grimaldus de Ulmeria, clericus, loqueretur de passione Beati Laurentii, dicendo quod voluntarius sustinuerat martirium, ipse testis respondit, 'Et quod imo coactus et invitus adductus fuit per homines viventes ad martirium.'

Interrogatus de loco, dixit quod apud Velmeriam<sup>3</sup> iuxta furnum.

Interrogatus de tempore, dixit quod ab anno circa.

Interrogatus de circumstantibus, dixit dictus Grimaldus, et de pluribus non recolit.

22<sup>v</sup> Item interrogatus si credit aut credidit | quod asserebat de Beato Laurentio, dixit quod non, sed credit quod voluntarie<sup>4</sup> pro fide Christi passus fuit.

Item interrogatus<sup>5</sup> si unquam dixerat quod humiditas et putredo terræ faceret oriri et crescere<sup>6</sup> bladum in campis, et Deus non, dixit quod hoc non dixit, nec isto modo: dixit tamen quod bladum non nascitur nec crescit nisi prius granum putrescat in terra.

Item interrogatus si unquam dixerat alicui volenti visitare ecclesiam Sanctæ Savinæ<sup>7</sup> in diocesi<sup>8</sup> Albiensi<sup>9</sup> quod tantum erat virtutis in domo ipsius testis quantum in ipsa ecclesia, dixit quod non.

Item interrogatus<sup>10</sup> si unquam dixerat quod potentia divina non erat ita magna sicut prædicabatur, dixit quod non.

Item interrogatus<sup>11</sup> si unquam dixerat quod dum erat iuvenis signabat se frequenter, et nihil boni contingebat ei, cum autem crevisset, prætermisit se signare, et multa bona contigerunt ei, dixit se non recordari quod unquam ista dixit.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* credebat.

<sup>2</sup> *altered.*

<sup>3</sup> *originally* vel meram.

<sup>4</sup> *letter deleted.*

<sup>5</sup> -us *perhaps added.*

<sup>6</sup> -e *altered.*

<sup>7</sup> S- *altered.*

<sup>8</sup> *letter, probably -s, deleted.*

<sup>9</sup> *letter, probably -s, deleted.*

<sup>10</sup> -us *added.*

<sup>11</sup> -us *added.*

Item, asked if he had ever said that God never took away—not ever—the things which he created—at the beginning—or other good things, he said no. Nor has he heard this said by anyone, that he can recall.

Item, asked if he had ever said that the Blessed Lawrence and other martyrs had undergone martyrdom under compulsion, he said that he remembers that once when Grimald of Laumière, cleric, was speaking about the passion of the Blessed Lawrence, saying that he had undergone martyrdom of his own volition, the same witness answered, ‘No—in fact he was led to martyrdom by living men by force and against his will’.

Asked about the place, he said at Laumière near the bakehouse.

Asked about the time, he said within the last year.

Asked about bystanders, he said the said Grimald; and about others he does not recall.

Asked if he believes or believed | what he maintained about the Blessed Lawrence, he said no, but he believes that he suffered voluntarily for the faith of Christ. 22<sup>v</sup>

Item, asked if he had ever said that the damp and rot of the earth made the corn germinate and grow in the fields, and not God,<sup>7</sup> he said that this he did not say, not in this form: he did however say that the corn does not sprout or grow unless the grain first rots in the earth.

Item, asked if he had ever said to anyone wishing to visit the church of Sainte-Sabine<sup>8</sup> in the diocese of Albi that there was as much virtue in the same witness’s house as in that church, he said no.

Item, asked if he had ever said that divine power was not as great as was preached, he said no.

Item, asked if he had ever said that when he was young he crossed himself frequently, and nothing good happened to him, but when he had grown up he left off crossing himself, and many good | things happened to him, he said that he does not remember that he ever said these things. 23<sup>r</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Examples of this proposition in the preaching of the heretical Good Men are provided by Duvernoy, *Religion*, p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> Sainte-Sabine, Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. and cant. Saint-Antonin-Noble-Val, ch-lieu cant., arrond. Montauban; *DTF*.

Hoc deposuit coram fratre Ramnulpho, inquisitore.<sup>1</sup> Testes:<sup>2</sup> frater<sup>3</sup> Guillelmus de Barda, de Ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum, magister Berengarius de Verneto, Guillelmus de Concos, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>4</sup> notarius, qui hæc<sup>5</sup> scripsi.

Anno quo supra, in crastinum Sancti Dionisii, prædictus testis adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens circa articulum supradictum de visitatione ecclesiæ Sanctæ Savinæ, quod hoc anno in Paschali<sup>6</sup> tempore proxime transacto, cum videret quosdam<sup>7</sup> homines et mulieres euntes visitatum ecclesiam Sanctæ Savinæ, dixit, audientibus supradicto Grimaldo et Ioanne de Rofiaco, filio ipsius testis, 'Quid<sup>8</sup> quærunt istæ<sup>9</sup> gentes apud Sanctam  
23<sup>v</sup> Savinam, et quid inveniunt ibi? Nonne<sup>10</sup> melius esset quod quærerent | Sanctum<sup>11</sup> Petrum et Sanctum Ioannem, et alios sanctos qui fuerunt propinquiore Iesu Christi?'

Item addidit circa prædictum articulum de potestate divina quod cum filius suus, nomine Petrus de Rofiaco, quem<sup>12</sup> ipse testis summe<sup>13</sup> diligebat, ivisset cum mercatoribus ultra mare, quatuor anni sunt elapsi, in Alexandriam, et ipse testis die et nocte oravisset et precatus<sup>14</sup> esset Deum quod reduceret eum vivum et sanum, tandem intellexit quod decesserat in Acon.<sup>15</sup> Et ex hoc turbatus dixit quod tantum valebat homini si Deum rogaret quantum si non rogaret.

<sup>1</sup> -e added.

<sup>2</sup> superscript, in place of a deletion.

<sup>3</sup> altered.

<sup>4</sup> originally inquisitor.

<sup>5</sup> originally hoc.

<sup>6</sup> altered.

<sup>7</sup> ms quasdam.

<sup>8</sup> altered.

<sup>9</sup> altered from iste.

<sup>10</sup> altered, probably from nomine.

<sup>11</sup> ms Santum.

<sup>12</sup> letter deleted.

<sup>13</sup> ms summæ; perhaps altered to summe?

<sup>14</sup> written over longer deletion, starting pr-.

<sup>15</sup> space left, as if for expansion, and filled with a line.

This he attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother William of Labarthe, of the Order of Brothers Preacher, master Berengar of Vernet, William of Concots, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, on the morrow of St Denis,<sup>9</sup> the aforesaid witness added to his confession, saying—on the aforesaid article about visiting the church of Sainte-Sabine—that this year, at the time of last Easter, when he saw certain men and women going to visit the church of Sainte-Sabine, he said, in the hearing of the aforesaid Grimald and of John of Rouffiac, the same witness's son, 'What are these people seeking at Sainte-Sabine, and what do they find there? Would it not be better for them to seek out | St Peter and St John, and other saints who were closer 23<sup>v</sup> to Jesus Christ?'

Item—on the aforesaid article concerning divine power—he added that when his son, named Peter of Rouffiac, whom the same witness loved very much, had gone overseas with merchants, four years ago, to Alexandria,<sup>10</sup> and the same witness had prayed and begged God day and night to bring him back alive and well, he at last learned that he had died at Acre.<sup>11</sup> And, devastated by this, he said that it did a man as much good if he prayed to God as if he did not.

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<sup>9</sup> October 10 [1273].

<sup>10</sup> In Egypt.

<sup>11</sup> Now city in north of Israel.

*Deposition de Gausbert de Aula de Benacio, qui dit avoir versé de l'eau dans  
24<sup>r</sup> les cimitieres, et contre des murailles d'eglises, qu'il avoit creu que les | bles  
et autres fruicts ne provenoient que du travail et de la bonté du terroir, et  
non pas de la bonté de Dieu.*

Anno quo supra in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum, Gausbertus de Aula de Benacio, diocesis Caturcensis, eductus de carcere post veritatem negatam et tacitam coram nobis, dixit et recognovit quod multoties dixerat hominibus et mulieribus pluribus, quærendo an crederent in illum Deum qui facit<sup>1</sup> ventum et pluviam, et ipsis respondentibus quod sic, inferebat 'Ergo creditis in culum et vulvam'.

Interrogatus quoties, dixit quod multoties,<sup>2</sup> sed de vicibus non recordatur.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> si dicebat in opprobrium Dei dixit quod non, sed ratione solatii.<sup>4</sup>

Interrogatus de tempore, dixit quod a decem annis citra.

24<sup>v</sup> Interrogatus<sup>5</sup> de loco, dixit quod super pontem de Benatio, et in taberna multoties | et in aliis locis pluribus et diversis.

Interrogatus si minxit<sup>6</sup> unquam in cimiterio, dixit quod sic, semel, prope parietatem ecclesiæ, et iterum in quadam extremitate cimiterii de Francor<sup>is</sup>.<sup>7</sup>

Interrogatus si dixit de ecclesia Sancti Mauricii de novo rehædificata, hominibus quando<sup>8</sup> ibant ad eandem<sup>9</sup> videre uirtutem ligonum, 'De cætero vocabo<sup>10</sup> ecclesiam istam ligonum', dixit quod non.

Interrogatus si dixit baiulo vel capellano, quando volebant inquirere uxorem suam, quæ accendat quandam candelam aliam, quandam

<sup>1</sup> -it added.

<sup>2</sup> -ies perhaps added.

<sup>3</sup> -us added.

<sup>4</sup> -ii written over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> -us perhaps added.

<sup>6</sup> m- altered.

<sup>7</sup> abbreviation mark added.

<sup>8</sup> -do perhaps added.

<sup>9</sup> ms earum.

<sup>10</sup> altered from longer word: e- of ecclesiam written over deletion.

*The deposition of Gaubert of Aula of Bénas, who said that he had made water in cemeteries, and against the walls of churches, and that he had believed that | corn and other fruits came only from labour and the goodness of the land, and not from the goodness of God.* 24<sup>r</sup>

In the same year as above, on the eve of All Saints,<sup>1</sup> Gaubert of Aula<sup>2</sup> of Bénas,<sup>3</sup> of the diocese of Cahors,<sup>4</sup> brought out from prison after denying the truth and keeping silent about it before us, said and acknowledged that he had often spoken to many men and women, asking if they believed in that God who makes wind and rain, and on their replying that they did, he would conclude ‘Therefore you believe in an arse and a cunt’.

Asked how often, he said often, but that he does not remember the individual occasions.

Asked if he said this as an insult to God he said no, but as a joke.

Asked about the time, he said within the last ten years.

Asked about the place, he said on the bridge of Bénas, and often in the tavern | and in many other different places. 24<sup>v</sup>

Asked if he ever urinated in the cemetery, he said yes, once, by the wall of the church, and again at one end of the cemetery of *Francori*.<sup>5</sup>

Asked if—referring to the recently rebuilt church of Saint-Maurice<sup>6</sup>—he spoke to men when they were going there to see the power of the mattocks,<sup>7</sup> ‘In the future I will call this the “Mattocks’ Church!”’, he said no.

Asked if he said to the *bailli* or chaplain—when they wanted to question his wife, who, [when] lighting a candle, [would light] some other

<sup>1</sup> October 31 [1273].

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. and com. Lafrançaise, arrond. Montauban; *Saisimentum*, p. 359.

<sup>4</sup> Lot; city, diocese.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps ‘of the French’.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps Saint-Maurice-en-Quercy, cant. Lacapelle-Marival, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Figeac; *DTF*.

<sup>7</sup> We suggest men were going to the building-site to admire tools which were remarkable in some way, perhaps because of their advanced design or degree of iron edging.

sambuccum, defendendo eum, quod satis<sup>1</sup> haberet de cera, et quod faceret comburi pro funeraria sua, vel alibi ubi vellet, et non dimitteret per aliquem, dixit quod non. Sed si dixisset, dixit quod non daret festucam.

Interrogatus<sup>2</sup> si dixit quod nullas gratias reddere Deo<sup>3</sup> de blado, nec de aliis, sed labori suo, dixit quod non.

25<sup>r</sup> Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> si<sup>5</sup> dixit si | ipse credebatur Deum nec matrem suam quando sibi petebatur, si dixit quod sic de paucis, dixit quod non dixit.

Interrogatus<sup>6</sup> si dixit quod nulla alia virtus nisi in bobus et ligonibus et brachiis, dixit quod non.

Interrogatus<sup>7</sup> si dixit quando reprehendebatur, quia mingeat<sup>8</sup> in cimiterium, si dixit quod non, nunquam cognoverat quod sibi nolisset, dixit quod non.

Interrogatus<sup>9</sup> si dixit quando petebatur ab eo quod Deus adiuuaret ipsum, et ipse respondebat quod nunquam adiuuauerat eum, et ipse dixit quod non.

Hæc deposuit dictus testis coram fratre Ranulpho de Placiaco,<sup>10</sup> inquisitore, de Ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum. Testes: frater Ioannes Dulcis, de Ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum, et magister Atho de Sancto Victore, et ego, *Bernardus* Boneti, publicus Tholosæ notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, die Sabbati post festum Omnium Sanctorum, dictus Gausbertus, eductus de carcere, interrogatus<sup>11</sup> si dixit quod de meretricio | terræ veniebant bladum et vinum et alia bona, respondit quod non.

Tunc et ibidem prædictus<sup>12</sup> Gaubertus correxit se, et recognovit articulum de candela accensa, et articulum de ecclesia Sancti Mauricii.

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> -us added.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* deoto; altered.

<sup>4</sup> -us added.

<sup>5</sup> *di* deleted.

<sup>6</sup> -us added.

<sup>7</sup> -us perhaps added.

<sup>8</sup> *m-* altered.

<sup>9</sup> -us perhaps added.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* Placiato.

<sup>11</sup> -us perhaps added.

<sup>12</sup> two letters, probably *et*, deleted.

[kind] of candle, [one made of] elder-wood, ordering him not [to do this]—that he [or she] would have enough wax, and that he [or she] would have it burned for his [or her] funeral, or elsewhere as he [or she] pleased, and would not leave off for anyone,<sup>8</sup> he said no. But if he had said it, he said that he would not give a straw.

Asked if he said that one should not thank God for corn or for other things, but one's own labour, he said no.

Asked if he said—when this was asked of him, if | he believed in God 25<sup>r</sup>  
or His mother—if he said that yes, as things of little consequence, he said that he did not say this.

Asked if he said that there is no power except in oxen and mattocks and arms, he said no.

Asked if he said—when he was told off for urinating in the cemetery—if he said no, he had never known that [anyone] did not want him (to do this), he said no.

Asked if he said—when he was asked that God might help him<sup>9</sup>—and he replied that he had never helped him, he also said no.

These things the said witness attested before brother Ranulph of Plas-sac, inquisitor, of the Order of Brothers Preacher. Witnesses: brother John Dulcis,<sup>10</sup> of the Order of Brothers Preacher, and master Atho of Saint-Victor, and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, on the Saturday after the feast of All Saints,<sup>11</sup> the said Gaubert, brought out from prison, asked if he said that corn and wine and other good things came from the prostitution | of the earth, 25<sup>v</sup>  
answered no.

Then and there the aforesaid Gaubert corrected himself, and acknowledged the article of the lit candle, and the article of the church of Saint-Maurice.

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<sup>8</sup> Our tentative translation of this difficult passage suggests this. Gaubert's wife had been lighting candles in church which were, unusually, not of wax but of *sambucus* (candles which used the wood or oil of the elder-tree?). The local *bailli* or chaplain, getting wind of this, had enquired and told them to stop doing this. Gaubert's alleged riposte to their prohibition was that their good store of wax was being kept for funerals, and that his wife would not stop what she was doing for anyone.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps 'whether he believed that God helped him'.

<sup>10</sup> Not found in *ACP*.

<sup>11</sup> [November 4 1273].



Item recognovit quod multociens minxit<sup>1</sup> in cimiterium ecclesiæ de Benas, etiam contra parietem vitream, et etiam in die Paschæ hoc anno.

Item recognovit se dixisse quod pinguedo terræ, quam ipse vocabat 'putiam', dabat bladum et vinum, et alios fructus, et bona terræ.

Item dixit se credere sed non plene recordatur, quod olim dixerit quod Deus non dabat sibi bona temporalia quæ habebat, sed suus labor.

Item recognovit quod dixerat aliquando, quando quærebatur a Deo ab eo, si credebat in Deum, et in matrem suam, quod sic super bono pignore requisitus,<sup>2</sup> si dicebat prædicta in despectum Dei, dixit quod non, sed  
 26<sup>r</sup> causa<sup>3</sup> solacii: imo habebat in reverentiam Deum, et Beatam Vir|ginem matrem eius, et omnes sanctos Dei, et habet et tenet fidem catholicam sicut alii veri Christiani.

Interrogatus quare mingeat in cimiterio, dixit quod habet infirmitatem<sup>4</sup> quod non potest retinere urinam.

Hæc deposuit etiam coram fratre Ranulpho, inquisitore. Testes: frater Ugo de Aragone<sup>5</sup> et frater Ugo de Born, Ordinis Grandimontensis, et ego<sup>6</sup> Atho, notarius Inquisitionis,<sup>7</sup> qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> m- *perhaps altered*.

<sup>2</sup> -situs *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -a *altered*.

<sup>4</sup> im- *altered*.

<sup>5</sup> -e *altered, perhaps from -æ*.

<sup>6</sup> ms Ugo.

<sup>7</sup> *originally inquisitor*.

Item, he acknowledged that he had often urinated in the cemetery of the church of Bénas, even against the glass wall,<sup>12</sup> and even on Easter day this year.

Item, he acknowledged that he had said that the fertility of the land, which he called 'wantonness', gave the corn and the wine, and the other fruits, and the good things of the land.

Item, he said that he believes, but does not fully remember, that he once said that God did not give him the temporal goods which he had, but his own labour.

Item, he acknowledged that he had said once, when he was asked about God, if he believed in God, and in his mother, that yes, if asked on good security; if he said the aforesaid in contempt of God, he said no, but as a joke: but he rather held God in reverence, and the Blessed Virgin | his 26<sup>r</sup> mother, and all God's saints, and he has and holds the Catholic faith like other true Christians.

Asked why he urinated in the cemetery, he said that he has an infirmity, that he cannot hold his urine.

These things he also attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Hugh of Aragon<sup>13</sup> and brother Hugh of Born,<sup>14</sup> of the Grammontine Order,<sup>15</sup> and I, Atho, notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

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<sup>12</sup> Perhaps at some stage there was a slip from *parietem petream* (stone wall) to *parietem vitream* (glass wall).

<sup>13</sup> Probably Aude, cant. Alzonne, or Haute-Garonne, cant. Balma, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 862; *DTF*.

<sup>14</sup> Probably Haute-Garonne, cant. Villemur-sur-Tarn, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 889.

<sup>15</sup> The Order of Grandmont had many priories in Languedoc.

*Deposition d'Estienne Roger de Romenx, par devant Ramnulphe de Placiaco, inquisiteur<sup>1</sup> de lheresie, contenant que Pierre de Laurac avoit adoré R. Vital et son compaignon, heretiques, et que ledit Vital disoit en ses exhortations<sup>2</sup> qu'il ne faloit point jurer ny mentir.*

- 26<sup>v</sup> *Avec une autre depositions, de Guilabert de Sct Michel de Thoelhs, contenant qu'il avoit veu adorer Raimond de Manso et autres heretiques par P. de St Michel, son pere, sa mere et par ledit Pierre de Laurac, et qu'il les avoit aussi adorés, mange souvant avec eux de leur pain benit, et assisté a leurs predications; qu'il avoit veu aller Aymeric de Roquefort et dame Marquesie, sa femme, chés les heretiques, et qu'il croit que c'estoit a l'occasion d'une milice qu'il avoit achetée de Guilabert de Forsaco, chevalier, a Thoelhs dans*  
 27<sup>r</sup> *le fief | de Sainct Michel, qu'Isarn de Foissac, noble de Puylaurens, les avoit aussi visités dans un bois; et qu'on leur donnoit du pain, des legumes, du fruit et du poisson<sup>3</sup> salé.*

*Du mois de<sup>4</sup> novembre 1273.*

- Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, sabbato in festo Sancti Martini, Stephanus Rogerii de Romenx, testis iuratus et requisitus<sup>5</sup> ut alii supra, dixit quod quodam vespere, sero, cum ipse testis venisset de Romenx ad Mansum de Garriga, ad Petrum de Lauraco, locuturus cum eodem Petro, ut in crastinum foderet in vinea ipsius  
 27<sup>v</sup> testis, invenit, in exitu cuiusdam bordasii,<sup>6</sup> domus in | qua<sup>7</sup> moratur<sup>8</sup> ipse Petrus, Raimundum Vitalis et socium eius, hæreticos, quos ad preces dicti Petri de Lauraco duxit ipse testis et associavit de exitu prædictæ

<sup>1</sup> -q- added, superscript.

<sup>2</sup> -s added.

<sup>3</sup> originally poissoin.

<sup>4</sup> added, superscript.

<sup>5</sup> -situs added.

<sup>6</sup> ms bordasium. -a- altered, possibly from -æ-.

<sup>7</sup> esset deleted.

<sup>8</sup> added, superscript, above Raimundum.

*The deposition of Stephen Roger of Roumens, before Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor of heresy, containing that Peter of Laurac had adored R. Vital and his companion, heretics, and that the said Vital said in his exhortations that one should not swear or lie.*

*With another deposition, of Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Touzeilles, containing that he had seen Raymond of Mas and other heretics adored by P. of Saint-Michel, his father, his mother, and by the said Peter of Laurac; and that he had also adored them, had often eaten with them, of their blessed bread, and had been present at their preachings; that he had seen Aimery of Roquefort and lady Marquesia, his wife, going to visit the heretics; and that he believes that it was because of a knight's fee that he had bought from Guilabert of Foissac, knight, at Touzeilles in the fief | of Saint-Michel, that Isarn of Foissac, noble of Puylaurens, had also visited them in a wood; and that people gave them bread, pulses, fruit, and salted fish.* 26<sup>v</sup> 27<sup>r</sup>

*From the month of November 1273.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the Saturday on the feast of St Martin,<sup>1</sup> Stephen Roger of Roumens,<sup>2</sup> sworn in as a witness and questioned like the others above, said that one evening, late, when the same witness had come from Roumens to the *mas* of the garrigue, to Peter of Laurac,<sup>3</sup> to speak with the same Peter, for him to dig in the same witness's vineyard on the following day, he found, in the entrance of a certain small-holding,<sup>4</sup> belonging to the house in | which the same Peter lives, Raymond Vital and his companion, heretics, whom, at the request of the said Peter of Laurac, the same witness led and accompanied from the door of the aforesaid house until near the 27<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> November 11 1273, which was a Saturday.

<sup>2</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Revel, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1025.

<sup>3</sup> Aude, cant. Fanjeaux, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 958. See Peter's deposition below, 70<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> It is hard to tell whether this word refers to a building or a piece of land: it could possibly mean a hut, barn or similar structure.

domus, usque prope Mansum de Casels cum eodem Petro de Lauraco. Et in via audivit verba et monitiones prædicti *Raimundi* Vitalis, hæreticis; et dicebant ei quod recederet cum ipsis hæreticis.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> si ipse testis vel dictus *Petrus* de Lauraco adorarunt<sup>2</sup> dictos<sup>3</sup> hæreticos, dixit quod ipse testis non adoravit<sup>4</sup> eos, sed prope Mansum de Cosels ubi dimiserunt eos, vidit Petrum de Lauraco, extracto capucio, flectentem genua coram eis.

De tempore requisitus,<sup>5</sup> dixit quod sunt sex anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod *Petrus* Bonioli, qui erat de versus Senegas in Albigesio, et moratus fuerat apud Palais Vislam cum uxore sua et liberis, et tunc morabatur apud Romenx, adduxit quadam nocte de versus Quarri-  
 28<sup>r</sup> gam *Raimundum* Vitalis et socium | eius, hæreticos<sup>6</sup> prædictos<sup>7</sup> ad can-  
 daminam de Romenx. Et dimissis ibi hæreticis, venit ad domum ipsius  
 testis cum quo steterat<sup>8</sup> per unam æstatem,<sup>9</sup> et dixit ipsi testi<sup>10</sup> quod extra  
 in condamina dimiserat quosdam homines de parentela sua, volentes  
 ire versus Motam; unde rogavit ipsum testem<sup>11</sup> quod cum eodem *Petro*  
*Bonioli* associaret ipsos, et ostenderent eis viam. Quo audito ipse testis<sup>12</sup>  
 annuit et<sup>13</sup> cum eodem *Petro* exivit ad dictam condaminam, ubi inve-  
 nerunt prædictos<sup>14</sup> hæreticos, et de dicta<sup>15</sup> condamina duxerunt<sup>16</sup> eos et  
 associaverunt ipse testis et dictus *Petrus* Bonioli usque ad pratum Orte-  
 guier, prope<sup>17</sup> nemus de Angles in honore de Monte Acuto, ubi ipse testis  
 dimisit eos, quo redeunte ad propria, exinde prædictus *Petrus* Bonioli  
 duxit eos nescit quo.

<sup>1</sup> -us added.

<sup>2</sup> -arunt or -rarunt added.

<sup>3</sup> -o- altered.

<sup>4</sup> -ravit added, interlined.

<sup>5</sup> -situs added.

<sup>6</sup> -os added.

<sup>7</sup> -o- altered.

<sup>8</sup> second -te- interlined.

<sup>9</sup> æ- originally e-.

<sup>10</sup> letter deleted at end.

<sup>11</sup> letter deleted at end.

<sup>12</sup> ms ipsetestis.

<sup>13</sup> annuit et written over deletion.

<sup>14</sup> -ræ- altered.

<sup>15</sup> -c- altered.

<sup>16</sup> ms duxerunt.

<sup>17</sup> -e written over deletion.

*mas* of *Casels*,<sup>5</sup> with the same Peter of Laurac. And on the way he heard the words and admonitions of the aforesaid Raymond Vital, heretic; and they told him to go away with the same heretics.

Asked if the same witness or the said Peter of Laurac adored the said heretics, he said that the same witness did not adore them, but near the *mas* of *Cosels* where they left them, he saw Peter of Laurac, having taken off his hood, genuflecting before them.

Asked about the time, he said that it was six years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that one night Peter Boniol, who was from near Séné-gats<sup>6</sup> in the Albigeois,<sup>7</sup> and had lived at Palleville with his wife and children, and was then living at Roumens, brought Raymond Vital and his companion, | the aforesaid heretics, from around the *mas* of the garrigue 28<sup>r</sup> to the demesne land of Roumens. And when he had left the heretics there, he came to the house of the same witness, with whom he had stayed for a summer, and said to the same witness that he had left outside in the demesne land certain men of his kin, who wished to go to Lamothe.<sup>8</sup> On account of this he asked the same witness to accompany them with the same Peter Boniol, so that they could show them the way. When he had heard this the same witness agreed, and with the same Peter went out to the said demesne land, where they found the aforesaid heretics, and from the said demesne land the same witness and the said Peter Boniol led and accompanied them to the meadow of *Orteguier*,<sup>9</sup> near the wood of Angles<sup>10</sup> in the honour<sup>11</sup> of Montégut,<sup>12</sup> where the same witness left them. And from there, while he returned to his own affairs, the aforesaid Peter Boniol took them he does not know where.

<sup>5</sup> Not identified. See Casals, Cazales, Cazals and Cazelles in *DTF*.

<sup>6</sup> Tarn, comm. Saint-Pierre-de-Trivisy, cant. Vabre, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>7</sup> Territory around Albi, corresponding to *arrondissement* of Albi.

<sup>8</sup> Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 21, suggests Tarn, cant. Puylaurens, arrond. Castres, which is one among numerous places called Lamothe in Languedoc; *DTF*; Feuchter, *Ketzer, Konsuln*, p. 199.

<sup>9</sup> Not identified.

<sup>10</sup> Or 'the wood of the English'. Not identified. The heretics Petrus Boetier (perhaps Boerier?) and Nadal preached 'in the wood of Angles' (*in nemore del Angles*) around 1240; D24, f. 34<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Seigniorship or lordship.

<sup>12</sup> Common place-name, as are also Montaigu and Montaignut; *DTF*. See below, 59<sup>r</sup> n. 2.

Interrogatus si tunc ipse testis adoravit<sup>1</sup> dictos hæreticos, et si vidit dictum *Petrum* adorare<sup>2</sup> eos, dixit quod non.

28<sup>v</sup> Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> | si tunc audivit monitionem dictorum hæreticorum, dixit quod sic: dicebat enim dictus *Raimundus Vitalis*, hæreticus, ipsi testi quod non debebat iurare nec mentiri.

De tempore dixit quod post supradictum tempus per tres menses vel circa.

Post hæc adiecit idem testis quod quando ipse testis, et dictus *Petrus* de Lauraco duxerunt prædictos hæreticos versus Cosels, eduxerant eos de domo Petri de Lauraco, sororii ipsius testis prædicti, ubi ipse testis vidit eos, et cum eis dictum *Petrum* de Lauraco et Tolsanam uxorem eius, Aladaiciam socrum eius, et ipsius testis; sed non adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> eos ibi, nec vidit alios adorare.<sup>5</sup>

Prædictos hæreticos credidit esse bonos homines et veraces, et habere bonam fidem.

Alibi non vidit hæreticos nisi captos, nec unquam adoravit<sup>6</sup> eos, nec receptavit<sup>7</sup> eos, nec dedit eis ad comedendum, nec dedit eis aliquid, nec 29<sup>r</sup> misit, nec alias participavit cum eis, nisi sicut dictum | est.

Hoc deposuit apud Tholosam coram fratre<sup>8</sup> Ramnulpho de Placiaco, inquisitore. Testes:<sup>9</sup> magister Berengarius de Verneto,<sup>10</sup> Sicardus Lunelli, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>11</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsit.<sup>12</sup> Et iuravit et abiuravit etcetera.<sup>13</sup>

*Autre deposition, de Guilabert de Sainct Michel de Thoelhs.*

Anno quo supra, dominica in crastinum Sancti Martini, Guilabertus de Sancto Michael de Thoelhis, filius quondam *Petri* de Sancto Michael de

<sup>1</sup> *originally* adhoravit; -ravit *added*.

<sup>2</sup> -rare *added, interlined*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* Intrrogatus; -us *added*.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* adorausunt; -raurunt *added, interlined*.

<sup>5</sup> -rare *added, interlined, altered*.

<sup>6</sup> -ravit *added, interlined, altered*.

<sup>7</sup> -tavit *altered*.

<sup>8</sup> *originally* fratrem.

<sup>9</sup> -es *perhaps added*.

<sup>10</sup> V- *altered*.

<sup>11</sup> *originally* inquisitor.

<sup>12</sup> -t *added*.

<sup>13</sup> *ms* ex<sup>a</sup>.

Asked if on that occasion the same witness adored the said heretics, and if he saw the said Peter adore them, he said no.

Asked | if on that occasion he heard the teaching of the said heretics, 28<sup>v</sup> he said yes: for the said Raymond Vital, heretic, said to the same witness that he ought not to swear or lie.

About the time, he said that it was after the aforesaid time by three months or thereabouts.

After these things the same witness added that when the same witness and the said Peter of Laurac took the aforesaid heretics to the *mas* of *Cosels*, they had taken them from the house of Peter of Laurac, the same witness's aforesaid brother-in-law, where the same witness saw them, and with them the said Peter of Laurac and Tolsana his wife, and Aladaicis, his [Peter's] and the same witness's mother-in-law; but they did not adore them there, nor did he see others adore.

He believed that the aforesaid heretics were good men and truthful, and that they had a good faith.

Otherwise he did not see heretics, except captured, nor did he ever adore them, nor did he receive them, nor did he give them anything to eat, nor did he give or send them anything, nor did he have any other dealings with them, except as | has been said. 29<sup>r</sup>

This he attested at Toulouse before brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor. Witnesses: master Berengar of Vernet, Sicard Lunel, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things. And he took an oath and abjured etc.

*Another deposition, of Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles.*

In the same year as above, on the Sunday on the morrow of St Martin,<sup>13</sup> Guilabert of Saint-Michel<sup>14</sup> of Las Touzeilles,<sup>15</sup> son of the late Peter of

<sup>13</sup> November 12 1273: the year can be confirmed because November 12 fell on a Sunday in this year.

<sup>14</sup> Saint-Michel: Tarn, comm. Sorèze, cant. Dourgne, arrond. Castres; *Saisimentum*, p. 473.

<sup>15</sup> Tarn, comm. Palleville, cant. Dourgne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres; *Saisimentum*, p. 480.



Thoelhis, testis iuratus et requisitus<sup>1</sup> ut alii supra, dixit quod quadam die apud Thoelhas, in malolio patris<sup>2</sup> sui, sub quadam piru, ubi erat quædam cabana de sarmentis, vidit duos homines a longe, qui vocarunt eum non  
 29<sup>v</sup> voce sed manu. Ipse vero tamquam | puer timuit, et non ivit tunc ad eos, sed rediit ad domum paternam, et retulit patri suo. Pater vero dixit ei quod illi erant de bonis hominibus, qui vocantur hæretici, et quod non oportebat eum timere, sed quod deinceps iret ad eos secure, quia amici sui erant. Quo audito, ipse testis rediit ad dictum locum, et invenit ibi dictos hæreticos, scilicet *Raimundum* de Manso et socium<sup>3</sup> eius. Et ibi ipse testis audivit verba et ammonitiones eorum, sed non adoravit<sup>4</sup> eos.

De tempore requisitus,<sup>5</sup> dixit quod sunt sexdecim anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Thoelhas in domo patris sui vidit multociens, et tociens quod de numero non recordatur, *Raimundum* de Manso prædictum, cum *Viliano* socio eius, hæreticis,<sup>6</sup> et cum aliis diversis sociis, hæreticis, de quorum nominibus non recordatur. Et ibi multociens ipse testis adoravit<sup>7</sup> dictos hæreticos, ter flexis genibus, dicendo ‘Benedicite’  
 30<sup>r</sup> secundum<sup>8</sup> morem hæreticorum.<sup>9</sup> Et vidit<sup>10</sup> ibi multociens | supradictum *Petrum* de Sancto Michaeli, patrem suum, *Grasidam*, matrem ipsius testis, *Raimundum* de Sancto Michaeli, fratrem ipsius testis, nunc fugitivum<sup>11</sup> pro hæresi, qui omnes, et ipse testis, multociens adoraverunt<sup>12</sup> prædictos hæreticos diversis vicibus, et audiverunt monitiones et prædicationes dictorum hæreticorum, et comederunt cum eis ad eandem mensam, et de pane benedicto ab eis. Et fuit tempore supradicto.

Item vidit in domo patris sui prædicta cum hæreticis, sed non recordatur cum quibus, *Petrum* de Lauraco, qui moratur apud garigam in

<sup>1</sup> -isitus added.

<sup>2</sup> -a- altered.

<sup>3</sup> -ium added.

<sup>4</sup> -ravit added, interlined.

<sup>5</sup> -situs added.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>7</sup> -ravit added, interlined.

<sup>8</sup> added, interlined.

<sup>9</sup> -orum added.

<sup>10</sup> -t written over deletion.

<sup>11</sup> second -i- added.

<sup>12</sup> -raverunt added, interlined.

Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles, sworn in as a witness and questioned like the others above, said that on a certain day at Las Touzeilles, in his father's newly-planted vineyard, under a certain pear tree, where there was a certain brushwood hut, he saw two men in the distance, who called him over, not with their voices but with their hands. He, however, like | a boy was afraid, and did not go to them then, but returned to his father's house, and told his father. His father, however, said to him that they were some of the good men, who are called 'heretics', and that he ought not to be afraid, but that he should henceforth go to them with confidence, because they were his friends. When he had heard this, the same witness returned to the said place, and found there the said heretics, that is Raymond of Mas<sup>16</sup> and his companion. And there the same witness heard their words and admonitions, but did not adore them. 29<sup>v</sup>

Asked about the time, he said that it was sixteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Las Touzeilles, in his father's house, he saw many times, and so many times that he does not remember the number, the aforesaid Raymond of Mas, with Vilian his companion, heretics, and with various other companions, heretics, whose names he does not remember. And there the same witness often adored the said heretics, genuflecting three times, saying 'Bless me', according to the custom of the heretics. And he often saw there | the aforesaid Peter of Saint-Michel, his father, Grazida, the same witness's mother, Raymond of Saint-Michel, the same witness's brother, now a fugitive for heresy, all of whom, and the same witness, often adored the aforesaid heretics on various occasions, and heard the admonitions and preachings of the said heretics, and ate with them at the same table, and of bread blessed by them. And this was at the aforesaid time. 30<sup>r</sup>

Item, he saw in his father's aforesaid house with the heretics—but he does not remember with which ones—Peter of Laurac, who lives at the

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<sup>16</sup> Mas-Saintes-Puelles: Aude, cant. Castenaudary-Sud, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 975. Raymond was deacon of the heretics of Vielmur 1242–1252; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, pp. 300 and n. 20, 350. See also Guiraud, *Inquisition*, i. 217; Wakefield, 'Mas-Saintes-Puelles', 216 and n. 22.

parrochia de Romenx, et adorantem ipsos hæreticos, et audientem monitiones eorum. Et<sup>1</sup> sunt decem<sup>2</sup> et<sup>3</sup> quatuor<sup>4</sup> anni, vel circa.

Et statim recordatus<sup>5</sup> dixit quod illi hæretici erant Guillelmus Prunelli et socius eius.

Item dixit quod apud Palays Villam, in domo Ioannis de Burgariam, et  
30<sup>v</sup> Aladaicis uxoris eius, sororis ipsius testis, vidit duos | hæreticos, quorum nomina nescit, et vidit ibi cum eis prædictos Ioannem et Aladaiciam, qui, et ipse testis, adorarunt<sup>6</sup> eos, et audiverunt prædicationem eorum. Et sunt octo anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum ipse testis, et Aladaicis soror ipsius testis, ivissent ad Frontorge ad videndum quendam<sup>7</sup> puerum, filium Petri Gausberti, nobilis<sup>8</sup> de Podio Laurentio, quem puerum nutriverat prædicta Aladaicis, quædam mulier nomine Bernarda, ancilla prædicti nobilis, duxit<sup>9</sup> ipsum testem<sup>10</sup> et prædictam Aladaiciam ad<sup>11</sup> vineam prædicti nobilis. Et ibi collegerunt ficcus<sup>12</sup> et racemos, quos ipsa Bernarda aportavit hæreticis ad bartam quæ tunc erat Bartacii prope Sanctum Michaelam, et cum essent in ore<sup>13</sup> ipsius barthæ, ipse testis et dicta Aladaicis, præcedentes, significaverunt quod ibi erat dicta Bernarda quæ volebat eos videre. Et  
31<sup>r</sup> ipse testis et dicta Aladaicia recedentibus inde, dicta Bernar|da intravit ad

<sup>1</sup> *originally* etiam.

<sup>2</sup> -em *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *altered*.

<sup>4</sup> -tuor *altered*.

<sup>5</sup> -tus *altered*.

<sup>6</sup> -rarunt *added*.

<sup>7</sup> -e- *altered*.

<sup>8</sup> -ilis *added*.

<sup>9</sup> *spelling altered*.

<sup>10</sup> -em *added*.

<sup>11</sup> *altered*.

<sup>12</sup> -cc- *altered*.

<sup>13</sup> *ms* hora.

<sup>22</sup> Knight, otherwise known as William Matfred of Puylaurens, he deposed before Ferrier, October 5 and 7 1242, confessing many contacts with heretics in the Puylaurens and Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux area, starting around 1236. He claimed he only adored heretics when they pressed him to do so, not that it did his body or soul any good; D24, f. 108<sup>v</sup>–116<sup>v</sup>. Bartac's contacts with heretics are further retailed in the depositions made by his brother Reynard of Palajac to Ferrier (November 1243–September 1244), D24, f. 144<sup>r</sup>–159<sup>v</sup>. See also 283<sup>t</sup> n. 13, 51<sup>v</sup> n. 18 and 53<sup>r</sup> n. 19 below.

*mas* of the garrigue in the parish of Roumens, both adoring the same heretics, and hearing their admonitions. And this was fourteen years ago, or thereabouts.

And, immediately remembering, he said that those heretics were William Prunel<sup>17</sup> and his companion.

Item, he said that at Palleville, in the house of John of Bugarel,<sup>18</sup> and of Aladaicis his wife, the sister of the same witness, he saw two | heretics, 30<sup>v</sup> whose names he does not know, and he saw there with them the aforesaid John and Aladaicis, who, and the same witness, adored them, and heard their preaching. And this was eight years ago, or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when the same witness and Aladaicis, the same witness's sister, had gone to *Frontorge*<sup>19</sup> to see a certain boy, the son of Peter Gaubert,<sup>20</sup> a nobleman of Puylaurens,<sup>21</sup> which boy the aforesaid Aladaicis had nursed, a certain woman called Bernarda, a maidservant of the aforesaid noble, took the same witness and the aforesaid Aladaicis to the vineyard of the aforesaid noble. And there they collected figs and grapes, which the same Bernarda took to the heretics in the scrubland which then belonged to Bartac<sup>22</sup> near Saint-Michel, and when they were in the mouth of the same scrubland, the same witness and the said Aladaicis, going ahead, indicated that the said Bernarda was there and wanted to see them. And while the same witness and the said Aladaicis were leaving, the said Bernarda | went into the said scrubland, to the 31<sup>r</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Prunel is discussed above, pp. 45–48. See also Roche, *Église cathare*, pp. 459–460.

<sup>18</sup> See the discussion of the various forms of his name, p. 23 above. *DTF* lists five places of this name in the Tarn *département*.

<sup>19</sup> Not identified. Perhaps a mistake for Fontrouge. See Fontrouge, Aude, La Tourette-Cabardès, cant. Mas-Cabardès, arrond. Carcassonne; *DTF* lists others. Around 1236 lord Jordan of Saissac and his household were living 'in a house of Frontorge' (in domo de frontorge); D23, f. 56<sup>v</sup>. The knights Guilabert of Roussilles and Sicard of Puylaurens visited the 'hall' (sala) of Na Frontorgua at Puylaurens, where heretics were formally arranging a peace between various noblemen, around 1227; D24, f. 103<sup>v</sup>–104<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Peter Gaubert was among the nobles of Puylaurens who took oaths of loyalty to the king of France on 8–9 October and 20–24 December 1271, *Saisimentum*, pp. 97 and 217.

<sup>21</sup> Tarn, ch.-lieu cant, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1016.

ipsos hæreticos in dictam bartham; sed non vidit ipse testis, nec scit quid fecit ibi cum eis; et credit quod dicta Bernarda fuerat propter hæresim immurata. Et sunt octo decim anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod tempore quo hæretici morabantur in domo parentum ipsius testis, vel circa domum, vidit ibi venientes dominum Aimericum de Ruppe Forti, et dominam Marquesiam uxorem eius, non simul sed *divisim*. Et sæpe<sup>1</sup> comedebant in ipsa domo, et dormiebat ibi dictus dominus Aimericus, sed ipse testis non vidit eos cum hæreticis.<sup>2</sup> Credit tamen quod diligebant eos, et veniebant ibi tunc dictus dominus Aimericus et domina Marquesia occasione cuiusdam miliciæ quam emerant a Guilaberto de Forsaco, milite, apud Thoelhas in feudo Sancti Michaelis.

31<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod tunc audivit ipse testis parentes suos prædictos aliquotiens dicentes quod idem dominus Aimericus | et domina Marquesia erant amici et credentes hæreticorum. De tempore dixit quod a quindecim annis usque ad mortem matris suæ.

Item dixit quod de mandato matris suæ ivit ipse testis pluries ad Druliam, ad domum Bernardæ Iordanæ. Et ibi dicta Bernarda, et Petrus Iordani filius eius tradebant ipsi testi<sup>3</sup> quandoque<sup>4</sup> bladum quandoque<sup>5</sup> legumina, nuces<sup>6</sup> et alios fructus et comestibilia portanda matri suæ ad opus hæreticorum. Et erant<sup>7</sup> iam cruce<sup>8</sup> signati<sup>9</sup> propter hæresim<sup>10</sup> prædicta Bernarda et prædictus Petrus filius eius. Et sunt tresdecim anni vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> -æ- originally -e-.

<sup>2</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>3</sup> -s deleted.

<sup>4</sup> -que added.

<sup>5</sup> -que added.

<sup>6</sup> nu- altered.

<sup>7</sup> deletion, about four letters.

<sup>8</sup> deletion, perhaps -s.

<sup>9</sup> -i altered.

<sup>10</sup> signata deleted.

same heretics; but the same witness did not see this, nor does he know what she did there with them; and he believes that the said Bernarda was imprisoned for heresy. And this was eighteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at the time when the heretics were staying in the house of the same witness's parents, or near the house, he saw coming there lord Aimery of Roquefort,<sup>23</sup> and lady Marquesia his wife, not together but separately. And they often used to eat in the same house, and the said lord Aimery used to sleep there, but the same witness did not see them with the heretics. He believes, however, that they had a great regard for them, and that the said lord Aimery and lady Marquesia used to come there then because of a certain knight's fee which they had bought from Guilabert of Foissac,<sup>24</sup> knight, at Las Touzeilles in the fee of Saint-Michel.

Item, he said that at that time the same witness heard his aforesaid parents say several times that the same lord Aimery | and lady Marquesia 31<sup>v</sup> were friends and believers of the heretics.

About the time: he said between fifteen years ago and the death of his mother.

Item, he said that at his mother's command the same witness often went to Dreuilhe,<sup>25</sup> to the house of Bernarda Jordan. And there the said Bernarda and Peter Jordan, her son, gave the same witness sometimes corn, sometimes pulses, nuts and other fruits and provisions to take to his mother for the benefit of the heretics. And the aforesaid Bernarda and the aforesaid Peter her son were already marked with the cross for heresy.<sup>26</sup> And this was thirteen years ago or thereabouts.

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<sup>23</sup> Tarn, comm. Lempaut, cant. Puylaurens, arrond. Castres; *Saisimentum*, p. 462. Aimeri was among the nobles from the *bailie* of Caraman who took oaths of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 1271; *Saisimentum*, p. 95. On the Roquefort family, see M. Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 4 vols (Toulouse, 1970–1989), i.148–149. He was co-lord of Montgey, Roquefort and Durfort with his brother Jordan of Roquefort.

<sup>24</sup> Land in the jurisdiction of Puylaurens. Guilabert was among the nobles of Puylaurens who took oaths of loyalty to the king of France on 20–24 December 1271, *Saisimentum*, pp. 217 and 389. See his deposition below, 7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. and cant. Revel, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 922.

<sup>26</sup> Wearing a cross was one of the lesser penalties for conviction of heresy. In a different context the same Latin word *crucesignatus* (marked with a cross) can mean crusader.

Item dixit quod audivit dicentem prædictam Grasidam, matrem suam, quod ipsa habuerat panem, legumina, cepas, caules et alia victualia ad opus hæreticorum a<sup>1</sup> Raimundo Trelha, et Helia Monopede, et Guiraldo Ferrerii quondam, et de domibus eorum de Soricinio.

32<sup>r</sup> De tempore dixit quod a quindecim annis | usque ad tempus prædictæ matris suæ, de cuius morte sunt quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit ter vel quater apud Podium Laurentium, et apud Sanctum Paulum de Cadaiovis Petrum de Graissenxs de Sancto Paulo tradentem prædictæ Grasidæ, matri suæ, pisces et fructus et legumina,<sup>2</sup> ut portaret ea hæreticis ad domum suam. De tempore: tresdecim anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod audivit prædictam Grasidam, matrem ipsius testis, dicentem quod habuerat<sup>3</sup> a Cerdana, uxore Isarni Amelii de Blanno, multotiens, aliquando panem, aliquando legumina, aliquando fructus, et semel pisces salsos.<sup>4</sup> Et credit quod dicta Cerdana dabat ista prædictæ matri ipsius testis ut daret ea hæreticis.

Item dixit quod vidit apud Thoelhas, in domo matris ipsius testis, Raimundum Vitalis, et socium eius, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis prædictam matrem suam, et Petrum de | Lauraco de Romenx, qui, et ipse testis, adoraverunt<sup>5</sup> ibi hæreticos, et audiverunt verba et monitiones eorum. Et sunt sex anni vel circa.

Hæreticos credidit esse bonos homines et veraces, et habere bonam fidem, et posse salvari<sup>6</sup> per eos.

In crastinum prædictus Guilabertus, eductus de Castro Narbonæ, adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod cum ipse testis esset quadam vice apud exartum dictum Denfaure cum Petro de Sancto Michaeli, patre ipsius

<sup>1</sup> *altered.*

<sup>2</sup> *-e- altered.*

<sup>3</sup> *originally habuerant.*

<sup>4</sup> *s- perhaps originally f-.*

<sup>5</sup> *-raverunt added, interlined.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms solvari.*

<sup>33</sup> The fortified palace of the counts of Toulouse, at the southern end of the city, part of the city walls and looking west to the Narbonne Gate; Mundy, *Society*, no. 34 on the map opposite p. 7; Sibly, *William of Puylaurens*, map 2 on p. xi, and p. 17, n. 37. For earlier detention of heretics in the count's prison in the Château Narbonnais, see Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 213, 262 n. 49, 275, 278–279 n. 60. See the image on the cover of this book.

Item, he said that he heard the aforesaid Grazida, his mother, saying that she had had bread, pulses, onions, cabbages and other provisions for the benefit of the heretics from Raymond Trelha,<sup>27</sup> and from Elias One-Foot, and from the late Guiraud Ferrier, and from the houses of the people of Sorèze.<sup>28</sup>

About the time: he said between fifteen years ago | and the time of his aforesaid mother's death, which was five years ago or thereabouts. 32<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that he saw three or four times at Puylaurens and at Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux,<sup>29</sup> Peter of Graissens<sup>30</sup> of Saint-Paul giving the aforesaid Grazida, his mother, fish and fruit and pulses, to take to the heretics at her house.

About the time: thirteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he heard the aforesaid Grazida, the same witness's mother, saying that she had often had from Cerdana, the wife of Isarn Amiel of Blan,<sup>31</sup> sometimes bread, sometimes pulses, sometimes fruit, and on one occasion salted fish. And he believes that the said Cerdana gave these things to the same witness's aforesaid mother for her to give them to the heretics.

Item, he said that he saw at Las Touzeilles, in the house of the same witness's mother, Raymond Vital and his companion, heretics. And he saw there with them his aforesaid mother, and Peter of | Laurac of Roumens, 32<sup>v</sup> who, and the same witness, adored the heretics there, and heard their words and admonitions. And this was six years ago or thereabouts.

He believed that the heretics were good men and truthful, and that they had a good faith, and that one could be saved through them.

On the following day,<sup>32</sup> the aforesaid Guilabert, brought from the Château Narbonnais,<sup>33</sup> added to his confession, saying that when the same witness was once at the assart called 'D'enfaure' with Peter of Saint-

<sup>27</sup> Very probably the same as Raymond Trilha, 261<sup>r</sup> below.

<sup>28</sup> Tarn, cant. Dourgne, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1085.

<sup>29</sup> Tarn, cant. and arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1045.

<sup>30</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Saint-Félix-de-Lauragais, cant. Revel, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 942.

<sup>31</sup> Blan-la-Mothe, Tarn, cant. Puylaurens, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, pp. 772, 775.

<sup>32</sup> November 13 1273.



testis quondam, qui emerat dictum exartum sive novale a Raimundo Fabri, textore, qui fuerat de Plaiaco et tunc morabatur apud Thoelhas, venit ad ipsum exartum Isarnus<sup>1</sup> de Foissaco, nobilis de Podio Laurentio, qui moratur apud Blannum.<sup>2</sup> Et venit ibi solus eques, et descendit de ron-  
 33<sup>r</sup> cino suo, quem dictus pater ipsius testis statim tradidit ipsi testi tenen-  
 dum. Et post ea idem pater ipsius testis introduxit eum | in nemus de Corneliano contiguum eidem novali. Et credit firmiter quod duxit eum ad Gaucelinum ut sibi videtur qui fuit de Caramanno, et socium eius, hæreticos, quos idem pater ipsius testis et Raimundus de Sancto Michaelē, frater maior ipsius testis tenebant ibi; et cum stetissent ibi per aliquod spacium redierunt ambo. Ipse vero testis expectavit tenens roncinum usquequo<sup>3</sup> redierunt, et non vidit dictum<sup>4</sup> nobilem cum prædictis hæreticis. Sed dixit quod dictus pater ipsius testis, et frater prædictus, et ipse testis, aportabant ibi ad comedendum ipsis hæreticis, et tenebant eos ibi.

De tempore dixit quod sunt quaterdecim anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod dictus Isarnus dedit multociens Grasidæ, matri ipsius testis, nuces et pira, sicut audivit ab ea dici, ut portaret et redderet ea hæreticis<sup>5</sup> ex parte ipsius.

33<sup>v</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Ramnulpho, | inquisitore. Testes: magister Berengarius de Verneto, *Bernardus* Boneti, et ego,<sup>6</sup> Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>7</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, die lunæ ante festum Sanctæ Lucie, prædictus testis, et eductus de castro, adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod multociens, et tociens quod de numero non recordatur,<sup>8</sup> vidit in prædicta domo parentum suorum apud Las Thoelhas Petrum de Sancto Michaelē, fratrem ipsius testis iuniorem, videntem et adorantem<sup>9</sup> hæreticos et audientem verba et prædicationem ipsorum, et comedentem cum eis ad eandem mensam.

<sup>1</sup> -n- *altered*.

<sup>2</sup> B- *altered*.

<sup>3</sup> -e- *originally* -o-.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* dictam.

<sup>5</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>6</sup> *originally* Ugo.

<sup>7</sup> *originally* inquisitor.

<sup>8</sup> *originally* recordantur.

<sup>9</sup> -rantem *added, interlined, originally* adhorantem.

Michel, the same witness's late father, who had bought the said assart or piece of newly-tilled land from Raymond Faure, weaver, who was from Palajac<sup>34</sup> and was then living at Las Touzeilles, Isarn of Foissac,<sup>35</sup> a noble of Puylaurens, who lives at Blan, came to the same assart. And he came there alone, on horseback, and dismounted from his pony, which the same witness's said father immediately gave to the same witness to hold. And after this the same witness's same father took him | into the wood 33<sup>r</sup> of Corneilhan,<sup>36</sup> which was next to the same newly-tilled land. And he firmly believes that he took him to Gaucelin, who was from Caraman, as it seems to him, and his companion, heretics, whom the same witness's same father and Raymond of Saint-Michel, the same witness's older brother, were keeping there; and when they had been there for some time they both returned. The same witness, however, waited, holding the pony, until they returned, and he did not see the said noble with the aforesaid heretics. But he said that the same witness's said father, and aforesaid brother, and the same witness, brought food there to the same heretics, and they kept them there.

About the time: he said that it was fourteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the said Isarn often gave Grazida, the same witness's mother, nuts and pears, as he heard her say, for her to take and give to the heretics on his behalf.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Ranulph, | inquisitor. Witnesses: master Berengar of Vernet, Bernard Bonet, and I, Atho 33<sup>v</sup> of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, on the Monday before the feast of St Lucy,<sup>37</sup> the aforesaid witness, again brought out from prison, added to his confession, saying that he often saw in his parents' aforesaid house at Las Touzeilles—and so many times that he does not remember the number—Peter of Saint-Michel, the same witness's younger brother, seeing and adoring the heretics, and hearing their words and preaching, and eating with them at the same table.

<sup>34</sup> Disappeared place, near the mill of Viterbe, Tarn, cant. Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, arrond. Castres, according to Font-Réaulx, p. 1001; *Saisimentum*, p. 436.

<sup>35</sup> Isarn was among the nobles of Puylaurens who took oaths of loyalty to the king of France on October 8–9 1271; *Saisimentum*, p. 97.

<sup>36</sup> Disappeared place, Tarn, near Las Touzeilles, comm. Palleville, cant. Dourgne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres; *Saisimentum*, p. 380.

<sup>37</sup> [December 11 1273].

De tempore dixit quod a quindecim annis citra,<sup>1</sup> usque ad obitum prædictæ matris suæ, de quo sunt quinque anni<sup>2</sup> vel circa.

Item dixit quod in propredicta domo vidit prædictum Petrum, fratrem  
34<sup>r</sup> suum, semel, vel bis, vel pluries, adorare<sup>3</sup> Willelmum Pru|nelli et socium eius, hæreticos.

Item vidit eundem Petrum bis, vel ter, vel pluries, in malolio patris ipsius testis, et eosdem hæreticos et quandoque<sup>4</sup> alios.

De tempore ut supra.

Item dixit quod ipse testis eduxit Guillelmam, filiam Guillelmi Andrææ de Empento, uxorem<sup>5</sup> Petri Pontii de Empento, apud Palaxvillam<sup>6</sup> ad domum Ioannis de Bugaralh et Aladaicis uxoris<sup>7</sup> eius, sororis ipsius testis, ubi erat tunc Raimundus Vitalis et socius eius, hæretici. Et ibi ipse testis et dictus Ioannes et Aladaicis adoraverunt<sup>8</sup> prædictos hæreticos. Sed dictam Guillelmam non vidit cum<sup>9</sup> ipsis hæreticis,<sup>10</sup> nec scit<sup>11</sup> quod viderit vel adoraverit<sup>12</sup> eos.

De tempore dixit quod sunt septem annis vel circa.

Interrogatus si dictam Guillelmam vidit in eadem camera cum dictis hæreticis, dixit quod non: sed hæretici erant in camera, et prædicta Guillelma erat dormiens in aula iuxta ignem.

34<sup>v</sup> Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, die sab-  
bati in festo Sancti Clementis, prædictus testis, interrogatus per virum<sup>13</sup>  
utrum audivit supradictum Petrum de Sancto Michaelē dicentem quod  
prædictus Isarnus de Foissaco vidisset prædictos hæreticos cum eodem  
Petro, patre ipsius testis, in nemore de Corneliano prædicto, dixit quod  
non. Sed ipse testis suspicatus fuit, et credit, quod vidit eos ibi cum præ-  
dicto patre ipsius testis, quia tunc hæretici prædicti morabantur in ipso

<sup>1</sup> *altered from circa.*

<sup>2</sup> *-s deleted.*

<sup>3</sup> *-rare added, interlined.*

<sup>4</sup> *-que added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-em added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-que deleted.*

<sup>7</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>8</sup> *-raverunt added, interlined.*

<sup>9</sup> *vidit deleted, i- of ipsis altered from -t.*

<sup>10</sup> *-is perhaps added.*

<sup>11</sup> *ms sit.*

<sup>12</sup> *-raverit added, interlined.*

<sup>13</sup> *-um altered.*

About the time: he said within the last fifteen years, up to his aforesaid mother's death, which was five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that in the abovementioned house he saw the aforesaid Peter, his brother, once, or twice, or several times, adore William Prunel | 34<sup>r</sup> and his companion, heretics.

Item, he saw the same Peter two, or three, or several times, in the newly-planted vineyard of the same witness's father, and the same heretics and sometimes others.

About the time: as above.

Item, he said that the same witness brought Guillelma, the daughter of William Andrew of Lempaut,<sup>38</sup> the wife of Peter Pons of Lempaut, to Palleville, to the house of John of Bugarel, and of Aladaicis his wife, the same witness's sister, where at that time there were Raymond Vital and his colleague, heretics. And there the same witness and the said John and Aladaicis adored the aforesaid heretics. But he did not see the said Guillelma with the same heretics, nor does he know that she saw or adored them.

About the time: he said that it was seven years ago or thereabouts.

Asked if he saw the said Guillelma in the same chamber with the said heretics, he said no, but the heretics were in the chamber, and the aforesaid Guillelma was sleeping in the hall by the fire.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, on 34<sup>v</sup> the Saturday on the feast of St Clement,<sup>39</sup> the aforesaid witness, questioned by the man<sup>40</sup> as to whether he heard the aforesaid Peter of Saint-Michel saying that the aforesaid Isarn of Foissac had seen the aforesaid heretics with the same Peter, the same witness's father, in the aforesaid wood of Corneilhan, he said no. But the same witness suspected, and believes, that he saw them there with the same witness's aforesaid father, because at that time the aforesaid heretics were living in the same wood. And the same witness and the same witness's said father and

<sup>38</sup> Tarn, cant. Puy-laurens, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 960.

<sup>39</sup> November 23 1275. Again, this was a Saturday.

<sup>40</sup> The Latin 'per virum' ('by the man') has no parallel elsewhere in the register. It may be a mistake for 'per vim', 'by force'. See above, p. 47 n. 55.

nemore. Et ipse testis et dictus pater ipsius testis, et Raimundus de Sancto Michaelē, frater ipsius testis, tenebant eos ibi et aportabant eis ad comedendum ut supradictum est.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore. Testes:<sup>1</sup> frater Petrus Raimundi Baranhonis, et ego, Atho de Sancto Vic-  
35<sup>r</sup> tore, publicus notarius Inquisitionis,<sup>2</sup> qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> t- *altered*.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* inquisitor.

Raymond of Saint-Michel, the same witness's brother, kept them there, and brought food to them as has been said above.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Peter Raymond Baranhon,<sup>41</sup> and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, | public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things. 35<sup>r</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Peter Raymond Baranhon, of Toulouse, was designated as convent visitor (1282, 1285, 1300), to investigate the feasibility of founding a convent at Lectoure (1285), and as preacher-general (1294). He was prior of Castres (around 1283), Limoges (1284–1285), Auvillar (1285–1287), Saint-Émilion (1288–1289), Le Puy (Haute-Loire), and he was later sub-prior of Toulouse. He died during his general preachership, April 1 1301. *ACP*, pp. 261–262, 284, 288, 289, 389, 454; Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 63; 'Mort des prieurs', no. 145, p. 189. Mundy's account of the prominent Baranhon family of Toulouse (Mundy, *Repression*, pp. 131–135) does not include any who joined religious orders. See below, 199<sup>v</sup>, where Peter Raymond witnessed the deposition of a member of the Baranhon family.

*Deposition de Barthelemy Jordain de Rabastenx,<sup>1</sup> au diocese d'Alby, qui dit qu'il avoit quité la predication des heretiques, voyant qu'ils defendoit de faire le signe de la croix.*

*De l'année 1275.*

Anno quo supra, die martis post festum Beati Martini,<sup>2</sup> Bartholomæus Iordani de Rabastenkis, diocesis Albiensis, testis iuratus et interrogatus super facto hæresis et Valdesiæ, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos<sup>3</sup> nisi semel apud Rabastencos in domo qui vocatur Stephanæ<sup>4</sup> de Neboda, 35<sup>v</sup> ubi stabant publice et prædica|bant. Et ivit cum eo Durandus Barravi de Rabastencs.

Interrogatus<sup>5</sup> si adoravit eos etiam<sup>6</sup> ibi, vel audivit prædicationes eorum, vel comedit, bibit, participavit cum eisdem,<sup>7</sup> dixit quod non.

Interrogat[us]<sup>8</sup> si dedit vel misit aliquid ipsis hæreticis vel recepit ab ipsis vel a nunciis<sup>9</sup> eorum, dixit quod non.

Item dixit quod nihil aliud fecit ibi nisi quod sedit; et recessit incontinenti quando audivit ab ipsis hæreticis quod nullus homo debebat se signare.

Interrogatus de astantibus qui erant, dixit quod non recordatur, sed multi erant.

Interrogatus<sup>10</sup> si ipse Bartholomæus duxit dictum suum socium ad domum prædictam ubi erant hæretici, vel socius suus, dixit quod credit quod socius suus.

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<sup>1</sup> letter -r- deleted before -b-.

<sup>2</sup> ms Martinis.

<sup>3</sup> -reticos altered.

<sup>4</sup> -æ possibly altered.

<sup>5</sup> -us added.

<sup>6</sup> ms et.

<sup>7</sup> ms eosdem.

<sup>8</sup> abbreviation sign omitted.

<sup>9</sup> ms anuciis.

<sup>10</sup> -us added.

*The deposition of Bartholomew Jordan of Rabastens, in the diocese of Albi, who said that he had left the preaching of the heretics, seeing that they forbade the making of the sign of the cross.*

*From the year 1275.*

In the same year as above, on the Tuesday after the feast of the Blessed Martin,<sup>1</sup> Bartholomew Jordan of Rabastens,<sup>2</sup> in the diocese of Albi, sworn in as a witness and questioned on the matter of heresy and Waldensianism, said that he never saw heretics except once at Rabastens, in the house which is called that of Stephana of *Neboda*,<sup>3</sup> where they were living openly and preaching. | And Durand Barrau of Rabastens went with him. 35<sup>v</sup>

Asked if he also adored them there, or heard their preachings, or ate, drank, or had any other dealings with them, he said no.

Asked if he gave or sent anything to the same heretics, or received anything from them, or from their messengers, he said no.

Item, he said that he did nothing else there except sit; and he went away immediately when he heard from the same heretics that no man ought to cross himself.

Asked about the bystanders who were there, he says that he does not remember, but they were many.

Asked if the same Bartholomew took his said companion to the aforesaid house where the heretics were, or his companion took him, he said that he believes that his companion took him.

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<sup>1</sup> [November 14 1273].

<sup>2</sup> Tarn, ch.-lieu, arrond. Albi; *Saisimentum*, p. 452.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified. The place-names Nébot and Nébout are quite common in Languedoc; *DTF*.



(Durandus Barravi prædictus, interrogatus de tempore, dixit quod bene sunt quadraginta anni, vel circa.)

36<sup>r</sup> Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> si alias fuit coram inquisitore<sup>2</sup> et confessus fuit ita, dixit quod sic, coram fratre Ferrario, ut credit.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> si habuerit poenitentiam ab eis propter<sup>4</sup> ista, dixit quod non.

Dixit etiam quod alibi non vidit hæreticos, nec Valdenses, nec fugitivos pro facto hæresis.

Dixit et dictus testis quod dum ipse qui loquitur et Durandus Barravi, eius socius, intrarent dictam domum, signaverunt se, et tunc dicti hæretici petierunt ab eis quare se signabant. Dixerunt quod pro bono, et ipsis hæreticis respondentibus quod malefaciebant, ipse testis et eius socius et recesserunt.

Dixit etiam idem testis quod nihil aliud commisit in hæresi.

Iuravit et abiuravit<sup>5</sup> omnem hæresim.

Hæc deposuit dictus testis coram fratre Ramnulpho de Placiaco de Ordine Prædicatorum. Testes: frater Petrus *Raymundi* Baranhonis et Sicardus Lunelli, et ego, *Bernardus* Boneti, publicus Tholosæ notarius, 36<sup>v</sup> qui | hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> -us added.

<sup>2</sup> -e added.

<sup>3</sup> -us added.

<sup>4</sup> -er or -ter added.

<sup>5</sup> ms ab iuravit.

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<sup>5</sup> Ferrier the Catalan, not to be confused with a Paris theologian and Dominican of the same name. Born at Villelongue near Perpignan, he was the founder and first prior of the Dominican convent at Carcassonne (1252), and then prior of Béziers (1252–1254). He was already active as inquisitor by the authority of the archbishop in Narbonne in 1229, and his career as an inquisitor extended until September 1244, although he appeared later as a witness, in March 1246. He died, probably at Perpignan, September 8 1254. Between December 1242 and September 1244 he interrogated at least 700 people, and records of his interrogations occupy all of D23, D21, f. 313<sup>r</sup>–323<sup>v</sup>, D22 f. 107<sup>r</sup>–296<sup>v</sup>, and D24, f. 1<sup>r</sup>–237<sup>v</sup>. Gui described him as a persevering and large-spirited persecutor of heretics, hammering them and their supporters and believers with an iron sword, to such an extent that his name resounded like a sword in heretical ears even today—that is, fifty years later. W.L. Wakefield, ‘Friar Ferrier, inquisition at Caunes and escapes from prison at Carcassonne’, *Catholic Historical Review* 58 (1972), 220–237; W.L. Wakefield, ‘Friar Ferrier, inquisitor’, *Heresis* 7 (1986), 33–42; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 97–98, 100, 260; ‘Mort des Prieurs’, no. 52, p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> The plural: Ferrier and his unnamed fellow-inquisitor.

(The aforesaid Durand Barrau, asked about the time, said that it was fully forty years ago, or thereabouts.)<sup>4</sup>

Asked if he had previously appeared before an inquisitor | and confessed in this way, he said yes, before brother Ferrier,<sup>5</sup> as he believes. 36<sup>r</sup>

Asked if he had a penance from them<sup>6</sup> because of this, he said no.

He also said that he did not see heretics, or Waldensians, or fugitives for the matter of heresy elsewhere.

The said witness also said that when he who is speaking and Durand Barrau, his companion, were going into the said house, they crossed themselves, and then the said heretics asked them why they were crossing themselves. They said for good, and when the said heretics replied that they did wrong, the same witness and his companion too went away.

The same witness also said that he committed no other act of heresy.

He took an oath and abjured all heresy.

These things the said witness attested before brother Ranulph of Plasac of the Order of Preachers. Witnesses: brother Peter Raymond Baranhon and Sicard Lunel, and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse, who | wrote these things. 36<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Note inserted by inquisitor, which was probably a note in the margin in the original register. See other examples 18<sup>r</sup> and 21<sup>r</sup> below. Durand Barrau's nephew (sister's son) confessed to Bernard Gui (October 29, 1309). He had received Durand in his house at Grenade while Durand was a fugitive. He did not say when. Durand commended heretics, and asked about a heretic called Philip, in whose company he wished to leave the country; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, 352. His details are given and his history summarised in Gui's sentence on him as relapsed, April 5, 1310. Son of the late William Barrau, originally from Montastruc, he had lived in Born. He had once confessed to the inquisitor Pons of Pouget, and had abjured February 9, 1268, as inquisition acts showed. As these acts also showed, he had been imprisoned by the inquisitors Pons of Pouget and Stephen of Gâtine, at a sermon delivered March 11, 1268. Inquisition acts also showed that he had been released from prison; the precise date is not given. Then, after some time, he had been relieved of the requirement to wear crosses by the inquisitors John Vigouroux and John Galand, at a sermon delivered August 29, 1273. Durand's sentence then continues with his relapse into heresy, beginning with a journey to Cuneo in order to visit heretics; *ibid.*, pp. 498–500. His son Raymond was released from wearing crosses at a sermon of April 23, 1312, by which time Durand was dead. Durand's imprisonment stretched from 1273 to an unspecified date some time before 1283, and he was therefore presumably still a prisoner when questioned thus in 1275.

*Deposition de Guillaume de Rosergue, qui<sup>1</sup> dit qu'il avoit emprunté 200 s. Tholosains de Pons Barravi, du Mas Saintes Puellas, et qu'il luy avoit donné d'usure 40 s. pour quatre mois, et que les sindics du monastere de Bolbonne donnoient audit Pons 100 s. par an de 400 s. Tholosains qu'ils lui devoient.*

*Du jour de la Sct. Vincent 1274.*

37<sup>r</sup> Anno quo supra, die lunæ in festo Sancti Vincencii, magister Guillel-  
mus de Rosergue, testis iuratus et requisitus<sup>2</sup> super | receptione usu-  
rarum Poncii et Petri Barravi, fratrum, de Manso Sanctarum Puella-  
rum, dixit quod ipse testis, olim operarius ecclesiæ parrochialis Mansi  
Sanctarum Puellarum, recepit<sup>3</sup> pro fabrica ecclesiæ ducentos<sup>4</sup> solidos<sup>5</sup>  
Tholosanos,<sup>6</sup> quos mutavit Pontius Barravi prædictus, et post quatuor  
menses ipse testis reddidit prædicto Pontio<sup>7</sup> Barravi prædictos ducentos  
solidos Tholosanos, et amplius quadraginta<sup>8</sup> solidos<sup>9</sup> Tholosanos<sup>10</sup> pro  
usura.

Interrogatus<sup>11</sup> de personis, si quæ affuerunt illi solutioni, dixit quod  
Pontius Aimerici de Manso Sanctarum Puellarum.

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<sup>1</sup> *added in margin.*

<sup>2</sup> *-situs added.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms recepit. Originally recepti.*

<sup>4</sup> *-os added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-os added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-anos added.*

<sup>7</sup> *-io added.*

<sup>8</sup> *ms quadrigentas. -s added.*

<sup>9</sup> *-os added.*

<sup>10</sup> *-os added.*

<sup>11</sup> *-us added.*

*The deposition of William of Rosergue, who said that he had borrowed 200 Toulouse shillings from Pons Barrau, of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, and that he had given him 40 shillings usury for the four months, and that the syndics of the monastery of Boulbonne gave the said Pons 100 shillings a year for the 400 Toulouse shillings they owed him.*

*From Saint Vincent's day, 1274.*

In the same year as above, on the Monday on the feast of St Vincent,<sup>1</sup> master William of *Rosergue*,<sup>2</sup> sworn in as a witness and questioned about | 37<sup>r</sup> the receipt of usuries by Pons and Peter Barrau, brothers, of Mas-Saintes-Puelles,<sup>3</sup> said that the same witness, once officer in charge of works for the parish church of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, received for the fabric of the church two hundred Toulouse shillings,<sup>4</sup> which the aforesaid Pons Barrau lent, and after four months the same witness returned to the aforesaid Pons Barrau the aforesaid two hundred Toulouse shillings, and a further forty Toulouse shillings, for usury.

Asked about people, if there were any present at that payment, he said Pons Aimery of Mas-Saintes-Puelles.

<sup>1</sup> January 22 [1273 (1274)]—which was a Monday in this year.

<sup>2</sup> On May 27 1245 William (W[illelmus]) of *Rozeuge* was among parishioners of Mas-Saintes-Puelles confessing contacts with heretics, whom he had seen living publicly (a formula which usually indicated a date before the start of the crusade in 1209) at Mirepoix when he was a boy (*puer*); Toulouse 609, f. 1<sup>r</sup>. If this was the same person, then he was now in his 70s. William was one of a group of notaries of Mas-Saintes-Puelles who took an oath of loyalty to the king, December 20–24 1271; *Saisimentum*, p. 236. *Rosergue* has not been identified. *DTF* lists possible places in the *départements* of Tarn and Tarn-et-Garonne: Rousergues, Roussergue and Roussergues.

<sup>3</sup> Poncius Barrau and Petrus Barrau were among parishioners of Mas-Saintes-Puelles who confessed contacts with heretics, May 26 1246; Toulouse 609, f. 25<sup>r-v</sup>. See Wakefield, 'Mas-Saintes-Puelles', 222–224.

<sup>4</sup> On minting of coins at Toulouse, see Mundy, *Society*, pp. 57, 257, and Spufford, *Handbook*, pp. 137, 182, 197.

Item dixit se vidisse et audivisse<sup>1</sup> quod dictus Pontius mutuavit sindicis Monasterii de Bolbona quadringentos<sup>2</sup> solidos<sup>3</sup> Tholosanos,<sup>4</sup> pro quibus idem syndici promiserunt solvere eidem pro servitio centum solidos<sup>5</sup> annuatim quamdiu tenerent mutuuum supradictum.

37<sup>v</sup> Interrogatus | qui erant illi syndici, dixit quod frater Castillionus et frater Bernardus Baiuli, et alii duo, de quorum nominibus modo non recordatur.

De tempore mutui dixit quod postquam dictus Pontius recepit pœnitentiam propter hæresim, a viginti duobus<sup>6</sup> annis citra.<sup>7</sup>

Item dixit se vidisse et audisse quod Arnaldus Lapassa de Manso Sanctarum Puellarum, dictus Nadal, computavit cum dicto Pontio, et pro centum solidos<sup>8</sup> Tholosanos,<sup>9</sup> quos mutuo tenebat ab eo recognovit ei<sup>10</sup> debere pro quolibet anno triginta solidos,<sup>11</sup> et se soluturum<sup>12</sup> promisit ultra sortem.

De tempore: ut supra.

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<sup>1</sup> -visse *added, interlined.*

<sup>2</sup> -os *added.*

<sup>3</sup> -os *added.*

<sup>4</sup> -os *added.*

<sup>5</sup> -os *added.*

<sup>6</sup> *written over deletion beginning s-.*

<sup>7</sup> *originally circa.*

<sup>8</sup> *originally solidis.*

<sup>9</sup> *originally Tholosanis.*

<sup>10</sup> *ms et.*

<sup>11</sup> -olidos *added.*

<sup>12</sup> *first -u- originally -i-.*

Item, he said that he had seen and heard that the said Pons lent the syndics of the monastery of Boulbonne<sup>5</sup> four hundred Toulouse shillings, for which the same syndics promised to pay him a hundred shillings annually as service, for as long as they held the aforesaid debt.

Asked | who those syndics were, he said Brother Castillon and Brother Bernard Bailli, and another two, whose names he does not now remember. 37<sup>v</sup>

About the time of the loan: he said after the said Pons received a penance for heresy, within the last twenty-two years.

Item, he said that he had seen and heard that Arnold Lapassa of Mas-Saintes-Puelles,<sup>6</sup> called Nadal, accounted with the said Pons, and for a hundred Toulouse shillings, which he had on loan from him, he acknowledged that he owed him thirty shillings for each year, and he promised that he would pay that over and above the principal.

About the time: as above.

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<sup>5</sup> Cistercian abbey, founded around 1129; Wildhaber, 'Catalogue', pp. 27–28. See *DHGE*, x.59–70; *CaF* 21 (1986), index-entry, p. 384. Haute-Garonne, comm. and cant. Cintegabelle, arrond. Muret; Font-Réaulx, p. 890.

<sup>6</sup> Ar(naldus) Lapassa was among parishioners of Mas-Saintes-Puelles questioned June 22 1245, denying involvement with heretics; Toulouse 609, f. 3<sup>v</sup>.

38<sup>r</sup> *Deposition de Guillelme, femme d'un charpentier de Tholose, contenant  
 quelle avoit ouy dire a une sa voisine, nommee Fabrissa, que Lucifer avoir  
 fait l'homme, et que Dieu luy ayant dit de le faire parler, il respondit qu'il  
 ne pouvoit pas, et qu'alors, Dieu ayant soufflé dans la bouche de l'homme,  
 il avoit parlé.*

*Avec les depositions de ladite Fabrissa et de Philippe sa fille, qui avouerent  
 d'avoir eu commerce avec les heretiques, et entre autres avec un nommé  
 Pierre<sup>1</sup> Maurel,<sup>2</sup> messenger des heretiques Lombards, qui se plaignoit de  
 la nation, et de la domination des françois qui avoient autant de rigueur  
 que les clerks, et que les heretiques convertis perdroient les autres par leurs  
 38<sup>v</sup> revelations, mais que ceux qui estoient persecutés par l'Eglise Romaine  
 estoient des saints, et autres choses y exprimées.*

*De l'année 1274.*

Anno quo supra, die mercurii post festum Sanctæ Agathæ, Guillelma,  
 uxor Thomæ de Sancto Flore, fusterii, qui moratur Tholosæ in insula  
 Tunicii, testis iurata<sup>3</sup> et requisita<sup>4</sup> ut supra, dixit quod nunquam vi-  
 dit hæreticos quos cognosceret eos, nec spem nec fidem in illis ha-  
 buit.

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<sup>1</sup> written over deletion; -re superscript.

<sup>2</sup> added in margin; different hand.

<sup>3</sup> originally iuratus.

<sup>4</sup> -sita added.

*The deposition of Guillelma, the wife of a carpenter of Toulouse, containing that she had heard it said by a neighbour of hers, named | Fabrissa, that Lucifer had made man, and that, when God told him to make him speak, he replied that he could not, and that then, when God had breathed into the man's mouth, he had spoken.* 38<sup>r</sup>

*With the depositions of the said Fabrissa and of Philippa her daughter, who confessed to having had dealings with the heretics, and among others with one named Peter Maurel, a messenger of the heretics of Lombardy, who complained about the state of the nation, and the dominion of the French, who were as harsh as the clergy, and that the heretics who had converted would destroy the others with their revelations, but that those who | were persecuted by the Roman Church were saints, and other things written here.* 38<sup>v</sup>

*From the year 1274.*

In the same year as above, on the Wednesday after the feast of St Agatha,<sup>1</sup> Guillelma, the wife of Thomas of Saint-Flour,<sup>2</sup> joiner, who lives at Toulouse on the island of Tounis,<sup>3</sup> sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that she never saw any heretics, to recognise them as such, nor did she have any hope or faith in them.

<sup>1</sup> [February 7 1273 (1274)].

<sup>2</sup> Probably Haute-Garonne, comm. Fontenilles, cant. Saint-Lys, arrond. Mur-et; *Saisimentum*, p. 470; *DTF*.

<sup>3</sup> Long and narrow inhabited island in the Garonne as it runs to the west of the city of Toulouse, its northern tip level with the Old Bridge and the road running east across the city to the cathedral of Saint Stephen, its southern tip nearly level with the Narbonne gate. It is clearly outlined in map 2, Sibly, *William of Puylaurens*, p. ix. At its northern end it was connected to the city by the old bridge; P. Wolff, *Commerces et marchands de Toulouse (vers 1350—vers 1450)* (Paris, 1954), p. 90 and n. 170; Mundy, *Society*, pp. 12–13. A document of 1284 refers to an existing bridge crossing the Garonne, which is identified as the Comminges bridge, uniting the southern end of the Island of Tounis to the city of Toulouse, but it is not clear whether this existed at the time of our deposition. Permission was being given to a Toulouse tenant in 1271 to build bridges connecting the city and the island of Tounis; Wolff, *Commerce*, p. 92 and n. 175; Mundy, *Society*, pp. 14–16.



Dixit tamen quod ipsa testis et quidam vicini sui habent suspectas de hæresi Fabrissam, uxorem Petri Vitalis, fusterii,<sup>1</sup> et Philippam filiam eius, uxorem Raimundi Maurelli, fusterii, propter verba eorum et gestus. Dixit tamen ipsa testis quod quadam vice audivit prædictam Fabrissam  
 39<sup>r</sup> dicentem quod Lucifer fecerat homi|nem, et Deus dixit ei quod faceret eum loqui. Ipse vero respondit quod non poterat, et tunc Deus inspiravit in os<sup>2</sup> hominis, et locutus est homo.

Requisita<sup>3</sup> de loco ubi audivit eam ista verba dicentem, dixit quod apud Tunicium in domibus suis, quas habent contiguas, inter quas nondum erat medium.

Requisita<sup>4</sup> de tempore, dixit quod ante festum Natalis Domini proxime præteritum fuit annus.

Dixit etiam quod ipsa interrogavit prædictam Fabrissam quomodo Deus misisset spiritum suum in opus diaboli, et ipsa respondit quod voluntatem suam posuerat ibi.

Requisita<sup>5</sup> de circumstantibus,<sup>6</sup> dixit quod nullus alius erat ibi.

Item dixit quod audivit dictam Fabrissam dicentem malum de clericis—ipsi non habebant bonam fidem, nec docebant veritatem cum de pane dicerent<sup>7</sup> quod erat corpus Dei. Et fuit circa prædictum tempus.

39<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod ter vel quater | audivit eam<sup>8</sup> dicentem quod propositum habebant, ipsa et filia eius, eundi extra terram istam ad<sup>9</sup> faciendum poenitentiam, sed volebat esse secretum. Et ipsa testis dixit ei, rogando quod non recederet quin<sup>10</sup> ipsa sciret; quæ dixit ei quod si alicui revelarent, bene<sup>11</sup> revelarent sibi.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* suterii.

<sup>2</sup> *os deletion at beginning—perhaps h.*

<sup>3</sup> *-a superscript; -isita added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-isita added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-isita added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-stantibus added, interlined, smaller hand; -rc- altered.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms* darent.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* eum.

<sup>9</sup> *-d added.*

<sup>10</sup> *transiret deleted.*

<sup>11</sup> *altered.*

She said, however, that the same witness and certain neighbours of hers consider as suspect of heresy Fabrissa, the wife of Peter Vital, joiner, and Philippa<sup>4</sup> her daughter, the wife of Raymond Maurel, joiner, on account of their words and doings.

The same witness said, in fact, that on a certain occasion she heard the aforesaid Fabrissa saying that Lucifer had made man, | and God said to him that he should make him speak. He, however, replied that he could not, and then God breathed into the mouth of man, and man spoke. 39<sup>r</sup>

Asked about the place where she heard her saying these words, she said at Tounis, in their houses, which they have next to each other—there was not yet anything between them.

Asked about the time, she said that it was a year before the feast of Christmas last.

She also said that she asked the aforesaid Fabrissa how God had sent his spirit into the work of the devil, and she replied that he had put his will there.

Asked about bystanders, she said that no-one else was there.

Item, she said that she heard the said Fabrissa speaking ill of the clergy—they did not have a good faith, nor did they teach the truth, when they said of the bread that it was the body of God. And this was at around the aforesaid time.

Item, she said that three or four times | she heard her saying that they had a plan, she and her daughter, to go out of this country to do penance, but she wanted this to be secret. And the same witness spoke to her, asking her not to leave without her knowing; and she said to her that if they revealed it to anyone, they would certainly reveal it to her. 39<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Philippa was sentenced to be executed by Bernard Gui, March 3, 1308; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.184–191. She had been sentenced earlier by Renous of Plassac and Pons of Parnac (May 13, 1274), to wear crosses and go on local pilgrimages. She was permitted to stop wearing the crosses by Hugh Amiel and John Galand; the date is not given. She again confessed involvement in heresy to Peter of *Mulceone*, February 18, 1292, receiving a penance from him. She confessed seeing and adoring Peter Autier and other Good Men, to an unnamed inquisitor (possibly Geoffrey d'Ablis), June 23, 1306. Her final confession was to Bernard Gui, February 20, 1308. By this date her former husband, Raymond Maurel, was dead. No other relative is mentioned in her sentence.

Item dixit quod audivit aliquotiens dictam Fabrissam<sup>1</sup> comendantem Placentiam, mulierem quamdam de Lombardia, quod bona mulier erat, et fidelis, et amica boni Domini. Et postmodum dicta Placentia mulier venit cum viro suo et quodam asello, et fuit in domo dictæ Fabrissæ per tres dies vel plures. Et cum ipsa testis vidit eam non cognovit. Sed audiens eam vocari Placentiam, recordata de comendatione eius pristina, fuit suspicata quod esset illa, at alloquuta est eam, dicens 'Amica mea, vos estis  
40<sup>r</sup> de Lombardia?'; quæ respondit quod sic. Et iterum interrogavit eam | dicens 'Amica mea, novistis Bartholomæum Fogacerii?'; quæ respondit, 'Novi, et in bono loco est': unde ipsa testis<sup>2</sup> credidit quod illa esset nuncia hæreticorum.

De tempore dixit quod in vendemiis proximo præteritis<sup>3</sup> fuit annus.

Item dixit quod quadam die dicta Fabrissa dixit ipsi testi<sup>4</sup> prægnanti quod rogaret Deum ut liberaret eam a demone quem habebat in ventre.

Item dixit quod vidit aliquotiens Bernardum Fogacerii venientem ad dictam Fabrissam et Philippam filiam eius, et loquentem cum eis, et ad domum eorum latentem.<sup>5</sup> Et Philippa custodiebat ostium tempore infirmitatis matris. Et aliquando quando videbant ipsum in locis publicis, mater dicebat filiæ, 'Non respicias eum'.

Item dixit [quod], defuncto Guillelmo Aribaudi, qui fuerat immuratus et cruce signatus<sup>6</sup> prop[ter]<sup>7</sup> hæresim, et morabatur in carreria Iudæ-  
40<sup>v</sup> orum,<sup>8</sup> ipsa Fabrissa clamavit dicens 'Sancte<sup>9</sup> Pater,<sup>10</sup> Sancte<sup>11</sup> Pater.'<sup>12</sup> | Et cum ipsa testis corrigeret eam, quia clamabat propter eum cum non esset de parentela sua, dicta Fabrissa dixit quod dolebat, quia nihil facerat quod

<sup>1</sup> alio *deleted*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* tistis.

<sup>3</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -s *deleted*.

<sup>5</sup> -em *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -cesi- *written over deletion*.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* prop; *space left for expansion*.

<sup>8</sup> -ae- *altered from* -e-.

<sup>9</sup> *ms* Sanctæ—or *altered to* Sancte?

<sup>10</sup> -er *altered*.

<sup>11</sup> *ms* Sanctæ.

<sup>12</sup> -er *altered*.

Item, she said that on several occasions she heard the said Fabrisa commending Placentia,<sup>5</sup> a certain woman of Lombardy—that she was a good woman, and faithful, and a friend of the good Lord. And afterwards the said woman Placentia came with her husband and a certain little donkey, and was in the house of the said Fabrisa for three days or more. And when the same witness saw her she did not recognise her. But hearing her called ‘Placentia’, remembering her earlier commendation, she suspected that it was her and spoke to her, saying, ‘My friend, are you from Lombardy?’ And she replied that she was. And she questioned her again, | saying, ‘My friend, do you know Bartholomew 40<sup>r</sup> Fogassier?’ And she replied, ‘I know him, and he is in a good place.’ On account of this the same witness believed that she was a messenger of the heretics.

About the time: she said that it was a year before the last grape harvest.

Item, she said that one day the said Fabrisa said to the same witness, who was pregnant, that she should ask God to release her from the demon which she had in her belly.

Item, she said that on several occasions she saw Bernard Fogassier coming to the said Fabrisa and Philippa her daughter, and speaking with them, and hiding in their house. And Philippa guarded the door at the time of the mother’s illness. And sometimes when they saw him in public places the mother would say to the daughter, ‘Don’t look at him.’

Item, she said that after the death of William Aribaud, who had been imprisoned and marked with the cross for heresy, and lived in the Street of the Jews,<sup>6</sup> the same Fabrisa cried out in lament, saying, ‘Holy Father, Holy Father.’ | And when the same witness corrected her, because she 40<sup>v</sup> was crying out in lament for him although he was not of her kin, the said Fabrisa said that she was grieving, because he had done nothing that he

<sup>5</sup> Latin form of the name of the city Piacenza.

<sup>6</sup> The Street Jusaigas, later rue Joutx-Aigues; Mundy, *Society*, no. 26 on map opposite p. 7. On this street and the Jewish quarter in medieval Toulouse, see Y. Dossat, ‘Les juifs à Toulouse’, *CaF* 12 (1977), pp. 125–126; Mundy, *Society*, pp. 79–81.

vellet. Miserat enim nocte præcedenti ad ecclesiam del Carme uxorem suam et filium ad vigilandum ibi, et cum probi homines venissent ad eum, amiserat loquelam; et credit ipsa testis quod isti probi homines essent hæretici, qui volebant eum hæreticare.

De tempore dixit quod, sicut credit, in Augusto præterito fuit annus vel circa.

Item dixit quod eodem tempore, cum mater Fogationum esset defuncta, et ipsa testis faceret mentionem dictis Fabrissæ et Philippæ de<sup>1</sup> morte illius, prædicta Fabrissa dixit quod nulla domina habuit meliores filios ad spiritum quam ipsa. Et hoc audiverunt ipsa testis et dicta Philippa.

Item dixit quod vidit aliquotiens Pontium de Gomevilla, modo fugitivum propter | hæresim, ante quam fugeret, loquentem cum dictis Fabrissa et Philippa.

Item dixit quod quando Raimunda, mater dictæ Fabrissæ, infirmabatur ægitudine qua decessit, stetit per undecim septimanas vel circa, nolens<sup>2</sup> videri ab ipsa teste vel aliis vicinis, et non viderunt ad eam aportari corpus Christi. Et quando decessit clamavit prædicta Fabrissa ‘Sancte<sup>3</sup> Pater,<sup>4</sup> habeatis spiritum animæ meæ’. Et ipsa testis venit ibi, et dixit ei quod male fecerat, quia ita secreto tenuerat debilitatem eius, quia libenter visitassent eam ipsa testis et alii vicini et vicinæ.<sup>5</sup> Et ipsa respondit quod neminem prohibuerat ostium quin venirent et viderent eam.

Item dixit quod supradicta Raymunda, antequam infirmaretur, dixit ipsi testi<sup>6</sup> quod prop[ter]<sup>7</sup> hoc diligebat potissime ipsam testem,<sup>8</sup> quia si contingeret ipsam infirmari, per domum<sup>9</sup> ipsius testis, de | qua confidebat, possent venire probi homines, scilicet hæretici, et venire ad eam, quia non confidebat de illo rustico nigro Raimundo Maurelli, genero<sup>10</sup> suo.

<sup>1</sup> *interlined.*

<sup>2</sup> *originally volens.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms Sancta; originally Sanctae, -ae partially erased.*

<sup>4</sup> *-er altered.*

<sup>5</sup> *-æ altered from -e.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms testis.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms prop; space left for expansion.*

<sup>8</sup> *-em added.*

<sup>9</sup> *ms perdomum ipsius; ipsius deleted.*

<sup>10</sup> *ms grano.*

wanted. For on the previous night he had sent his wife and his son to the Carmelite church<sup>7</sup> to keep vigil there, and when the worthy men had come to him he had lost the power of speech. And the same witness believes that these 'worthy men' were heretics, who wanted to hereticate him.

About the time: she said that—as she believes—it was a year ago or thereabouts last August.

Item, she said that at the same time, when the mother of the Fogassiers had died, and the same witness mentioned her death to the said Fabrisa and Philippa, the aforesaid Fabrisa said that no lady had better sons with regard to the spirit than she had. And the same witness and the said Philippa heard this.

Item, she said that on several occasions she saw Pons of Gomerville, now a fugitive for | heresy, talking with the said Fabrisa and Philippa, 41<sup>r</sup> before he fled.

Item, she said that when Raymonda, the mother of the said Fabrisa, was ill with the illness of which she died, she passed eleven weeks or thereabouts refusing to be seen by the same witness or other neighbours, and they did not see the body of Christ being brought to her. And when she died the aforesaid Fabrisa cried out, 'Holy Father, have the spirit of my soul'. And the same witness came there and said to her that she had done wrong, because she had kept her illness secret in this way, because the same witness, and other neighbours, both men and women, would willingly have visited her. And she replied that she had forbidden the door to no-one, to prevent them from coming and seeing her.

Item, she said that before she fell ill the aforesaid Raymonda said to the same witness that she loved the same witness above all for this reason, that if she should happen to fall ill, the worthy men, that is the heretics, could come through the house of the same witness, in | whom she trusted, 41<sup>v</sup> and come to her, because she did not trust that black peasant Raymond Maurel, her grandson-in-law.

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<sup>7</sup> Mundy, *Society*, no. 32 on map opposite p. 7; Sibly, *William of Puylaurens*, map 2, p. xi.

Hæc deposuit<sup>1</sup> coram fratre Ramnulpho, inquisitore. Testes: fratres *Petro* Regis, et Deude Frabri de Montepessullano, et *Bernardo* Boneti, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>2</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, die iouis post festum Sancti Gregorii, prædicta Guillelma addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod quadam die, cum ipsa testis et Navarra, uxor Arnaldi de Lescura, et Aladaicis, filia dictæ Navarræ, et Fabrissa uxor Petri Vitalis, et Philippa ipsius Fabrissæ, et Raimunda, mater quondam dictæ Fabrissæ, insimul colloquerentur apud Tholosam in insula Tunicii de quodam clerico, qui fuerat combustus propter hære-  
 42<sup>r</sup> sim apud Tholosam cum domi|nus rex erat ibi, audivit ipsa testis prædictam Fabrissam dicentem quod nunquam aliquis homo melius disputavit cum Fratribus Prædicatoribus et Minoribus quam dictus clericus disputaverat usquequo<sup>3</sup> rex venit. Et tunc ipsa testis et aliæ ex prædictis quæ-siverunt, dicentes, 'Quare ergo fuit combustus?' Et tunc dicta Fabrissa respondit quod propter hoc, quia dictus clericus dicebat quod quicumque recipiebat corpus Domini agerebat illud. Et tunc dicta Raimunda, mater dictæ Fabrissæ, dixit 'Quare propter hoc fuit combustus? Nonne<sup>4</sup> verum dixit?' Ad quod ipsa testis dixit ei,<sup>5</sup> 'Diabolus facit vos loqui.' Et hoc fuit in æstate<sup>6</sup> proximo præterita fuit annus.

Item dixit quod audivit prædictam Philippam<sup>7</sup> dicentem quadam vice, ultra Garonnam in malleolo dictæ Philippæ, quod primus vir supradictæ

<sup>1</sup> -suit *added*.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* inquisitor.

<sup>3</sup> -e- *altered from* -o-.

<sup>4</sup> -ne *altered*.

<sup>5</sup> *originally* eis.

<sup>6</sup> æ- *altered from* e-.

<sup>7</sup> P- *altered from* F-.

<sup>10</sup> [March 15 1273 (1274)].

<sup>11</sup> A common place-name in Languedoc; *DTF*. See below, 190<sup>v</sup> n. 36 and 9<sup>v</sup> n. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Philip III, arrived in Toulouse on 25 May 1272, staying there for a week; C.-V. Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe III le hardi* (Paris, 1887), p. 61.

<sup>13</sup> Meaning that the receiver, not the priest, consecrated it.

These things she attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: brothers Peter Rey,<sup>8</sup> and Daide Faure of Montpellier,<sup>9</sup> and Bernard Bonet, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, on the Thursday after the feast of St Gregory,<sup>10</sup> the aforesaid Guillelma added to her confession, saying that on a certain day, when the same witness and Navarra, the wife of Arnold of Lescure,<sup>11</sup> and Aladaicis, the said Navarra's daughter, and Fabrissa, the wife of Peter Vital, and Philippa, the same Fabrissa's [daughter], and Raymonda, the said Fabrissa's late mother, were talking together at Toulouse on the island of Tounis about a certain cleric who had been burnt for heresy at Toulouse when the lord | king was there,<sup>12</sup> the same witness 42<sup>r</sup> heard the aforesaid Fabrissa saying that never did any man dispute better with the Brothers Preacher and Minor than the said cleric had disputed until the king came. And then the same witness and others of the aforesaid inquired, saying, 'Why then was he burnt?' And then the said Fabrissa answered that it was for this reason, that the said cleric used to say that whoever received the body of the Lord carried it out.<sup>13</sup> And then the said Raymonda, the mother of the said Fabrissa, said, 'Why was he burnt for that? Was he not speaking the truth?' At which the same witness said to her, 'The devil is making you speak'. And this was a year before last summer.

Item, she said that she heard the aforesaid Philippa once saying—beyond the Garonne in the said Philippa's newly-planted vineyard—

<sup>8</sup> Peter Rey of Fanjeaux was the first lecturer at Carcassonne (1252), and lectured there for almost eleven years. He was designated preacher-general (1262), and was diffinitor at the chapter of Perpignan (1284). He was prior of Carcassonne (1263–1264), Prouille (1264–1267), of Toulouse (1267–1273) and again of Carcassonne (1277–1286). His mother became a sister at Prouille late in her life, and Peter died there August 11 1299. In 1282, while prior in Carcassonne, Peter witnessed a text whereby John Galand instructed the warden of the prison to use greater strictness; Gui described him as inquisitor of Carcassonne. *ACP*, pp. 46, 94, 173, 273; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 25, 51, 97, 100, 101; Douais, *Documents*, p. cxc; 'Mort des prieurs', no. 146, pp. 189–190.

<sup>9</sup> Hérault. Daide was the son of Hugh Faure of Montpellier (below, 208<sup>r-v</sup>). He was assigned to lectureships at Limoges (1268), Narbonne (1269), Béziers (1270), Pamiers (1271), Montpellier (1272), and Alès (1274), designated preacher-general (1282). Gui described him as working for the advancement of the Dominican sisters' convent at Prouille (1288). *ACP*, pp. 138, 150, 156, 170, 183, 260; Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 287.



42<sup>v</sup> Raimundæ, aviæ<sup>1</sup> dictæ Philippæ, fuit combustus. Ipsa | vero testis interrogavit eam, quare fuit combustus, et ipsa dixit quod reputatus fuit hæreticus ab inquisitoribus, captus quia noluit ad mandatum eorum occidere quendam<sup>2</sup> gallum, sed dixit quod nullam culpam habebat gallus, propter quod ipse testis deberet eum occidere. Et fuit annus in vindemiis proxime transactis.<sup>3</sup>

Item dixit se audivisse prædictam Philippam dicentem quod vellet quod decostasset<sup>4</sup> sibi aurem capitis sui, quod Raimundus Maurelli, vir suus, haberet fidem quam habebat Pontius de Gomevilla. Et quod si ipsa Philippa sciret quod non esset dictus Raimundus illius fidei quam ipsa credebatur, nunquam fuisset cum eo. Et fuit annus in Augusto proxime transacto.

Hoc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum Ramnolpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnaco,<sup>5</sup> inquisitoribus.<sup>6</sup> Testes: Guillelmus | Capellerii et Guillelmus Rotundi in ecclesia Dealbatæ,<sup>7</sup> Cicardus Lunelli, et ego, Atho de Sancto<sup>8</sup> Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>9</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, secundo nonas Aprilis, Guillelma addidit<sup>10</sup> confessioni suæ, dicens quod audivit dicentem Fabrissam, uxorem Petri Vitalis prædicti, quod Deus non creabat novos spiritus in infantibus, et quod multum haberet Deus facere, si cotidie crearet novos spiritus.

<sup>1</sup> -æ altered from -e.

<sup>2</sup> originally quondam.

<sup>3</sup> ms transactus.

<sup>4</sup> originally de costasset.

<sup>5</sup> ms Purnaco.

<sup>6</sup> -ibus added later.

<sup>7</sup> originally de Albata.

<sup>8</sup> ms Sancta.

<sup>9</sup> originally inquisitor.

<sup>10</sup> first -d- added later.

<sup>16</sup> April 4. If the start of the year is taken as being April 1 (Toulouse style) or Easter day (also April 1 in 1274), then the old familiar year has been copied here by mistake.

that the first husband of the aforesaid Raymonda, the said Philippa's grandmother, was burnt. Indeed, the same | witness asked her why he was burnt, and she said that he was considered a heretic by the inquisitors, because, when he had been captured, he refused to kill a certain cock at their command, but said that the cock had done no wrong for which the same witness ought to kill him.<sup>14</sup> And this was a year before the last grape harvest. 42<sup>v</sup>

Item, she said that she had heard the aforesaid Philippa saying that she would be happy for it to have cost her an ear from her head, for Raymond Maurel, her husband, to have the faith which Pons of Gomerville had. And if the same Philippa had known that the said Raymond was not of that faith which she believed, she would never have been with him. And this was a year before last August.

This she attested at Toulouse before the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: William | Capellier and William Rotond in the church of the Dalbade,<sup>15</sup> 43<sup>r</sup> Sicard Lunel, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three,<sup>16</sup> two days before the nones of April, Guillelma added to her confession, saying that she heard Fabrissa, the wife of the aforesaid Peter Vital, saying that God did not create new spirits in babies, and that God would have a lot to do, if he created new spirits every day.

<sup>14</sup> Famous in the history of heresy is the condemnation as heretics and hanging in Goslar in 1051 of men who refused to obey a bishop's command to kill a chicken; Borst, *Katharer*, p. 79. Bernard Gui said that the Good Men would not kill any animal or bird because of the possibility of their containing spirits that had left human beings who had died without receiving the *consolamentum*; Gui, *Practica*, v. 1.ii (p. 240). The doctrine was remembered several times in depositions in front of Jacques Fournier (*Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier évêque de Pamiers (1318–1325)*, ed. J. Duvernoy, Bibliothèque Meridionale, 3rd series 41, 3 vols (Toulouse, 1965), i.228, 284, ii.35, 107–108, 111, iii. 248). On one occasion two women who were discussing the doctrine used the same example, saying it was a sin to kill a chicken (*ibid.*, i.458).

<sup>15</sup> Mundy, *Society*, no. 25 in the map opposite p. 7; Sibly, *William of Puylaurrens*, map 2, p. xi. Rotond has not been identified elsewhere. On earlier use of chaplains of Dalbade as inquisition witnesses, see Douais, *Documents*, pp. 16, 26, 36, and Dossat, *Crises*, p. 241.

Audivit etiam ipsam dicentem quod spiritus Guillelmi Arebaudi defuncti iret tantum de corpore in corpus donec veniret in manus bonorum hominum.

De tempore huius auditus, dixit quod est annus et dimidius.

Item dixit quod audivit prædictam Fabrissam dicentem quod non erant homines, sed diaboli, illi qui revelabant alios, et quod ipsa Fabrissa  
43<sup>v</sup> sciebat talia, quæ non revelaret, etiam si tota caro sua carnis | acubus pungeretur. Et fuit eodem tempore.

*Autre deposition.*

Anno quo supra, die mercurii post festum Sanctæ Agathæ virginis, Fabrissa, uxor Petri Vitalis, fusterii, quæ fuit de Limoso, et nunc moratur Tholosæ in insula Tunicii, testis iurata<sup>1</sup> et requisita<sup>2</sup> ut supra, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos quod cognosceret eos, nec adoravit,<sup>3</sup> nec eorum prædicationes audivit, nec aliquid eis dedit nec misit, nec spem, nec fidem in illis habuit, nec aliquid scit de facto hæresis.

Interrogata si nunquam dixit alicui mulieri prægnanti quod rogaret Deum ut eam liberaret a demone quem habebat in ventre, dixit quod non.

Item interrogata si unquam dixit alicui personæ<sup>4</sup> quod Lucifer fecerat<sup>5</sup> hominem, et Deus dixit ei quod faceret eum loqui, et ipse dixit quod non poterat, et Deus inspiravit in os<sup>6</sup> hominis, et homo loquutus est, dixit quod non.

44<sup>r</sup> Item interrogata si unquam<sup>7</sup> dixit malum de clericis, et quod non haberent bonam fidem, nec veritatem docerent cum dicerent de pane quod erat corpus Christi, dixit quod non.

Item interrogata si dixit alicui personæ quod vellet exire terram Tholosanam, et ire extra terram ipsam factura poenitentiam, dixit quod non.

Item interrogata si unquam habuit familiares Fogacinos de Tholosa, et qui fugerant propter hæresim, vel Pontium de Gomevilla, vel Guillelmum Aribaudi<sup>8</sup> quondam, dixit quod non.

<sup>1</sup> originally iuratus.

<sup>2</sup> -sita added later.

<sup>3</sup> -ravit superscript, added.

<sup>4</sup> -sonæ added, over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> originally facerat.

<sup>6</sup> originally hos.

<sup>7</sup> originally nunquam.

<sup>8</sup> Ar- altered.

She also heard her saying that the spirit of the late William Aribaud would just go from body to body until it came into the hands of the good men.

About the time when she heard this: she said that it was a year and a half ago.

Item, she said that she heard the aforesaid Fabrissa saying that those who gave others away were not men, but devils, and that the same Fabrissa knew such things that she would not give away, even if all the flesh of her body | were stuck with pins. And this was at the same time. 43<sup>v</sup>

*Another deposition.*

In the same year as above, on the Wednesday after the feast of St Agatha, virgin,<sup>17</sup> Fabrissa, the wife of Peter Vital, joiner, who [Fabrissa] was from Limoux and now lives at Toulouse on the island of Tounis, sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that she never saw any heretics, to recognise them as such, nor did she adore them, nor did she hear their preachings, nor did she give or send them anything, nor did she have any hope or faith in them, nor does she know anything about the matter of heresy.

Asked if she ever said to any pregnant woman that she should ask God to release her from the demon which she had in her belly, she said no.

Item, asked if she ever said to any person that Lucifer had made man, and God said to him that he should make him speak, and he said that he could not, and God breathed into the mouth of man, and man spoke, she said no.

Item, asked if she ever | spoke ill of the clergy, and said that they did 44<sup>r</sup> not have a good faith, nor did they teach the truth when they said of the bread that it was the body of Christ, she said no.

Item, asked if she ever said to any person that she wished to leave the country of Toulouse, and to go out of the same country to do penance, she said no.

Item, asked if she ever had as familiar associates the Fogassiers of Toulouse, and those who had fled for heresy, or Pons of Gomerville, or the late William Aribaud, she said no.

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<sup>17</sup> [February 7 1273 (1274)].

Item interrogata si sciebat quod Raimunda, mater ipsius testis, et mater Fogacinorum, fuissent hæreticatæ in morte, dixit quod non.

Hæc deposuit<sup>1</sup> Tholosæ coram fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum Ramnolpho de Palaciaco et Poncio de Parnaco, inquisitoribus.<sup>2</sup> Testes: frater Petrus Regis, frater Arnaldus Pica, Bernardus Boneti, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>3</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

44<sup>v</sup> Anno quo supra, Fabrissa, post veritatem negatam et tacitam coram nobis, contra proprium iuramentum, dixit quod dum<sup>4</sup> maneret apud Dealbatam<sup>5</sup> venerunt ad domum eiusdem testis duæ mulieres Lombardiæ, et unus Lombardus, vir alterius illarum, qui<sup>6</sup> dicebant se peregrinos volentes ire apud Sanctum Iacobum, et in ipsa domo hospitati fuerunt per quandam partem diei, et per quandam noctem. Et mane in crastinum recesserunt, et ipsa testis rogavit dictos peregrinos, dum recederent, quod cum redirent<sup>7</sup> de Sancto Iacobo.<sup>8</sup> venirent ad domum eiusdem testis.<sup>9</sup> Et hæc placuerunt dicto viro, et Raimundo Maurello genero<sup>10</sup> suo, et Philippæ filiæ suæ.

Interrogata de tempore, dixit quod duo anni sunt.

Item dicta testis dixit quod dum maneret apud insulam de Tonitz, prædicti Lombardi, scilicet vir et uxor, sine alia Lombarda, quæ fuit  
45<sup>r</sup> hos|pitata Tholosæ, nesciens ubi, venerunt ad domum eiusdem testis, et ibi hospitati fuerunt<sup>11</sup> per duas noctes et per duos dies; et ducebant secum quemdam asellum cum quo portabant acus, et cibum suum. Ad quas acus emendas venit ibi Pontius Durandi, agulherius, filius Arnaldi Durandi qui moratur apud Dealbatam<sup>12</sup> quem adduxit ibi quidam Lombardus Tholosæ.

<sup>1</sup> -suit *added*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* inquisitore.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* inquisitor.

<sup>4</sup> *altered*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* de Albatam.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* quæ.

<sup>7</sup> *altered*.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* Iocobo.

<sup>9</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>10</sup> -ener- *altered*.

<sup>11</sup> *added, interlined*.

<sup>12</sup> *ms* de Albatam.

Item, asked if she knew that Raymonda, the mother of the same witness, and the mother of the Fogassiers, had been hereticated at their deaths, she said no.

These things she attested at Toulouse before the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Peter Rey, brother Arnold Pica,<sup>18</sup> Bernard Bonet, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above,<sup>19</sup> Fabrissa, after denying the truth and keeping 44<sup>v</sup> silent about it before us, contrary to her own oath, said that while she was living at the Dalbade, there came to the house of the same witness two women from Lombardy, and one Lombard man, the husband of one of them, who said that they were pilgrims wishing to go to Santiago,<sup>20</sup> and they were lodged in the same house for a part of the day, and for one night. And in the morning, on the following day, they left, and the same witness asked the said pilgrims, when they were leaving, to come to the same witness's house when they returned from Santiago. And these things pleased her said husband, and Raymond Maurel, her son-in-law, and Philippa, her daughter.

Asked about the time, she said that it was two years ago.

Item, the said witness said that, while she was living on the island of Tounis, the aforesaid Lombards, that is the husband and wife, without the other Lombard woman—who was lodged | at Toulouse, she does not 45<sup>r</sup> know where—came to the same witness's house, and they were lodged there for two nights and for two days; and they brought with them a certain little donkey, with which they carried pins,<sup>21</sup> and their food. And there came there to buy these pins Pons Durand the pin-man, the son of Arnold Durand, who lives at the Dalbade, whom a certain Lombard of Toulouse brought there.

<sup>18</sup> Not found in *ACP*.

<sup>19</sup> No date is given here, but the deposition must have taken place between February 7 and April 10.

<sup>20</sup> St James in the Latin text, viz. the pilgrimage site of Santiago de Compostela. On pilgrimage from or through Languedoc to Santiago, see the index-entry 'Compostelle' in *CaF* 15 (1980), p. 384.

<sup>21</sup> Deposing in 1246, Joanna of Pexiora's confession about contacts with Good Men included trading in pins. A year earlier, she paid six Melgueuil pounds to a heretic, Peter Gaubert, who had just come from Lombardy with his heretic companion, buying with this money 30,000 or 40,000 pins; Toulouse 609, f. 190<sup>v</sup>.

Interrogata, credebatur dictos Lombardos peregrinos fore hæreticos vel nuncios hæreticorum, dixit quod non, cum videret ipsos comedentes carnes.

Item dixit dicta testis quod cum dicti peregrini essent in domo eiusdem testis ultimo, dixit quod Guillelma, uxor Thomæ fusterii, quæ moratur apud insulam, venit ad dictam Lombardam, petens ab ea<sup>1</sup> utrum cognosceret Fogacerios, et Aimengardam de Pradis, qui aufugerunt<sup>2</sup> in  
 45<sup>v</sup> Lombardiam. Et ipsa Lombarda dixit quod | sic, et quod multas alias personas<sup>3</sup> de Tholosanis partibus viderat in Plasentia, unde dicti Lombardi erant. Postea, vero, dicta Guillelma dixit dictæ testi<sup>4</sup> quadam die in carreria de Malocoquinato, ‘Commater, et illa Lombarda hospes vestra, iam vester bona mulier, et iam dixit mihi quod cognoscit Fogacerios, et Aimengardam de Pradis, fugitivos.’ Et ipsa testis respondit quod nunquam istud petierat ab ipsa Lombarda.<sup>5</sup> Et tunc dicta testis, quando venit ad domum, dixit dictæ<sup>6</sup> Lombardæ,<sup>7</sup> ‘Et vos cognoscitis Fogacerios, et Aimengardiam de Pradas, sicut narrastis commatri meæ predictæ?’ Et ipsa respondit quod multæ gentes de partibus Tholosanis morabantur in Plasensa, et in terra regis Caruli, quarum nomina ignorabat.

Interrogata<sup>8</sup> de personis astantibus, dixit quod nulla fuit ibi.

46<sup>r</sup> Interrogata de tempore, dixit quod in | vindimiis proxime præteritis fuit annus et dimidiis, vel circa.

Item dixit quod Gordana, uxor Pontii de Gomenvilla emit ab ipsa teste<sup>9</sup> vinum, et adduxit eandem testem<sup>10</sup> ad domum suam, in qua domo erat Petrus Maurelli, sedens in quodam lecto, quem<sup>11</sup> ipsa Goidona ostendit ipsi testi<sup>12</sup> dicens, ‘Ecce: ille est qui adduxit secum in Lombardiam Aimengardam de Pradas prædictam, et Bernardam eius sociam.’ Qui

<sup>1</sup> *ms* eo.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* aufegerunt.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* pars.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* testis.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* Lombardia.

<sup>6</sup> -c- *altered*.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* Lombardiæ.

<sup>8</sup> -a *added*.

<sup>9</sup> *ms* testis.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* testis.

<sup>11</sup> *ms* quam.

<sup>12</sup> *ms* testis.

Asked, did she believe that the said Lombard pilgrims were heretics or the messengers of heretics, she said no, since she saw them eating meat.

Item, the said witness said that when the said pilgrims were last in the house of the same witness, she said that Guillelma, the wife of Thomas the joiner, who lives on the island [of Tounis], came to the said Lombard woman, asking her whether she knew the Fogassiers, and Aimengarda of Prades,<sup>22</sup> who fled to Lombardy. And the same Lombard woman said | 45<sup>v</sup> that she did, and that she had seen many other people from the Toulouse region in Piacenza<sup>23</sup>—which is where the said Lombards were from. Afterwards, however, the said Guillelma said to the said witness one day in the street of Malcousinat [Badly-Cooked],<sup>24</sup> ‘Godmother, that Lombard woman, your guest, and now your good woman, has just now told me that she knows the Fogassiers, and Aimengarda of Prades, the fugitives.’ And the same witness answered that she had never asked this of the same Lombard woman. And then the said witness, when she came home, said to the said Lombard woman, ‘And do you know the Fogassiers, and Aimengarda of Prades, as you have told my aforesaid godmother?’ And she replied that many people from the Toulouse region were living in Piacenza, and in the land of king Charles,<sup>25</sup> whose names she did not know.

Asked about bystanders, she said that there was no other woman<sup>26</sup> there.

Asked about the time, she said that | it was a year and a half, or 46<sup>r</sup> thereabouts, before the last grape harvest.

Item, she said that Gordona, the wife of Pons of Gomerville, bought wine from the same witness, and took the same witness to her house. Peter Maurel was in this house, sitting on a certain bed, and the same Gordona showed him to the same witness, saying, ‘Look, this is the man who took the aforesaid Aimengarda of Prades, and Bernarda, her

<sup>22</sup> A very common place-name; *DTF*. Possible identifications include Tarn, cant. Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, arrond Castres; and Haute-Garonne, comm. Aurillac, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1014, and *Saisimentum*, p. 449.

<sup>23</sup> City, capital of province of Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna.

<sup>24</sup> Rue Malcousinat still exists with this name in Toulouse.

<sup>25</sup> Charles of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily (1266–1285), and count of Provence from 1246; J. Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London and New York, 1998). Attached to Provence, Cuneo is the part of Lombardy alluded to here.

<sup>26</sup> The Latin could also mean ‘no one else’ (regardless of gender) rather than ‘no woman’.



Petrus Maurelli est nuncius fidelis credentium hæreticorum, et proborum hominum de Lombardia, ut ipsa Gordana dicit eidem testi. Quod probos homines intellexit ipsa testis quod essent hæretici, et quod ipsa Gordana vellet dare quod essent hæretici dicti probi homines.

46<sup>v</sup> Dixit etiam dicta testis quod dicta Gordana dixit ei quod dictus Petrus Maurelli veniebat frequenter ad amicos et credentes de partibus Tholosanis | ex parte dictorum credentium et proborum hominum de Lombardia, quia de ipso quam plurimum confidebant.

Item dixit dicta testis quod dictus Petrus Maurelli incepit dicere<sup>1</sup> ipsi testi<sup>2</sup> et dictæ Gordonæ præsentī, quod Deus dixit de ore suo hæreticis:<sup>3</sup> ‘Fidem spem et charitatem,’<sup>4</sup> quia invenietis salvationem.’

Item dixit dicta testis quod dictus Petrus Maurelli dixit quod multos labores patiuntur, et magnam pœnitentiam faciunt, et austeritatem vitæ<sup>5</sup> ducunt amici Dei, quos<sup>6</sup> persequitur Ecclesia Romana, dicens idem Petrus quod expedit quod decostet<sup>7</sup> homini de carne et sanguine, qui vult intrare in paradisum, quia ibi non sit leviter intrat homo.

47<sup>r</sup> Dixit etiam dictus Petrus Maurelli quod illi quos persequabatur Ecclesia Romana tenebant meliorem vitam quam aliæ gentes, et quod peccatum<sup>8</sup> erat quia Ecclesia Romana eos | persequabatur. Et tunc dicta testis Fabrissa dixit quod clerici quotidie<sup>9</sup> student in libris, et quod mirum erat quod eos persequerentur, si cognoscerent quod peccatum ipsos persequi. Et tunc Pontius de Gomenvilla dixit eidem testi<sup>10</sup> quod non est eis datum quod<sup>11</sup> cognoscant vitam,<sup>12</sup> sed bene<sup>13</sup> potest<sup>14</sup> cognosci quod clerici non tenent viam apostolorum, quia apostoli non occidebant nec morti hominem exponebant, sicut ipsi faciunt.

<sup>1</sup> *altered.*

<sup>2</sup> *-s deleted, replaced by comma.*

<sup>3</sup> *-icis altered.*

<sup>4</sup> *ch- added.*

<sup>5</sup> *originally vite.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms quod.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms de costet.*

<sup>8</sup> *ms pactum.*

<sup>9</sup> *altered, perhaps from cotidie?*

<sup>10</sup> *-s deleted.*

<sup>11</sup> *altered.*

<sup>12</sup> *altered.*

<sup>13</sup> *altered.*

<sup>14</sup> *-est altered or added.*

companion, into Lombardy with him.' This Peter Maurel is the faithful messenger of the believers of the heretics, and of the worthy men of Lombardy, as the same Gordona said to the same witness. The same witness understood that these 'worthy men' were heretics, and that the same Gordona wanted to convey that the said worthy men were heretics.

The said witness also said that the said Gordona told her that the said Peter Maurel often came to the friends and believers of the Toulouse region | on behalf of the said believers and worthy men of Lombardy, 46<sup>v</sup> because they placed enormous trust in him.

Item, the said witness said that the said Peter Maurel started to say to the same witness and to the said Gordona, who was present, that God said personally to the heretics: 'Faith, hope and charity,<sup>27</sup> so that you will find salvation.'

Item, the said witness said that the said Peter Maurel said that the friends of God, whom the Roman Church persecutes, suffer many labours, and do great penance, and follow austerity of life. And the same Peter said that it was fitting that it should cost a man, who wishes to enter paradise, flesh and blood, because it is not lightly that a man enters there.

The said Peter Maurel also said that those whom the Roman Church persecuted held to a better life than other people, and that it was a sin that the Roman Church | persecuted them. And then the said witness, 47<sup>r</sup> Fabrissa, said that the clergy study every day in books, and that it was extraordinary that they were persecuting them, if they knew that it was a sin to persecute them. And then Pons of Gomerville said to the same witness that it is not given to them to understand life, but it can be well understood that the clergy do not hold to the way of the apostles, because the apostles did not kill or put a man to death as they do.

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<sup>27</sup> See ICor. 13.13.

Dixit etiam dictus Pontius dictæ testi,<sup>1</sup> ‘Iam vos miramini in domibus vestris, quas apud Tonix<sup>2</sup> insulam contraxistis. Ita deberet esse vobis sicut si intrabatis per unam portam et exhibatis per aliam: quia parum moratur homo in hoc seculo, respectu alterius,’ dicens quod peccunia mundi rubigo est animæ, et quia Deus dixit ‘Dimitte patrem, et matrem, et uxorem,<sup>3</sup> et infantes, et sequere me.’

47<sup>v</sup> Item dictus Pon|tius de Gomenvilla dixit ipsæ<sup>4</sup> testi<sup>5</sup> et eam monuit quod ipsa testis matrem suam traderet dicto Petro Maurelli, quam adduceret secum in Lombardiam: cum ipsa mater sit senex, et decrepita, et quod de cætero expedit quod agat pœnitentiam. Et ipsa testis respondit quod non faceret pro meliori hospicio de Tholosa, nec faceret sibi istud dedecus, cum ipsa testis dici audiverit a matre sua quod hæretici quondam<sup>6</sup> dicebant unum, et quondam<sup>7</sup> aliud, et ita gentes faciebant errare.

Item dixit dicta testis quod Petrus Maurelli petiit—et inter, cum videret Pontium Fogasserii intransentem domum Pontii de Gomenvilla, et petentem si dictus Pontius de Gomenvilla ibi erat—si iste esset de Fogasseriiis, et si eorum mater fuisset mortua. Et dicta Gordona dixit quod sic, et quod 48<sup>r</sup> nulla mulier habuerat meliores infantes, nec quod melius | servivissent matri quam ipsi Fogasserii servierunt eorum matri in morte sua.

Item dictus Petrus Maurelli dixit inter, dictæ Gordonæ<sup>8</sup> utrum Guillelmus Aribauti, magister de fusta, esset mortuus, et ipsa respondit quod sic, et quod multum displicebat ipsi Gordonæ quia dictus Guillelmus Aribauti non<sup>9</sup> bene<sup>10</sup> habuerat necessaria sua in morte. Et tunc dictus Pontius de Gomenvilla dixit, ‘Gordona, pro nihilo loquimini, quia de cætero<sup>11</sup> in terra ista non erit aliquis,’ (ipsa<sup>12</sup> testis intelligens de hæreticis) ‘quia conversi ab hæresi interfecerunt terram et gentes, quia revelaverunt, quare non amodo invenirent quod eos reciperet’; dicens

<sup>1</sup> -s deleted, replaced by full stop.

<sup>2</sup> dash after this word—gap perhaps left for expansion?

<sup>3</sup> -em added.

<sup>4</sup> ms ipsi.

<sup>5</sup> -s deleted.

<sup>6</sup> ms quoniam.

<sup>7</sup> ms quoniam.

<sup>8</sup> ms dictam Gordonam.

<sup>9</sup> altered.

<sup>10</sup> altered.

<sup>11</sup> ms cæte/tero over the end of a line.

<sup>12</sup> ms ipse; -e added?

The said Pons also said to the said witness, 'Now, look at yourselves in your houses, which you have acquired on the island of Tounis. You ought to live in such a way as if you were entering through one door and going out through another: because man lives a short time in this world, in comparison with the other,'<sup>28</sup> saying that the world's money is the soul's rust, and that God said, 'Leave father, and mother, and wife, and children, and follow me.'<sup>29</sup>

Item, the said Pons | of Gomerville told the same witness and advised 47<sup>v</sup> her, that the same witness should hand her mother over to the said Peter Maurel, for him to take her with him to Lombardy: since the same mother was old and decrepit, and that in future it would be fitting for her to do penance. And the same witness replied that she would not do this for the best lodging in Toulouse, nor would she bring this shame on herself, since the same witness had heard her mother say that the heretics sometimes said one thing, and sometimes another, and thus they made people fall into error.

Item, the said witness said that, in the midst of this, when Peter Maurel saw Pons Fogassier<sup>30</sup> entering the house of Pons of Gomerville, and asking if the said Pons of Gomerville was there, he [Peter Maurel] asked if he was of the Fogassiers, and if their mother was dead. And the said Gordona said yes, and that no woman had better children, nor had any children better | served their mother than the same Fogassiers served 48<sup>r</sup> their mother at her death.

Item, in the midst of this the said Peter Maurel spoke to the said Gordona, asking her whether William Aribaud, master of joinery, was dead, and she replied that he was, and that it greatly displeased the same Gordona that the said William Aribaud had not properly had what he needed at his death. And then the said Pons of Gomerville said, 'Gordona, you are speaking for nothing, because in future there will not be anyone in this country'—the same witness understanding this to be about the heretics—'because those converted from heresy have killed the country and the people, because they have given them away, and for this reason they would not henceforth find anyone who would receive them.' The

<sup>28</sup> Compare Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 2.13, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969), pp. 182–185.

<sup>29</sup> See Mt. 10.37–38, and 19.21, 29.

<sup>30</sup> In a sentence delivered on the relapsed heretic Pons Amiel, March 3 1308, one item of guilt was having received, fed and adored the heretics Pons Fogassier and his companion; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.180.

idem Petrus quod multum sibi displicebat dominium Gallicorum, et quia clerici et Gallici unum erant pro eo, quia pro hoc, et pro nihil<sup>1</sup> gentes destruunt<sup>2</sup> et confundunt.

De tempore, duo anni sunt vel circa.

48<sup>v</sup> Item dixit dicta testis quod audivit a Gordana prædicta et vir suus, Pontius de Gomenvilla prædictus, cum eorum infantibus ire proponebant apud Beatam Mariam de Valle Viridi, cum vovissent.<sup>3</sup>

Item, dicta testis audivit a Petro Maurelli quod idem Petrus dixit quod Aimengarda de Pradas, quæ aufugerat<sup>4</sup> de muro, eam sicut suam carissimam salutabat, monens idem Petrus ipsam testem, Fabrissam prædictam, quod non confideret in Lombardis de quibus sibi fecerat mentionem, nec in aliis, cum sint falsi, et pauci inveniunt fideles.

Item dixit dicta testis quando dictus Petrus Maurelli dixit ei quod Avangarda de Pradis salutabat eam, et ipsa respondit tunc, 'Quod Deus det sibi benefacere, et nobis.'

Dixit etiam dicta testis quod verba prædictorum Petri Maurelli, et 49<sup>r</sup> Pontii de Gomenvilla, et Gordonæ, et monitiones | sibi placuerunt.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Ramnulphe de Placiaco, inquisitore. Testes: Atho de Sancto Victore, Inquisitionis<sup>5</sup> notarius, et Iaquetus, carcerarius immuratorum, et ego, *Bernardus* Boneti, publicus Tholosæ notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, quarto idus Aprilis, Fabrisa de Limos,<sup>6</sup> uxor Petri Vitalis, fusterii, qui moratur Tholosæ apud insulam quæ vocatur Tonix, testis iurata, corrigendo se, emendavit in confessione sua, dicens quod primo vidit hæreticos in barrio Sancti Stephani, extra portam, in domo Bernardi Fabri de Sancto Romano, et Esclarmondæ, uxoris<sup>7</sup> eius, qui tunc manebant ibi, scilicet

<sup>1</sup> *ms non.*

<sup>2</sup> *altered from longer word.*

<sup>3</sup> *originally novissent.*

<sup>4</sup> *altered.*

<sup>5</sup> *originally inquisitor.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms Lunos.*

<sup>7</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>36</sup> This could mean from the area of the church of Saint-Romain in Toulouse (Mundy, *Society*, p. 8), or one of the places called Saint-Romain and Saint-Rome. Prominent among the latter is Saint-Rome, Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1072; *DTF*.

same Peter also said that the rule of the French<sup>31</sup> greatly displeased him, and that the clergy and the French were one and the same, for this reason, that for this, and for nothing they destroy and confound people.

About the time: it was two years ago, or thereabouts.

Item, the said witness said that she heard from the aforesaid Gordona 48<sup>v</sup> [that she] and her husband, the aforesaid Pons of Gomerville, with their children, proposed to go to the Blessed Mary of Vauvert,<sup>32</sup> since they had vowed to.

Item, the said witness heard from Peter Maurel that the same Peter said that Aimengarda of Prades, who had escaped from prison, greeted her as her dearest. The same Peter advised the same witness, the aforesaid Fabrissa, not to trust in the Lombards whom he had mentioned to her, or in others, since they are false, and few are found to be faithful.

Item, the said witness said that when the said Peter Maurel said to her that Aimengarda of Prades greeted her, she then replied, 'May God grant her to do good; and us.'

The said witness also said that the words of the aforesaid Peter Maurel, and Pons of Gomerville, and Gordona, and their admonitions, | pleased 49<sup>r</sup> her.

These things she attested before brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor. Witnesses: Atho of Saint-Victor, notary of the Inquisition, and Jaquet, gaoler of the prisoners, and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse, who wrote these things.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, four days before the ides of April,<sup>33</sup> Fabrissa of Limoux, the wife of Peter Vital, joiner, who lives at Toulouse on the island which is called Tounis, sworn in as a witness, correcting herself, emended her confession, saying that she first saw heretics in the suburb of Saint Stephen,<sup>34</sup> outside the gate,<sup>35</sup> in the house of Bernard Faure (*or* Bernard, smith) of Saint-Romain,<sup>36</sup> and of Esclarmonda, his wife, who then lived there, namely

<sup>31</sup> Northern French administration and officials brought in by Alphonse of Poitiers.

<sup>32</sup> Gard, cant. and arrond. Nîmes; Font-Réaulx, p. 1100. A famous pilgrimage site; see *CaF* 15 (1980), pp. 195, 196, 209 (a discussion of this passage), 263, 273.

<sup>33</sup> April 10 1274.

<sup>34</sup> This quarter of the city of Toulouse derived its name from the cathedral of Saint Stephen; Mundy, *Society*, p. 23.

<sup>35</sup> On the gate of Saint Stephen, see Mundy, *Society*, p. 173; Sibly, *William of Puylaurens*, map 2, p. ix.

Guillelmum Prunelli,<sup>1</sup> et Bernardum Tilhol de Rocavidal. Et adduxit ibi  
 49<sup>v</sup> Raimundam, matrem suam, ut videret ipsos hæreticos. | Et ibi tam ipsa  
 testis quam mater sua, et Gordona ipsius Pontii de Gomenvilla uxor, et  
 Esclarmunda prædicta, uxor prædicti Bernardi Fabri, audiverunt verba  
 et monitiones dictorum hæreticorum. Et nulla earum adoravit tunc ipsos  
 hæreticos, nisi Raimunda, mater ipsius testis, quæ se inclinavit dictis  
 hæreticis.

Dixit etiam ipsa testis quod Raimunda mater<sup>2</sup> sua, ut reciperent eam<sup>3</sup>  
 in eorum sectam, statim<sup>4</sup> ipsos hæreticos exoravit; sed ipsi hæretici  
 noluerunt<sup>5</sup> eam recipere. Et tunc prædicta testis et Gordona dictos hære-  
 ticos pro se ipsis, et ex parte dicti Pontii de Gomenvilla, ut dictam Rai-  
 mundam vellent ipsi hæretici recipere, et sociam suam, et eam hæreti-  
 care cum instantia rogaverunt. Et tunc ipsa testis, cum dicta Raimunda  
 matre sua, rediit ad domum suam, et Gordona rediit ad domum suam,  
 50<sup>r</sup> ipsa tamen Esclarmunda remanente cum dictis hæreticis.

Dixit etiam dicta testis quod alia vice, post octo dies, Pontius de  
 Gomenvilla misit pro ipsa teste, ut veniret ad domum suam; quod et  
 fecit. Et tunc prædictus Pontius dixit ipsi testi<sup>6</sup> quod ipse ordinaverat cum  
 dictis hæreticis<sup>7</sup> quod matrem ipsius testis reciperent, ut ipsa Raimunda  
 mater<sup>8</sup> sua rogaverat et petierat ab hæreticis antedictis. Et tunc prædicta  
 testis, super hoc gavisia, ivit ad domum suam, et accepit<sup>9</sup> quandam fogas-  
 siam, et iustam vini, et portavit dictis hæreticis. Et intrans domum ubi  
 erant hæretici, salutavit eos, tradendo eis quæ portaverat supradicta, et,  
 ut dicit, tunc nihil amplius fecit ibi. Et tunc erat<sup>10</sup> mane, et multum festi-  
 nabat ire ad domum, et in foro. Ipsa die in sero, prædicta testis et mater<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> et *deleted*.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* matre.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* eum.

<sup>4</sup> -tim *perhaps added*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* voluerunt.

<sup>6</sup> -s *deleted*.

<sup>7</sup> et intrans *deleted*.

<sup>8</sup> *originally* matre.

<sup>9</sup> -it *added*.

<sup>10</sup> *originally* erant.

<sup>11</sup> *originally* matre.

<sup>40</sup> The Latin is *fogassia*. It is unclear whether this is like the French sweet pastry *fougasse* or the Genoese flat bread-cake *focaccia*.

William Prunel, and Bernard Tilhol<sup>37</sup> of Roquevidal.<sup>38</sup> And she took there Raymonda, her mother, to see the same heretics. | And there both 49<sup>v</sup>  
 the same witness and her mother, and Gordona, the wife of the same Pons of Gomerville, and the aforesaid Esclarmonda, the wife of the aforesaid Bernard Faure, heard the said heretics' words and admonitions. And none of them adored the same heretics at that time, except Raymonda, the same witness's mother, who bowed to the said heretics.

The same witness also said that Raymonda, her mother, immediately begged the same heretics to receive her into their sect; but the same heretics refused to receive her. And then the aforesaid witness and Gordona urgently asked the said heretics on their own account, and on behalf of the said Pons of Gomerville, that the same heretics might be willing to receive the said Raymonda, and her companion,<sup>39</sup> and to hereticate her. And then the same witness, with the said Raymonda her mother, returned home, and Gordona returned home, while the same | Esclarmonda remained with the said heretics. 50<sup>r</sup>

The said witness also said that on another occasion, eight days later, Pons of Gomerville sent for the same witness, for her to come to his house; which she did. And then the aforesaid Pons said to the same witness that he had arranged it with the said heretics that they would receive the same witness's mother, as the same Raymonda, her mother, had asked and begged of the aforesaid heretics. And then the aforesaid witness, delighted at this, went home, and took a certain 'focaccia',<sup>40</sup> and a flagon of wine, and brought them to the said heretics. And entering the house where the heretics were, she greeted them, handing over to them the aforesaid things that she had brought, and, as she says, she did nothing further there at that time. And then it was morning, and she was in a great hurry to get home, and to the market. On the same day in the evening, the aforesaid witness and her mother went to the aforesaid heretics, to

<sup>37</sup> William Hugh (the younger), son of Arnalda and Raymond Hugh of Roquevidal, confessed to Bernard Gui (August 4, 1312), recalling an undated conversation he had had with Peter André of Labécède. The latter had referred to William Hugh's uncle, Bernard of Tilhol, and Bernard's brother (not named—probably Pons Tilhol) being robed heretics in Lombardy; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, ii.1036; see 68r n. 4 below. Bernard is usually 'of Tilhol', perhaps to be identified with Tilhol, currently Château de Tilhol, Haute-Garonne, comm. Pinsaguel, cant. Portet-sur-Garonne, arrond. Muret; *DTF*.

<sup>38</sup> Tarn, cant. Cuq-Toulza, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1024.

<sup>39</sup> This is the only mention of a companion; *et sociam suam* could have been mis-copied from *in sectam suam*, giving us 'same heretics might be willing to receive the said Raymonda into their sect'.



sua iverunt ad prædictos hæreticos, ad domum prædictam ubi erant,  
 50<sup>v</sup> et ibi ipsa testis, et mater | ipsius, et Esclarmonda audiverunt verba et  
 monitiones et prædicationem eorum. Et ibi prædicta Raymunda reddi-  
 dit se Deo et evangelio et ipsis hæreticis. Et tunc fuit hæreticata, consolata  
 et recepta, et ab eis secundum modum et ritum hæreticorum, ponendo  
 manus et librum super caput prædictæ Raimundæ, ipsa teste<sup>1</sup> et Esclar-  
 monda prædicta præsentibus et videntibus. Et tunc ipsa testis et mater<sup>2</sup>  
 sua et prædicta Esclarmonda ad eos ter flexis genibus, dicendo 'Benedi-  
 cite' secundum modum hæreticorum, et tum<sup>3</sup> accepit ipsa testis pacem a  
 libro hæreticorum, et dedit pacem prædictæ matri suæ et Esclarmondæ.  
 Et dicta Raimunda, post dictam consolationem, dixit et promisit dictis  
 hæreticis quod de cætero non iuraret nec mentiretur<sup>4</sup> nec aliqua<sup>5</sup> pin-  
 guia<sup>6</sup> comederet nisi oleum<sup>7</sup> et pisces, et quod quam diu viveret serva-  
 51<sup>r</sup> ret | pro viribus sectam hæreticorum. Et etiam dicta testis promisit dictis<sup>8</sup>  
 hæreticis quod custodiret dictam matrem suam, et eorum sectam quan-  
 tum posset.

Dixit etiam prædicta testis quod viginti solidos Tholosanis quos<sup>9</sup> Pon-  
 tius de Gomenvilla dedit matri suæ prædictæ, ut ipsa mater pro hære-  
 ticatione sua illos daret dictis hæreticis obtulit dictis hæreticis. Sed ipsi  
 eos recipere noluerunt,<sup>10</sup> dicentes quod ipsos viginti solidos Raimundo  
 Fogasserio traderet et portaret; quod et fecit.

Postea ipsa testis dixit<sup>11</sup> quod prædicta Raimunda, mater,<sup>12</sup> sic conso-  
 lata, hæreticata decessit.

Interrogata de tempore prædictæ hæreticationis et adorationis,<sup>13</sup> dixit  
 quod per octo dies ante Quadragesimam<sup>14</sup> proximo præteritam fuit an-  
 nus, et mater<sup>15</sup> sua postea mortua est in sequenti media Quadragesima.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* testis.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* matre.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* cum et; et *deleted*.

<sup>4</sup> *altered: a letter has been deleted before the first -r-.*

<sup>5</sup> *originally* aliquam.

<sup>6</sup> *second -i- added.*

<sup>7</sup> *altered.*

<sup>8</sup> *-tis perhaps added.*

<sup>9</sup> *ms* solidis Tholosanis quoa; quoa *altered, perhaps from* quod.

<sup>10</sup> *originally* voluerunt.

<sup>11</sup> etiam ipsa testis *deleted*.

<sup>12</sup> *originally* matri.

<sup>13</sup> *originally* ad orationis.

<sup>14</sup> prædictum *deleted*.

<sup>15</sup> *originally* matri.

the aforesaid house where they were, and there the same witness, and her mother, | and Esclarmonda heard their words and admonitions and preaching. And there the aforesaid Raymonda surrendered herself to God and to the Gospel and to the same heretics. And then she was hereticated, consoled and received by them according to the manner and rite of the heretics, placing their hands and a book on the aforesaid Raymonda's head, in the presence and sight of the same witness and the aforesaid Esclarmonda. And then the same witness and her mother and the aforesaid Esclarmonda genuflected to them three times, saying 'Bless us' according to the manner of the heretics; and then the same witness received the peace from the heretics' book, and gave the peace to her aforesaid mother, and to Esclarmonda. And after the said consolation the said Raymonda said and promised to the said heretics that henceforth she would not swear, or lie, or eat anything fatty apart from oil and fish, and that as long as she lived she would serve | the heretics' sect with all her strength. And the said witness also promised the said heretics that she would watch over her said mother and their sect as much as she could. 50<sup>v</sup> 51<sup>r</sup>

The aforesaid witness also said that she offered to the said heretics the twenty Toulouse shillings which Pons of Gomerville gave to her aforesaid mother, for the same mother to give to the said heretics for her heretication. But they refused to receive them, saying that she should take the same twenty shillings, and hand them over to Raymond Fogassier; which she did.

Afterwards the same witness said that the aforesaid Raymonda, her mother, consoled in this way, died hereticated.

Asked about the time of the aforesaid heretication and adoration, she said that it was a year ago, eight days before last Lent, and her mother afterwards died in the middle of the following Lent.

51<sup>v</sup> Dixit | etiam dicta testis quod Pontius de Gomenvilla comendavit sibi primo fidem et sectam hæreticorum.<sup>1</sup>

Interrogata si Philippa, filia sua, vel prædictus vir suus,<sup>2</sup> vel gener suus, maritus dictæ Philippæ, interfuerunt hæreticationi prædictæ, vel sciverunt ipsam hæreticationem, vel aliqui alii, dixit quod non, excepta Philippa filia prædicta, cui ipsa testis revelavit ipsam hæreticationem parum post dictam hæreticationem<sup>3</sup> factam.

Interrogata si credidit dictos hæreticos esse bonos homines, et veraces, et amicos Dei, et habere bonam fidem, et posse salvari per eos si in eorum secta moreretur, dixit quod sic, et fuit in illa credentia a tempore vindemiarum proximo præteritarum<sup>4</sup> fuit annus, usque ad diem citationis sibi<sup>5</sup> factæ, quia ex tunc facta sunt omnia supradicta.

52<sup>r</sup> Recognovit etiam dicta testis se | malefecisse<sup>6</sup> quia in alia confessione sua scienter hæc omnia celavit contra proprium iuramentum, ut dixit ipsa testis propter confessionem.

Dixit etiam quod nil amplius scit de hæresi nisi ut in suis confessionibus continetur.

Dixit etiam quod in prima visione adoravit<sup>7</sup> dictos hæreticos secundum ritum eorum, et tunc dedit eis undecim solidos Tholosanos.

Dixit etiam dicta testis quod quadam vice transmisit hæreticis racemos per Esclarmondam, uxorem<sup>8</sup> dicti Bernardi Fabri, et ipsa testis alia vice portavit racemos de vinea sua ad portam Esclarmondæ, quos tradidit dictæ Esclarmondæ ut eos traderet dictis hæreticis.

Hæc deposuit dicta testis coram fratre Ramnulpho, et Poncio de Parnaco, inquisitoribus.<sup>9</sup> Testes: frater Petrus Barravi, et frater Tholosanus Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, *Bernardus Boneti*, publicus Tholosæ notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> -orum added.

<sup>2</sup> one minim too many.

<sup>3</sup> -em added.

<sup>4</sup> ms prædictarum.

<sup>5</sup> altered.

<sup>6</sup> written male fecisse in the catch-word at the foot of the preceding folio.

<sup>7</sup> -ravit added, interlined.

<sup>8</sup> -em added.

<sup>9</sup> -ibus added.

The same witness also said | that Pons of Gomerville first commended 51<sup>v</sup>  
the faith and sect of the heretics to her.

Asked if Philippa her daughter, or her aforesaid husband, or her son-in-law, the said Philippa's husband, were present at the aforesaid heretication, or knew of the same heretication, or if any others [were present or knew], she said no, apart from Philippa her aforesaid daughter, to whom the same witness disclosed the same heretication shortly after the said heretication took place.

Asked if she believed that the said heretics were good men, and truthful, and friends of God, and that they had a good faith, and that it was possible to be saved through them if one died in their sect, she said yes; and she was in that belief from a year before the time of the last grape-harvest, until the day of the summons made to her, because all the aforesaid things took place from that time.

The said witness also acknowledged that | she had done wrong, because 52<sup>r</sup>  
in her other confession she knowingly concealed all these things, contrary to her own oath—as the same witness said for the sake of confession.

She also said that she knows nothing more about heresy than is contained in her confessions.

She also said that the first time she saw them she adored the said heretics according to their rite, and she then gave them eleven Toulouse shillings.

The said witness also said that on one occasion she sent grapes to the heretics through Esclarmonda, the wife of the said Bernard Faure's wife, and on another occasion the same witness took grapes from her vineyard to Esclarmonda's door, which she handed over to the said Esclarmonda for her to hand to the said heretics.

These things the said witness attested before brother Ranulph, and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Peter Barrau,<sup>41</sup> and brother Tolsan<sup>42</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse, who wrote these things.

<sup>41</sup> Not found in *ACP*.

<sup>42</sup> Not found in *ACP*.

52<sup>v</sup> Anno<sup>1</sup> quo supra, Philippa, filia | dictæ Fabrissæ, uxor Raimundi Maurilli, fusterii, quæ moratur Tholosæ in Insula Tunicii, testis iurata<sup>2</sup> et requisita<sup>3</sup> ut supra, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos quod cognosceret eos, nunquam adoravit<sup>4</sup> eos, nec audivit prædicationes eorum, nec aliquid dedit eis nec misit, nec spem nec fidem in illis habuit, nec aliquid scit de facto hæresis, nec vidit nuncium vel nunciam hæreticorum quod eum<sup>5</sup> cognosceret, nec ipsum receptavit, nec aliquid scit de facto hæresis.

Hæc deposuit<sup>6</sup> Tholosæ coram fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum Ramnolpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus.<sup>7</sup> Testes: frater Petrus Regis, Bernardus Boneti, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>8</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

In crastinum prædicta Philippa, interrogata si vidit in domo sua aliquem  
53<sup>r</sup> Lombardum vel Lombardam, dixit quod | sic, quendam: scilicet cuius nomen nescit, et uxorem eius, et quamdam aliam mulierem, quarum nomina ignorat; quos venientes de Sancto Iacobo, peregrinos, receperant amore Dei quando morabantur apud Dealbatam.<sup>9</sup> Et sunt tres anni vel circa.

Item alia vice vidit eundem Lombardum et uxorem eius, ducentes quemdam asinum qui portabat raubam eorum, et acus; et fuerunt ibi per duas dies, et displicuit Raymundo viro suo quia receperat<sup>10</sup> eos, pro eo quod erant Lombardi. Et recesserunt; et postea<sup>11</sup> non vidit eos.

Item interrogata<sup>12</sup> super omnibus aliis dixit quod Gordona, uxor Pontii de Gomervilla, visitavit ipsam testem<sup>13</sup> in partu cum aliis mulieribus.

Item, quod nescit nec credit quod Raymunda avia sua fuerit hæretica.

Item, nescit quod mater Fogateriorum fuerit hæretica.

<sup>1</sup> This deposition follows straight on from the preceding one, with no indication of a change of witness.

<sup>2</sup> originally iuratus.

<sup>3</sup> -sita added.

<sup>4</sup> -avit added, interlined.

<sup>5</sup> ms cum.

<sup>6</sup> -suit added; word perhaps altered; nuncium v deleted.

<sup>7</sup> -ibus added.

<sup>8</sup> originally inquisitor.

<sup>9</sup> ms De Albatam.

<sup>10</sup> originally receperant.

<sup>11</sup> ms post ea.

<sup>12</sup> unidentified letter deleted.

<sup>13</sup> -em added.

In the same year as above,<sup>43</sup> Philippa, the daughter | of the said Fabrissa, 52<sup>v</sup>  
 the wife of Raymond Maurel, joiner, who lives at Toulouse on the island of  
 Tounis, sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that she never  
 saw any heretics, to recognise them as such, she never adored them, nor  
 heard their preachings, nor did she give or send them anything, nor did  
 she have any hope or faith in them, nor does she know anything about the  
 matter of heresy, nor has she seen any messenger of the heretics, male or  
 female, to recognise as such, nor has she received one, nor does she know  
 anything about the matter of heresy.

These things she attested at Toulouse before the brothers of the Order  
 of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Wit-  
 nesses: brother Peter Rey, Bernard Bonet, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor,  
 public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

On the following day the aforesaid Philippa, asked if she saw in her  
 house any Lombard man or Lombard woman, said | yes, a certain man: 53<sup>r</sup>  
 that is, one whose name she does not know, and his wife, and a certain  
 other woman, whose names she does not know; whom they had received  
 for the love of God when they were coming from Santiago as pilgrims,  
 when they lived at the Dalbade. And this was three years ago or there-  
 abouts.

Item, on another occasion she saw the same Lombard and his wife,  
 leading a certain donkey which carried their stuff and pins; and they were  
 there for two days, and it displeased Raymond her husband that she had  
 received them, because they were Lombards. And they went away; and  
 after that she did not see them.

Item, questioned about all the other points, she said that Gordona, the  
 wife of Pons of Gomerville, visited the same witness in childbirth with  
 other women.

Item, that she does not know or believe that Raymonda her grand-  
 mother was a heretic.

Item, she does not know that the mother of the Fogassiers was a  
 heretic.

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<sup>43</sup> No dates are given for any of Philippa's depositions. They probably took  
 place after February 7 1273 (1274), the first one probably between February 7  
 and 11, the second one on the following day, and the last one probably after  
 April 10 1274.

53<sup>v</sup> Anno quo supra prædicta Philippa, uxor Raymundi Maurelli, correxit | se, dicens quod ipsa testis audivit dici a Fabrissa<sup>1</sup> matre ipsius testis, quod Raymunda, mater dictæ Fabrissæ, avia ipsius testis, fuerat statim hæreticata Tholosæ, et domo quam tenebat conductam Esclarmonda, uxor Bernardi Fabri de Sancto Romano. Ipsa vero testis non interfuit dictæ hæreticationi, imo displicuit ipsi testi valde quando audivit quod prædicta avia sua erat hæretica. Verumtamen recognovit quod servivit ipsi aviæ hereticatæ, ministrando sibi cibum et potum donec obiit. Et erat Kadragesima.

Dixit etiam quod prædicta Esclarmonda visitavit prædictam aviam ipsius testis in infirmitate sua. Et fuit annus in Quadragesima<sup>2</sup> proxime transacta.

Item dixit, interrogata, quod nunquam ipsa testis vidit hæreticos vestitos.

Item dixit quod quadam vice ipsa testis,<sup>3</sup> veniens de maleolo suo, 54<sup>r</sup> transiens per | carreriam ante domum quam tenebat dicta Esclarmonda in barrio Sancti Stephani, dedit de racemis dictæ Esclarmondæ et nurui suæ.

Item dixit quod alia vice vidit dictam Esclarmondam cum Gordona, uxore Pontii de Gomervilla, sed nunquam fuit sibi locuta de facto hæreticorum.

Item dixit quod quadam vice ivit dicta Esclarmonda cum Gordona, uxore Pontii de Gomervilla, et ipsa teste, et Fabrissa, matre ipsius testis, ad maleolum ipsius testis versus montem Aldrannum, et reportavit inde racemos prædicta Esclarmonda. Ipsa testis nescit, nec scivit, quod portaret eos hæreticis.

Interrogata, dixit quod nunquam credidit hæreticos esse bonos homines, nec habuit fidem in eis.

Interrogata quanto tempore servivit prædictæ hæreticatæ infirmæ antequam moreretur, dixit quod per tres septimanas vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Afabrissa.

<sup>2</sup> -esima *altered*.

<sup>3</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

In the same year as above, the aforesaid Philippa, the wife of Raymond Maurel, corrected | herself, saying that the same witness heard it said by 53<sup>v</sup> Fabrissa, the mother of the same witness, that Raymonda, the mother of the said Fabrissa, the grandmother of the same witness, had been instantly hereticated at Toulouse, and in the house which Esclarmonda, the wife of Bernard Faure (*or* Bernard, smith) of Saint-Romain, was renting. The same witness, however, was not present at the said heretication: in fact it greatly displeased the same witness when she heard that her aforesaid grandmother was a heretic. Nevertheless, she acknowledged that she served her same hereticated grandmother, ministering food and drink to her until she died. And this was in Lent.

She also said that the aforesaid Esclarmonda visited the aforesaid grandmother of the same witness in her illness. And this was a year before last Lent.

Item, she said, questioned, that the same witness had never seen robed heretics.<sup>44</sup>

Item, she said that on a certain occasion the same witness, coming from her newly-planted vineyard, passing along | the street in front of the 54<sup>r</sup> house which the said Esclarmonda had in the suburb of Saint Stephen, gave some grapes to the said Esclarmonda and to her daughter-in-law.

Item, she said that on another occasion she saw the said Esclarmonda with Gordona, the wife of Pons of Gomerville, but she never spoke to her about the matter of the heretics.

Item, she said that on a certain occasion the said Esclarmonda went with Gordona, the wife of Pons of Gomerville, and the same witness, and Fabrissa, the mother of the same witness, to the newly-planted vineyard of the same witness near Montaudran,<sup>45</sup> and the aforesaid Esclarmonda brought back grapes from there. The same witness does not know, nor did she know, that she was taking them to the heretics.

Questioned, she said that she never believed that the heretics were good men, nor did she have faith in them.

Asked how long she served the aforesaid hereticated invalid before she died, she said for three weeks or thereabouts.

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<sup>44</sup> Or 'vested' heretics, term referring to the distinctive habit worn by those who had become Good Men or Good Women and used in inquisitors' language to refer to such full heretics even after the need for concealment meant that such habits were no longer publicly worn.

<sup>45</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. and cant. Toulouse-Sud; Font-Réaulx, p. 983. Flat area to the south-east of Toulouse.



54<sup>v</sup> Hæc de|posuit coram fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum, Ramnulpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitoribus.<sup>1</sup> Testes: frater Petrus Barravi et frater Bartholomæus de Arcanhano, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>2</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -oribus *added*.

<sup>2</sup> -ionis *added*.

These things she attested | before the brothers of the Order of Preach- 54<sup>v</sup>  
 ers, Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: broth-  
 er Peter Barrau and brother Bartholomew of Arcagne,<sup>46</sup> of the Order of  
 Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition,  
 who wrote these things.

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<sup>46</sup> Aude, comm. Saint-Michel-de-Lanès, cant. Salles-sur-l'Hers, arrond. Carcassonne; *Saisimentum*, p. 346. Called Bartholomew of Arcagne the Toulousan, he was assigned to the convent of Pamiers in 1270; *ACP*, p. 152, and Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 180.

*Deposition d'Arnaude, hospitaliere de l'hospital de St. Anthonin, contenant qu'elle avoit ouy dire a Raymonde vefue de Raymond Molinier de Cordes, quelle ne croyoit point au mariage, ni au sacrifice de l'autel, ni*  
 55<sup>r</sup> *que Jesus Christ fut né de la Ste. Vierge; qu'elle sous|tenoit que tout ce que les Freres Precheurs, et Mineurs, et les clerks disoient estoit faux, excepté l'evangile de St. Jean; et que les heretiques croyoient que le diable avoit fait le corps de l'homme et que Dieu y ayant infuse l'ame, l'homme avoit fait un saut, disant au demon qu'il n'estoit point a luy; et qu'elle avoit ouy dire a Bezersa, femme de Pierre Isarn de Sestairol que Dieu ne s'estoit iamais incarné, que la Ste Vierge nestoit point mere de Dieu,*  
 55<sup>v</sup> *que les anges qui avoient esté precipitez du ciel a cause de leur superbe seroient sauvez, qu'il n y avoit pas plus de crime de converser avec une femme qu'avec l'autre, et quelle ne recouroit qu'au<sup>1</sup> St Esprit en ses necessitez.*

*Du mois de mars 1273.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, in crastino Sanctæ Scolasticæ, virginis, scilicet tertio idus Februarii,<sup>2</sup> Arnalda, uxor quondam Raymundi Darasa de Cordua, hospitalarii,<sup>3</sup> nunc in hospitali  
 55(bis)<sup>r</sup> veteri apud villam Sancti Antonii, requisita de veritate | dicenda de se et aliis, vivis et mortuis, super crimine hæresis et Valdesiæ, testis iurata,<sup>4</sup> dixit quod nunquam vidit nec adoravit<sup>5</sup> hæreticos, nec credidit eos esse bonos homines, nec fidem nec spem in eis habuit, nec aliquam participationem cum hæretica<sup>6</sup> unquam habuit.

<sup>1</sup> au added, interlined.

<sup>2</sup> ms Martii: see note to translation for an explanation of why we have made this change.

<sup>3</sup> perhaps a mis-expansion of a word originally intended to apply to the wife?

<sup>4</sup> originally iuratus.

<sup>5</sup> -avit added, interlined, in a different hand.

<sup>6</sup> This would usually be masculine and plural, but the form in the manuscript is clearly feminine and singular. This might either be what the thirteenth century scribe wrote, or a seventeenth century mis-expansion.

*The deposition of Arnalda, hospitaller of the hospital of Saint-Antonin, containing that she had heard it said by Raymonda, widow of Raymond Molinier of Cordes, that she did not believe in marriage, or in the sacrifice of the altar, or that Jesus Christ was born of the Holy Virgin; that she claimed | 55<sup>r</sup> that everything that the Brothers Preacher, and Minor, and the clergy said was false, except for the gospel of St John; and that the heretics believed that the devil had made man's body and that when God had infused the soul into it, man had given a leap, saying to the demon that he was not his; and that she had heard it said by Bezersa, the wife of Peter Isarn of Cestayrols, that God had never become incarnate, that the Holy Virgin was not the mother of God, that the angels who had | been thrown out of heaven because of their 55<sup>v</sup> pride would be saved, that there was no more sin in having intercourse with one woman than with another, and that she turned only to the Holy Spirit in her needs.*

*From the month of March, 1273.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the morrow of St Scholastica, virgin, that is three days before the ides of February,<sup>1</sup> Arnalda, the wife of the late Raymond Darasa of Cordes,<sup>2</sup> hospitaller,<sup>3</sup> now in the old hospital at the town of Saint-Antonin,<sup>4</sup> asked to tell the truth | about herself and others, living and dead, concerning 55(bis)<sup>r</sup> the crime of heresy and Waldensianism, sworn in as a witness, said that she never saw or adored heretics, nor did she believe that they were good men, nor did she have faith or hope in them, nor did she ever have any dealings with a female heretic.

<sup>1</sup> February 11 1273 (1274). The text originally read March, but as St Scholastica's day is 10 February, and 11 February would be three days before the ides, this should clearly be February, not March, and we have corrected the text and translation accordingly.

<sup>2</sup> Cordes-sur-Ciel, Tarn, ch.-lieu, arrond. Albi; *Saisimentum*, p. 380.

<sup>3</sup> John Mundy suggested *hospitalarius* / -a means hospital worker, or someone running a hospital (personal communication).

<sup>4</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, ch.-lieu, arrond. Montauban; *Saisimentum*, p. 469. On the hospitals of Saint-Antonin, see S.F. Roberts, 'Les consulats du Rouergue et l'assistance urbaine au xiii<sup>e</sup> et au début du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècles', *CaF* 13 (1978), pp. 142–143.

De *Valdensibus*<sup>1</sup> dixit se penitus nihil scire.

Dixit tamen quod quadam vice, cum ipsa testis infirmaretur in hospitali de Cordua, ubi ipsa testis erat tituli hospitalaria, Raymunda, quondam uxor Raymundi Molinerii de Cordua venit ad ipsam testem<sup>2</sup> iacentem in lecto, et graviter infirmantem, et dixit eidem testi quod in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti teneret ei secretum de his quæ diceret ipsi testi: quod ipsa testis concessit. Et ad maiorem firmitatem requisita ab ipsa Raymunda, ipsa testis<sup>3</sup> dedit osculum ipsi Raymundæ. Quo facto  
 55(bis)<sup>v</sup> ipsa Ray|munda dixit ipsi testi, monendo hoc ipsam testem,<sup>4</sup> quod si ipsa testis convalesceret<sup>5</sup> de dicta infirmitate, quod ipsa testis et ipsa Raymunda simul irent ad iustos—intelligens ipsa testis quod hoc diceret de hæreticis. Et tunc ipsa testis interrogavit dictam Raymundam quid credebant illi iusti, si credebant legem Romanæ Ecclesiæ: et dicta Raymunda dixit quod non.

Item si credebant sacrificium altaris: et illa dixit quod non.

Item si credebant matrimonium: et illa dixit quod non.

Item si credebant quod Deus venisset in Beatam<sup>6</sup> Virginem: et illa dixit quod non.

De tempore: circa festum Beati Michaelis proximo præteritum fuerunt tres vel quatuor anni.

Dixit etiam quod credit quod Alamanda, uxor Guillelmi Copa, hospitalaria de Cordua, quæ tunc ascultabat dic|ta verba, audivit omnia supradicta.  
 56<sup>r</sup>

Dixit etiam quod cum ipsa testis [convalesset] de infirmitate, per quindecim dies vel circa post convalescentiam, ipsa testis et dicta Alamanda iverunt ad vigilandum ad ecclesiam Sancti Iohannis de Maurdanhæ iuxta Corduam. Et cum ambo redirent de dicta vigilia et requiescerent sub quadam nuce,<sup>7</sup> dicta Alamanda petiit ab ipsa teste—et multotiens antea petierat ab eadem—ut diceret ei quid dixerat ipsi testi dicta Raymunda. Et tunc ipsa narravit ipsi Alamandæ omnia supradicta quæ dixerat ipsi testi ipsa Raymunda. Et tunc dicta Alamanda dixit ipsi testi quod eandem viam volebat ipsa facere quam faciet ipsa testis et dicta

<sup>1</sup> *This word could be expanded to Valdensia ('Waldensianism'), although the more usual form is Valdesia.*

<sup>2</sup> -em added.

<sup>3</sup> ms teste.

<sup>4</sup> -em added.

<sup>5</sup> -ceret perhaps added.

<sup>6</sup> -at- altered.

<sup>7</sup> nu- altered.

About Waldensians she said that she knew nothing at all.

She said however that, on a certain occasion, when the same witness was ill in the hospital at Cordes, where the same witness had the status of hospitaller, Raymonda, the late wife of Raymond Molinier (*or* Raymond, miller) of Cordes,<sup>5</sup> came to the same witness, where she was lying in bed and seriously ill. And she said to the same witness that, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, she should keep secret—for her—concerning the things which she would say to the same witness: which the same witness agreed. And asked to give a stronger surety by the same Raymonda, the same witness gave the same Raymonda a kiss. When this had been done the same Raymonda | spoke to the same witness, 55(bis)<sup>v</sup> urging this on the same witness, that if the same witness recovered from the said illness, the same witness and the same Raymonda should go together to the just men—the same witness understanding that she said this of the heretics. And then the same witness asked the said Raymonda what those just men believed, if they believed in the law of the Roman Church. And the said Raymonda said that they did not.

Item, if they believed in the sacrifice of the altar: and she said that they did not.

Item, if they believed in marriage: and she said that they did not.

Item, if they believed that God had entered the Blessed Virgin: and she said that they did not.

About the time: it was three or four years ago, around the feast of the Blessed Michael immediately past.

She also said that she believes that Alamanda, William Copa's wife, hospitaller of Cordes, who at the time was listening | to the said words, 56<sup>r</sup> heard all the aforesaid.

She also said that when the same witness [had recovered] from her illness, about fifteen days or so after her recovery, the same witness and the said Alamanda went to keep vigil at the church of Saint-John of Mordagne,<sup>6</sup> near Cordes. And when the two were returning from the said vigil and were resting under a certain nut-tree, the said Alamanda begged the same witness—and she had often begged this of her before—to tell her what the said Raymonda had said to the same witness. And then she told the same Alamanda all the aforesaid things which the same

<sup>5</sup> Possibly a relative of Benedict Molinier of Cordes, a believer of heretics posthumously sentenced by Bernard Gui, September 30 1319; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, ii.1110–1119.

<sup>6</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Espinas, cant. Caylus, arrond. Montauban; *DTF*.

Raymunda, et quod satis habebat denarios seu peccuniam pro se et pro ipsa teste. Dicebat etiam dicta Alamanda quod plus sciebat de dictis  
 56<sup>v</sup> verbis quæ ipsa Raymun|da dixerat ipsi testi quam ipsa testis sciret.

Item dixit quod post ea, circa idem tempus, quadam die, cum ipsa testis oraret in ecclesia Beati Michaelis apud Corduam, dicta Raymunda dixit ipsi testi,<sup>1</sup> ‘Quid oraris? Orate Altissimum, nec credatis imagines crucis nec alias imagines, quia non habent aliquam valorem.’

Item dixit quod quadam die dum ipsa testis<sup>2</sup> loqueretur Esclarmondæ, uxori<sup>3</sup> quondam Petri Lobeti de Cordua, sorori dictæ Raymundæ, de dictis verbis quæ dixerat eidem testi<sup>4</sup> dicta Raymunda, quærens ab ea consilium, quid faceret super prædictis, et quam viam teneret, et quam salvationem inveniret,<sup>5</sup> ipsa Esclarmonda respondit ipsi testi,<sup>6</sup> ‘Domina Arnalda,<sup>7</sup> non est alia via salutis, nisi illa quam dixit nobis prædicta Raymunda.’

57<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod prædicta Raymunda dixit ipsi testi quod aliquid quod dicerent Fratres Prædicatores, et Minores, et clerici non habent veritatem aliquam, nec aliquid valet nisi tantum evangelium Beati Iohannis.

Dixit etiam ipsa testis<sup>8</sup> quod omnia prædicta inquirebat ab eisdem mulieribus ut posset extorquere ab eis quomodo sentirent de fide.

Addidit quod dicta Alamanda, post supradicta verba, petiit ab ipsa<sup>9</sup> teste<sup>10</sup> quam viam vellet ipsa testis<sup>11</sup> tenere. Et ipsa testis<sup>12</sup> respondit quod nunquam tenerent ipsam testem, nec esset sicut fuerat Natavella, quæ fuerat hæreticata, et fuerat multum familiaris dictarum mulierum.

Item dixit quod Guillelma Pencheneria, quæ nomine paterno cognominatur Badoela de Cordua, dixit ipsi testi<sup>13</sup> et quod illa falsa Halamanda revelaverat dictam Raymundam de verbis prædictis | quæ dixerat  
 57<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -i *perhaps added*.

<sup>2</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -ur *abbreviation seemingly added, wrongly*.

<sup>6</sup> -i *perhaps added*.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* Raymunda.

<sup>8</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>9</sup> *originally* ipsam.

<sup>10</sup> -e *added*.

<sup>11</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>12</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>13</sup> -i *added*.

Raymonda had said to the same witness. And then the said Alamanda said to the same witness that she wanted to travel the same road that the same witness and the said Raymonda would travel, and that she had enough coins or money for herself and for the same witness.

The said Alamanda also said that she knew more about the said words which the same Raymonda | had said to the same witness than the same witness knew. 56<sup>v</sup>

Item, she said that afterwards, around the same time, on a certain day, when the same witness was praying in the church of the Blessed Michael at Cordes, the said Raymonda said to the same witness, 'What are you praying? Pray to the Almighty,<sup>7</sup> and don't believe in images of the cross or in other images, because they are worthless.'

Item, she said that on a certain day when the same witness was speaking to Esclarmonda, the wife of the late Peter Lobet of Cordes, the sister of the said Raymonda, about the said words which the said Raymonda had said to the same witness, asking her advice about what she should do about the aforesaid, and what road she should take, and what salvation she would find, the same Esclarmonda answered the same witness, 'Lady<sup>8</sup> Arnalda, there is no other way of salvation than the one which the aforesaid Raymonda told us.'

Item, she said that the aforesaid Raymonda said to the same witness 57<sup>r</sup> that anything which the Brothers Preacher, and Minor, and clergy might say contained no truth, nor did anything have any worth, with the sole exception of the Gospel of the Blessed John.

The same witness also said that she asked the same women all the aforesaid things, so that she could twist out of them how they felt about the faith.

She added that after the aforesaid words the said Alamanda asked the same witness what road the same witness wanted to take. And the same witness answered that they would never hold the same witness, nor was she as Na Tavella had been, who had been hereticated, and who had been very close to the said women.

Item, she said that Guillelma Peignière (*or* Guillelma, comb-maker), who by her paternal name is surnamed Badoel of Cordes, said to the same witness that that false Alamanda had given the said Raymonda away, with regard to the aforesaid words | which she had said to the same witness, in 57<sup>v</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Literally, 'Highest'.

<sup>8</sup> 'Domina' may be a formal or emphatic mode of address here, rather than an acknowledgement of noble rank.



ipsi testi<sup>1</sup> apud Bernardum de Berenx de Cordua; propter quod ipse *Bernardus* de Berenx traxerat ipsam Raymundam, rossegando per capillos,<sup>2</sup> per totam domum, dicendo tunc ipsi Raymundæ, 'Bene poteratis<sup>3</sup> scire quod non celaret vos Arnalda Darassa de verbis prædictis.'

Item dixit quod post sepultura Petronillæ, dicta Bona, de Cordua, ipsa testis<sup>4</sup> petiit ab Uga, uxore Stephani Lobet, 'Quid dicitis de Bona? Habuit bonos homines?'—scilicet hæreticos—quæ respondit quod sic. Et cum ipsa testis<sup>5</sup> peteret unde habuerat, respondit quod domina Uga, uxor Bernardi de Campas, procuraverat quod dicta Bona haberet ipsos hæreticos.

De tempore dixit quod omnia prædicta fuerunt a festo Circumcisionis Domini usque ad festum Beati Michaelis, de quo fuerunt in festo Sancti  
58<sup>r</sup> Michaelis proxi|mo præteriti tres anni vel quatuor.

Item dixit quod prædicta Guillelma Pencheneria et Stephanus dictus Pilotus de Cordua, qui multum dicuntur apud Corduam de hæresi suspecti, sunt valde familiares prædictarum Raymundæ et Sclarmondæ, et Uguæ de Campas, et Bernardi de Berenx.

Dixit etiam quod prædicta Raymunda dixit ipsi testi<sup>6</sup> quod quando-cumque non posset loqui cum ipsa Raymunda de facto hæreticorum, loqueretur cum Sclarmonda sorore sua, quæ poneret ipsam testem<sup>7</sup> in rectam viam de facto prædicto.

Item, dicta Esclarmonda dixit ipsi testi<sup>8</sup> quod nunquam vellet comedere vel bibere si audiret prædicantem dominam Guillelmam, uxorem Bertrandi Roca.

De tempore: quod supra.

58<sup>v</sup> Hæc deposuit coram fratribus Ramnulpho, et Pon|tio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus.<sup>9</sup> Testes:<sup>10</sup> magister Berengarius de Vernetto, et *Bernardus* Boneti, publicus Tholosæ notarius, qui hæc scripsit. Actum fuit hoc apud villam Sancti Antonini, diocesis Ruthenensis, in monasterio dicti sancti.

<sup>1</sup> -i added.

<sup>2</sup> -os perhaps added.

<sup>3</sup> a letter, perhaps s, deleted between -e- and -r-.

<sup>4</sup> -is added.

<sup>5</sup> -is added.

<sup>6</sup> -i added.

<sup>7</sup> -em added.

<sup>8</sup> -i perhaps added.

<sup>9</sup> -oribus added.

<sup>10</sup> -es added. Some letters, probably magi, have been deleted in the margin next to this word.

the house of Bernard of Brens<sup>9</sup> of Cordes. On account of this the same Bernard of Brens had hauled the same Raymonda, dragging her by the hair right through the house, saying at that time to the same Raymonda, ‘You could have known that Arnalda Darassa would not keep quiet about you with regard to the aforesaid words.’

Item, she said that after the burial of Petronilla, called Bona, of Cordes, the same witness asked Hugua, Stephen Lobet’s wife, ‘What can you tell me about Bona? Did she have the good men?’—that is the heretics—and she answered that she did. And when the same witness asked where she had got them, she replied that lady Hugua, the wife of Bernard of Campes,<sup>10</sup> had arranged for the said Bona to have the same heretics.

About the time: she said that all the aforesaid things took place between the feast of the Circumcision of the Lord and the feast of the Blessed Michael—three or four years before the feast of St Michael | 58<sup>r</sup> immediately past.

Item, she said that the aforesaid Guillelma Peignière and Stephen called Pilot<sup>11</sup> of Cordes, who are much talked about at Cordes as suspected of heresy, are very close to the aforesaid Raymonda and Esclarmonda, and to Hugua of Campes and Bernard of Brens.

She also said that the aforesaid Raymonda said to the same witness that whenever she could not speak with the same Raymonda about the matter of the heretics, she should speak with Esclarmonda her sister, who would put the same witness on the right way about the aforesaid matter.

Item, the said Esclarmonda said to the same witness that she would never want to eat or drink if she heard lady Guillelma, Bertrand Roca’s wife, preaching.

About the time: as above.

These things she attested before brothers Ranulph, and Pons | of 58<sup>v</sup> Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: master Berengar of Vernet, and Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse, who wrote these things. This was done at the town of Saint-Antonin, in the diocese of Rodez, in the monastery of the said saint.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Tarn, cant. Gaillac, arrond. Albi; *DTF*.

<sup>10</sup> Saint-Marcel-Campes, cant. Cordes-sur-Ciel, arrond. Albi; *DTF*.

<sup>11</sup> Pilot’s confiscated goods were still rendering income in 1293–1294; *Comptes Royaux*, no. 9592, i.456.

<sup>12</sup> At this stage the monastery of Saint-Antonin was in the hands of Augustinian canons.

Item, anno quo supra, pridie idus Februarii<sup>1</sup>, prædicta Arnalda, hospitalaria, addidit quod prædicta Guillelma Padoela vel Pencheneria dixit ipsi testi<sup>2</sup> quod cum ipsa Guillelma esset iam diu apud Castrum Novum den Helena, diocesis Caturcensis, de quo dicta Guillelma duxit originem, vidit quadam vice tres mulieres pulcherrimas, quas credebatur esse hæreticas, exeuntes de quadam vouta sive clusello in quadam domo apud dictum castrum, quas non nominavit ipsi testi. Et prædictæ mulieres, visa  
 59<sup>r</sup> ipsa Guillelma, statim redierunt retro in dictum clusellum, et postmodum non vidit eas.

De tempore auditus: duo anni sunt vel circa.

Item dixit quod Hugua de Bertran, uxor Durandi Molinerii de Cordua, dixit quadam vice ipsi testi de Pileto, 'Maledicatur Pilotus, quia ad huc non potest dimittere hæresim!' Quia postquam venit de Tholosa, relaxatus a muro ubi fuerat positus, dixerat eidem Uguæ si volebat aliquid mittere bonis hominibus, scilicet hæreticis, et ipsa Uguæ dixit quod non, quia sacius daret infantibus suis.

De tempore auditus: duo anni sunt vel circa.

Item audivit dicentem dictam Uguam de Bertran quod hæretici dicunt, prout ipsa<sup>3</sup> Hugua audiverat, quod diabolus fecit corpus hominis et Deus posuit in eo animam, qua posita in corpore hominis, homo<sup>4</sup> dedit  
 59<sup>v</sup> unum saltum, et dixit diabolo, 'Ego non | sum tuus'.

De tempore auditus: quod proxime supra.

Dixit etiam quod non audivit dictam Ugam dicentem a quo vel a quibus audiverat prope dicta.

Item dixit quod cum ipsa testis<sup>5</sup> redisset de Galhaco, ubi fuerat ducta capta ad fratrem Pontium de Poieto, tunc inquisitorem, et venissent ad rocam de Petro Isarni, prope Sestairol, Bezersa, uxor ipsius *Petri* Isarni,

<sup>1</sup> *ms Martii.*

<sup>2</sup> *-i added.*

<sup>3</sup> *terra deleted.*

<sup>4</sup> *-m- altered.*

<sup>5</sup> *-is perhaps added.*

<sup>14</sup> Lot, ch.-lieu. cant., arrond. Cahors; *Saisimentum*, p. 377. See *CaF* 13 (1978), p. 308, on a seventeenth-century tradition of a Lady Helena of Castelnaud-Montratier and the pre-1246 foundation of a hospital.

<sup>15</sup> Probably Bertrand, a common place-name in Languedoc; *DTF*.

<sup>16</sup> Tarn, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Albi; *DTF*.

<sup>17</sup> Literally 'rock'.

Item, in the same year as above, on the day before the ides of February,<sup>13</sup> the aforesaid Arnalda, hospitaller, added that the aforesaid Guillelma Badoel or Peignière said to the same witness that when the same Guillelma had been already for a long time at Castelnau of Helena [Castelnau-Montratier],<sup>14</sup> in the diocese of Cahors, from where the said Guillelma originated, she saw on a certain occasion three very beautiful women, whom she believed to be heretics, coming out of a certain vault or enclosed place in a certain building at the said Castelnau, whom she did not name to the same witness. And the aforesaid women, when they saw the same Guillelma, immediately went back into the said enclosed | place, 59<sup>r</sup> and after that she did not see them.

About the time when she heard this: it was two years ago or thereabouts.

Item, she said that Hugua of *Bertran*,<sup>15</sup> the wife of Durand Molinier (or Durand, miller) of Cordes, once said to the same witness, about Pilot, 'Curse Pilot, because he still cannot leave off heresy!' For after he came from Toulouse, released from the prison where he had been put, he had asked the same Hugua if she wanted to send anything to the good men, that is the heretics, and the same Hugua said no, because she would rather give it to her children.

About the time when she heard this: it was two years ago or thereabouts.

Item, she heard the said Hugua of *Bertran* saying that the heretics say, so the same Hugua had heard, that the devil made the body of man and that God placed a soul in it, and when it had been placed in man's body, man gave one leap, and said to the devil, 'I am not | yours.' 59<sup>v</sup>

About the time when she heard this: as immediately above.

She also said that she did not hear the said Hugua saying from what person or persons she had heard the abovesaid.

Item, she said that when the same witness had returned from Gail-lac,<sup>16</sup> where she had been taken as a captive to brother Pons of Pouget, then inquisitor, and they had come to the fortress<sup>17</sup> of Peter Isarn near

<sup>13</sup> Again this was originally March, which would give a date of March 14 [1273 (1274)]: but we suggest that it should be altered to February 12. The latter date is suggested both by the likelihood that the inquisitorial team that had travelled to Saint Antonin would finish its work in one trip, rather than leaving and returning, and by the fact that the witness mentions Raymond Roque, cleric, who can give information about Bezersa, wife of Peter Isarn. His deposition (62<sup>r</sup>), in which he does give information against her, seems to have taken place on February 13.

dixit ipsi testi quod cum ipsa testis detineretur capta, Petrus Isarni, maritus dictæ Bezersæ, quæsiuit ab eadem Bezersa, uxore sua, si habuit vel si dixit aliqua verba de facto hæresis cum ipsa teste, quia multum timebat<sup>1</sup> dictus Petrus quod ipsa testis illa revelaret, et postea essent mortui seu destructi et ipse et dicta uxor; et ipsa respondit dicto viro suo quod non. Postea dicta testis dixit dictæ Bezersæ, 'Dicatis mihi, iam  
 60<sup>r</sup> scitur bene quod | vos estis tacta de facto isto,'—scilicet hæresis—et ipsa dixit ipsi testi, 'Certe, domina Arnalda, non<sup>2</sup> habeo de quo possim bene confidere.' Et ipsa testis dixit ei quod non revelaret ea quæ diceret ei. Et super hoc fuerunt se adinvicem osculatæ, et tunc illa dixit ipsi testi quod Deus nunquam venit carnaliter in Beatam Virginem, nec in aliam mulierem, nec Beata Virgo fuit mater Dei, et quod tantum peccatum facit homo iacendo cum una muliere sicut cum alia, et mulier iacendo cum uno homine sicut cum alio.

Item dixit quod omnes spiritus qui propter superbiam suam ceciderunt de cælo, ad huc salvabuntur.

Item dixit quod ipsa Bezersa portat cordulam cinctam ad carnem nudam subtus mamillas; et ipsa testis vidit eam cinctam semel illa cordula.

60<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod cum in quodam puerperio ipsa testis fuerit obstetrix eiusdem Bezersæ, nunquam audivit eam clamantem 'Dominum!' nec 'Iesum Christum!' nec 'Beatam Virginem!' sed tantum<sup>3</sup> 'Sancte<sup>4</sup> Spiritus Dei, vale mihi!' Unde mulieres, aliæ obstetrices, aborrent eam in puerperiis, quod nolunt ibi esse libenter, quia non rogat Beatam Virginem.

De tempore: ab anno citra.

Item dixit quod Raymundus Rocha, clericus, filius quondam Vuillelmi Rocha, consanguineus ipsius testis, dixit ipsi testi quod audivit dictam Berzam dicentem multa verba sapientia hæresim, et multas hæreses.

Hæc deposuit coram inquisitore,<sup>5</sup> et magistro Berengario de Verneto qui hoc scripsit, in dicto monasterio Sancti Antonini. Et iuravit et abiuravit<sup>6</sup> *etcetera*. Et fuit absoluta ab omni excommunicatione, si erat excommunicata.

<sup>1</sup> *altered.*

<sup>2</sup> *-on altered.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms tamen.*

<sup>4</sup> *ms Sanctæ.*

<sup>5</sup> *-ore added.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms ab iuravit.*

<sup>20</sup> See his disposition below, 62<sup>v</sup>.

Cestayrols,<sup>18</sup> Bezersa,<sup>19</sup> the wife of the same Peter Isarn, said to the same witness that when the same witness was held captive, Peter Isarn, the said Bezersa's husband, asked the same Bezersa, his wife, if she had had or if she had spoken any words about the matter of heresy with the same witness, because the said Peter greatly feared that the same witness would disclose them, and afterwards both he and his said wife would be dead or destroyed. And she answered her said husband that she had not. Afterwards the said witness said to the said Bezersa, 'Tell me, it is well known now that | you are touched with this matter'—that is to say, 60<sup>r</sup> heresy—and she said to the same witness, 'Certainly, lady Arnalda, I do not have anyone in whom I can really trust.' And the same witness said to her that she would not disclose what she would say to her. Whereupon they kissed one another, and then she said to the same witness that God never came in the flesh into the Blessed Virgin, or into any other woman, nor was the Blessed Virgin the mother of God, and that a man sins as greatly lying with one woman as with another, and a woman lying with one man as with another.

Item, she said that all the spirits which have fallen from heaven because of their pride will yet be saved.

Item, she said that the same Bezersa wears a little cord girded round her, next to her bare flesh under her breasts. And the same witness once saw her girded with that little cord.

Item, she said that when in a certain childbirth the same witness was 60<sup>v</sup> a midwife to the same Bezersa, she never heard her crying 'Lord!', or 'Jesus Christ!' or 'Blessed Virgin!' but only 'Holy Spirit of God, help me!' Because of this the women, the other midwives, shun her in childbirth, and are unwilling to be there, because she does not call on the Blessed Virgin.

About the time: within the last year.

Item, she said that Raymond Roque, cleric,<sup>20</sup> the son of the late William Roque, a kinsman of the same witness, said to the same witness that he had heard the said Bezersa saying many words savouring of heresy, and many heresies.

These things she attested before the inquisitor, and master Berengar of Vernet who wrote these things, in the said monastery of Saint-Antonin. And she took an oath and abjured, etc. And she was absolved from all excommunication, if she was excommunicated.

<sup>18</sup> Tarn, cant. Gaillac, arrond. Albi; *Saisimentum*, p. 378.

<sup>19</sup> See his deposition below, 164<sup>r</sup>.

61<sup>r</sup> *Deposition faite par le curé de Sestairol, au diocese d'Albi, a Ranulphe et a Pons de Parnacho, inquisiteurs, contenant que Pierre Isarn, chevalier de Sestairol, ayant esté absous par ledit curé de l'excommunication dans laquelle il avoit persisté l'espace de 15 ans, il l'avoit excommunié derechef, voyant qu'il n'obeissoit point aux commandemens de l'Eglise.*

61<sup>v</sup> *Avec une autre deposition faite par R. Roca de Sestairol, qui dit quon | soubconnoit d'heresie Dame Bezersa,<sup>1</sup> femme dudit Pierre Isarn, par ce qu'elle reclamoit dans ses acouches le secours du St Esprit, et non pas de Jesus Christ ni de la Ste Vierge.*

3<sup>o</sup> idus Februarii<sup>2</sup> 1273.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, idus Februarii, Raymundus, capellanus de Sestairol, diocesis Albiensis, testis iuratus, dixit quod Petrus Isarni, miles, de Sestairol, parrochianus suus, fuit excommunicatus quindecim anni sunt vel amplius maiori excommunicatione, ita quod non | fuit absolutus ex tunc, nisi nuper quia fuit infirmus gravissime in articulo mortis, ita quod ipse testis absolvit eum, recepto iuramento et publico instrumento quod staret mandatis ecclesiæ. Et cum convaluisset, et citatus per officialem<sup>3</sup> non pareret mandato ecclesiæ, officialis<sup>4</sup> Albiensis reduxit eum in excommunicationem pristinam.

Hæc deposuit apud Galhacum coram fratribus Ramnulpho, et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus.<sup>5</sup> Testes: dominus abbas Galliaccensis, qui tunc erat, et magister Berengarius de Verneto, et Bernardus Boneti, publicus notarius Tholosæ, qui hæc scripsit.

<sup>1</sup> Ms D'ame Bezerna.

<sup>2</sup> This date is based on a misreading of the date given in the text.

<sup>3</sup> -ialem added.

<sup>4</sup> -is added.

<sup>5</sup> -ibus added.

*The deposition made by the priest of Cestayrols, in the diocese of Albi, to Ranulph and to Pons of Parnac, inquisitors, containing that Peter Isarn, knight of Cestayrols, having been absolved by the said priest from the excommunication in which he had remained for fifteen years, had again been excommunicated by him, when he saw that he did not obey the commandments of the Church.* 61<sup>r</sup>

*With another deposition made by Raymond Roque of Cestayrols, who says that people | suspected of heresy lady Bezersa, wife of the said Peter Isarn, because in childbirth she called on the aid of the Holy Spirit, and not of Jesus Christ or of the Holy Virgin.* 61<sup>v</sup>

*3 days before the Ides of February 1273.*<sup>1</sup>

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the ides of February,<sup>2</sup> Raymond, chaplain of Cestayrols, in the diocese of Albi, sworn in as a witness, said that Peter Isarn, knight, of Cestayrols, a parishioner of his, was excommunicated fifteen years ago or more by the greater excommunication, so that thereafter | he was not absolved, until recently because he was very seriously ill, on the point of death, so that the same witness absolved him, after receiving his oath and public instrument that he would obey the commands of the Church. And when he had recovered, and, summoned by the official, did not obey the Church's command, the official of Albi returned him to his original excommunication. 62<sup>r</sup>

These things he attested at Gaillac<sup>3</sup> before the brothers Ranulph, and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: the then lord abbot of Gaillac,<sup>4</sup> and master Berengar of Vernet, and Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse, who wrote these things.

<sup>1</sup> The 'three' from the year has been mistakenly incorporated into the date.

<sup>2</sup> February 13 1273 (1274).

<sup>3</sup> At the abbey, as spelled out below, 63<sup>v</sup>. The Black Monk (Benedictine) abbey of Saint-Michel in Gaillac was affiliated at this time to the monastery of La Chaise-Dieu; *DHGE*, xix.673–677; see also index-entry 'Gaillac' in *CaF* 19 (1984), p. 403.

<sup>4</sup> Bernard II of Riom, abbot 1263–1276; *DHGE*, xix.676.



*Autre deposition faite par R.<sup>1</sup> Roca de Sestairol.*

62<sup>v</sup> Anno et die quibus supra, | Raymundus Roca de Sestairol, clericus, testis iuratus, dixit quod ipse testis et homines et mulieres castri de Sestairol habent suspectam<sup>2</sup> de hæresi dominam Bezersam,<sup>3</sup> uxorem Petri Isarni de Sestairol, pro eo quia quando laborat in partu nunquam clamat 'Iesum Christum!' nec 'Beatam Virginem!', sed 'Sancte<sup>4</sup> Spiritus adiuva me!' Et hoc audivit<sup>5</sup> dici a Raymunda, uxore Deodati Roca, et Uga, uxore Petri Roca, et a Flors Belula, uxore Guillelmi Belul, et a Lombarda<sup>6</sup> Salamona, et Alairz Goncelina, quæ omnes, simul et diversis temporibus, interfuerunt quando dicta Bezersa pariebat. Et hoc idem scit Martha, mater ipsius Bezersæ.

Item dixit quod aliquando, quando erat tonitruum, audivit ipsam Bezersam clamantem, 'Sancte Spiritus, vale nos!' et non clamabat 'Iesum Christum!' vel 'Beatam | Virginem!'.

Item dixit quod audivit quod ipsa non vult recipere panem benedictum qui datur fidelibus diebus dominicis, sed dicit quod ille panis est peccatum gentium, sicut audivit dici a Bernarda Roca, muliere quæ defuncta est.

Item dixit quod quando audit verbum Dei a clericis, vilipendit. Dicit dicta Bezersa, 'Creditis eis, quia bene sciant ipsi!'

Item non servat ieiunia ecclesiæ, et quando deberent ieiunare in vigiliis sanctorum, dicit quod ieiunabit ipsorum sanctorum.

Item dicit quod ipsa dat ova et caseum pueris suis in Kadragesima, sicut audivit hoc—et de ieiuniis prædictis—ab ipsa Bezersa.

Item dixit ipse testis quod aliquando dixit eidem Bezersæ quod Beata Virgo fuit concepta de viro et muliere sicut alii viri et aliæ mulieres, 63<sup>v</sup> et tunc ipsa aborre|bat, et fugiebat, dicens quod non credebat, nec fieri poterat, quod concepta esset in peccato.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore.<sup>7</sup> Testes, magister Berengarius de Verneto, et ego, *Bernardus Boneti*, publicus

<sup>1</sup> de *deleted*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* suspectant.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* Bezernam.

<sup>4</sup> -e *altered*, probably from -æ.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* audivi.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* Alombarda.

<sup>7</sup> -ore *added*.

*Another deposition made by Raymond Roque of Cestayrols.*

In the same year and on the same day as above,<sup>5</sup> | Raymond Roque of Cestayrols, cleric, sworn in as a witness, said that the same witness and the men and women of the stronghold of Cestayrols consider as suspect of heresy lady Bezersa, the wife of Peter Isarn of Cestayrols, because when she is in labour in childbirth she never cries ‘Jesus Christ!’ or ‘Blessed Virgin!’, but ‘Holy Spirit aid me!’ And I heard this said by Raymonda, the wife of Daide Roque, and Hugua, the wife of Peter Roque, and by Flors Belul, the wife of William Belul, and by Lombarda Salamon, and Alairz Goncelin, all of whom, together and at different times, were present when the said Bezersa gave birth. And Martha, the same Bezersa’s mother, knows this same thing. 62<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that once, when it thundered, he heard the same Bezersa crying out, ‘Holy Spirit, help us!’, and she did not cry out ‘Jesus Christ!’ or ‘Blessed | Virgin!’ 63<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that he heard that she refuses to receive the blessed bread which is given to the faithful on Sundays, but says that that bread is a sin of the heathens, as he has heard said by Bernarda Roque, a woman who is now deceased.

Item, he said that when she hears the word of God from clerics, she is scornful. The said Bezersa says, ‘You believe them: look what they know!’

Item, she does not keep the fasts of the Church, and when they ought to fast on the vigils of the saints, she says that she will fast of the saints themselves.<sup>6</sup>

Item, he says that she gives eggs and cheese to her children in Lent, as he has heard—and as he also heard the matter of the aforesaid fasts—from the same Bezersa.

Item, the same witness said that he once said to the same Bezersa that the Blessed Virgin was conceived of a man and a woman just as other men and other women are, and then she was horrified, | and fled, saying that she did not believe it, nor could it be, that she was conceived in sin. 63<sup>v</sup>

These things he attested before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: master Berengar of Vernet, and I, Bernard Bonet, public

<sup>5</sup> Probably also February 13 1273 (1274).

<sup>6</sup> Possibly ‘shun the saints’.

Inquisitionis<sup>1</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi. Actum fuit hoc apud Galhacum,  
in abbacia.

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<sup>1</sup> -ionis *added*.

notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things. This was done at Gaillac, in the abbey.

*Deposition faite par Gardubius, chevalier de Maurello Monte, qui declara aux inquisiteurs que depuis sa conversion il n'avoit point veu ni adoré les heretiques, ny refugié les faidits et fugitifs.*

64<sup>r</sup> *Du mardy avant la Chaire de Sa|int Pierre 1273.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, die martis ante festum Beati Petri ad Cathedram, Gardubius, miles de Maurello Monte, testis iuratus et interrogatus<sup>1</sup> de veritate dicenda super facto hæresis et Valdesiæ, tam de se quam de aliis, vivis et mortuis, dixit quod postquam fuit confessus fratri Bernardo de Cautio, et eius socio,

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<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

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travelled to Toulouse, to be heard in Saint Sernin. The resulting depositions once occupied over ten volumes, of which only volumes 4–5 survive in a copy of around 1260 (the manuscript cited as Toulouse 609); the fact that these contain over 5000 depositions gives an idea of the scale. Bernard of Caux was at work on his own in Pamiers (September 1246–May 1247), but the two inquisitors were active in Toulouse until 1248. Their work declined as the crisis of inquisition grew, with the job passing for a few years from the Dominicans to the episcopate. In 1248 or 1249 the two friars produced a manual of inquisition procedure, the *Ordo processus Narbonensis*; SOPMA i.203, and English translation, Wakefield, *Heresy*, pp. 250–258. By late 1249 Bernard de Caux was in Agen, busying himself with the foundation of its convent, of which he was twice prior, and he died there in 1267 or 1268. Gui described him as a persecutor and hammer of heretics, a holy man and full of God, and stated that when his body was exhumed it was intact, including his *virilia* (male members). See Dossat's *Crises* on Toulouse 609, and his 'Une figure d'inquisiteur, Bernard de Caux', *CaF* 6, *Le credo, la morale et l'inquisition* (Toulouse, 1971), pp. 253–272; Duvernoy, *Registre de Bernard de Caux*; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>6</sup> John of Saint-Pierre OP, about whom nothing is known outside his collaboration in inquisition with Bernard of Caux, 1243–1248; Dossat, *Crises*, p. 155. According to Dossat, he is not to be confused with the John of Saint-Pierre, OP, who worked as an inquisitor alongside Reginald of Chartres; see below 55<sup>r</sup> n. 3.

*The deposition made by Gardouch, knight of Mauremont, who declared to the inquisitors that after his conversion he had not seen or adored the heretics, or sheltered exiles and fugitives.*

*From the Tuesday before the Chair of St | Peter 1273.*

64<sup>r</sup>

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the Tuesday before the feast of the Chair of Blessed Peter,<sup>1</sup> Gardouch,<sup>2</sup> knight of Mauremont,<sup>3</sup> sworn in as a witness and, asked to tell the truth about the matter of heresy and Waldensianism, both about himself and about others, living and dead, said that after he had confessed<sup>4</sup> to brother Bernard of Caux<sup>5</sup> and his colleague,<sup>6</sup> inquisitors, he did not

<sup>1</sup> February 20 1273.

<sup>2</sup> Personal name based on the place, Gardouch. See next note.

<sup>3</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 976; *DTF*. A Gardouch of Montgaillard was among the nobles and knights of Avignonet who took an oath of loyalty to the king of France, December 20–24 1271; *Saisimentum*, p. 222. The proximity of Mauremont and Montgaillard-Lauragais suggests the possibility that these two were the same man, terming himself carelessly ‘of’ one or other of two villages that were only three kilometres apart.

<sup>4</sup> A Gardoz, knight, was among parishioners of Montgaillard questioned by inquisitors, July 1 1245 and again on March 24 1246 by Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre. His name is Gardog in the second interrogation; Toulouse 609, f. 45<sup>r-v</sup>. His contacts with heretics went back to about 1225.

<sup>5</sup> Caux: Aude, cant. Alzonne, comm. Caux-et-Sauzens, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 907. Bernard of Caux, OP, worked as an inquisitor between 1243 and 1248, usually together with John of Saint-Pierre. Dossat conjectures he was born in Agen. In the first stage of his inquisitorial career he was designated, together with John, as inquisitor for the Agenais, before May 1242, and the two inquisitors were at work in the dioceses of Agen and Cahors between November 1243 and March 17 1245. They then moved to Toulouse, where they started on May 1 1245. Theirs was an extraordinary and enormous enquiry, probably planned to cover the diocese of Toulouse, which went on for a year, ending August 1 1246. Summonses were read out in every parish, and deponents

inquisitoribus,<sup>1</sup> non vidit nec adoravit hæreticos, nec comedit nec bibit cum ipsis, nec dedit, nec recepit, nec misit ipsis hæreticis aliquid de suo, nec participationem aliquam cum ipsis habuit, nec ipsos bonos homines nec veraces credidit, nec per ipsos posse salvari, nec receptavit faiditos vel fugitivos pro facto hæresis.

64<sup>v</sup> Idem dicit de Val|densibus.<sup>2</sup>

Quam confessionem factam dictis inquisitoribus,<sup>3</sup> fratribus Bernardo de Cautio et eius socio, concessit esse bonam et veram, et quod nihil celavit de hæresi in ipsa confessione.

Hæc deposuit coram fratribus Prædicatorum Ramnolpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus.<sup>4</sup> Testes:<sup>5</sup> Robinus, serviens custodis incarcerationum,<sup>6</sup> et ego, Bernardus Boneti, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>7</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> *ms* inquisitore; -ore added.

<sup>2</sup> *This word could be expanded to Valdensia ('Waldensianism'), although the more usual form is Valdesia. It is also more likely to be 'Waldensians', in parallel with 'heretics'.*

<sup>3</sup> -oribus added.

<sup>4</sup> -oribus added.

<sup>5</sup> -es added.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* incarcerationum.

<sup>7</sup> -ionis added.

see or adore heretics, nor did he eat or drink with them, nor did he give to, or receive from, or send to the same heretics anything of his, nor did he have any dealings with them, nor did he believe that they were good men or truthful, or that one could be saved through them, nor did he receive exiles or fugitives for the matter of heresy.

He says the same about | Waldensians.

64<sup>v</sup>

As to the confession made to the said inquisitors, brothers Bernard of Caux and his colleague, he acknowledged it to be good and true, and that he had hidden nothing concerning heresy in the same confession.

These things he attested before the brothers of the Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: Robin, servant of the keeper of the prisoners,<sup>7</sup> and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

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<sup>7</sup> See discussion of prison officials, p. 59 above.



*Deposition de Guillaume Bernard, domicellus, fils de Raymond de Durfort, chevalier, de Fanjaux, qui declara ne scavoir avoir iamais veu qu'un*  
 65<sup>r</sup> *heretique, qu'il avoit poursuiu y pour le prendre, lequel | se refugia dans la Bastide de Podio d'Azeu; et que celuy qui avoit soustenu que sondit pere s'estoit rendu heretique sen estoit retracté.*

*Avec la deposition d'Esclarmonde, vefue dudit Raymond, contenant qu'elle ne scavoit point d'avoir veu aucun heretique, et quelle n'avoit iamais sceu que sondit mary sen fut rendu.*

*Du mois de mars 1273.*

65<sup>v</sup> Anno Domini | millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, nonas Martii, Guillelmus Bernardi, domicellus, filius quondam Raymundi Durifortis, militis, de Fanoiovis, diocesis Tholosanensis, testis iuratus<sup>1</sup> et requisitus,<sup>2</sup> tunc dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos nisi unum, quadam vice, fugientem apud bartidam de Podio Dazen, quem ipse testis fuit inse-  
 cutus, et voluit capere si posset, et de ipso capiendo fecit fideliter posse suum.

Nunquam adoravit<sup>3</sup> hæreticos, nec audivit monitiones vel prædicationes eorum, nec spem nec fidem in illis habuit, nec dedit eis aliquid nec misit, nec bonum aliquod fecit eis, nec interfuit unquam hæreticationi cuiusquam personæ, nec aliquid commisit unquam vel scivit de facto hæresis vel Valdensiæ.

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<sup>1</sup> -us added.

<sup>2</sup> -us added.

<sup>3</sup> -ravit added.

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<sup>6</sup> Not identified. See Azeu, Aude, comm. Laroque-de-Fa, cant. Mouthoumet, arrond. Carcassonne; DTF. Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 46 raises the possibility of Nalzen, Ariège, cant. Lavelanet, ch.lieu cant., arrond. Foix.

*The deposition of William Bernard, squire, son of Raymond of Durfort, knight, of Fanjeaux, who claimed that he had only ever knowingly seen one heretic, whom he pursued there in order to capture him, and who | 65<sup>r</sup> took refuge in the bastide of Pech of Azeu; and that the person who had maintained that his said father had become a heretic had retracted this.*

*With the deposition of Esclarmonda, widow of the said Raymond, containing that she was not aware of having ever seen a heretic, and that she had never known that her said husband had become one.*

*From the month of March 1273.*

In the year of Our Lord | one thousand two hundred and seventy- 65<sup>v</sup> three, on the nones of March,<sup>1</sup> William Bernard, squire,<sup>2</sup> son of the late Raymond of Durfort,<sup>3</sup> knight, of Fanjeaux,<sup>4</sup> in the diocese of Toulouse, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said then that he had never seen any heretics except one, on a certain occasion, fleeing in the scrubland (?)<sup>5</sup> of Pech of Azen,<sup>6</sup> whom the same witness pursued, and wished to capture if he could, and he faithfully did his utmost to capture him.

He never adored heretics, nor did he hear their admonitions or preachings, nor did he have any hope or faith in them, nor did he give or send them anything, nor did he do any good for them, nor was he ever present at the heretication of any person, nor did he ever commit any act, or know anything, with regard to the matter of heresy or Waldensianism.

<sup>1</sup> March 7 1273 (1274).

<sup>2</sup> William Bernard headed a list of nobles from Fanjeaux taking oath of loyalty to the king, 8–9 October, 1271, *Saisimentum*, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn, cant. Dourgne, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 922; *Saisimentum*, p. 384. The confession made by a parishioner of Fanjeaux in 1246, the knight William (W[illelmus]) Garsias, includes the memory of the knight Raymond (R[aymundus]) of Durfort being part of an armed escort for a journey by two female heretics around 1231; Toulouse 609, f. 164<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Aude, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 927.

<sup>5</sup> This assumes that *bartida* is related to *barta*. The Doat introduction assumes *bastida*, a planned town.

Requisitus utrum scivit vel audivit dici quis fuit ille hæreticus quem  
 66<sup>r</sup> fuit insequutus, et calpere voluit, ut supra dixit, respondit ipse testis se  
 postea audivisse dici quod ille hæreticus erat Petrus de Lassus.

Requisitus<sup>1</sup> specialiter et expresse utrum ipse testis sciat vel credat  
 quod prædictus *Raymundus* Durifortis, pater eius, fuerit hæreticatus<sup>2</sup> in  
 infirmitate de qua obiit, respondit se audivisse dici quod Petrus de Lassus  
 prædictus, conversus postmodum de hæresi, dixit se hæreticavisse præ-  
 dictum *Raymundum* Durifortis, patrem ipsius testis, et quod idem Petrus  
 de Lassus, conversus, dixit postea se falsa deposuisse de facto hæretica-  
 tionis prædictæ.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> a quibus hoc audivit, dicit se non recordari.

Hæc deposuit<sup>4</sup> Tholosæ, captus in Castro Narbonensi, coram fratribus  
 Ordinis Prædicatorum Ramnolpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnacho,  
 inquisitoribus.<sup>5</sup> Testes: Perrinus de Moneta, Sicardus Lunelli, Egidius de  
 66<sup>v</sup> Turribus, Iaquetus carcerarius, *Bernardus* | Boneti, et ego, Atho de Sancto  
 Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>6</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

*Deposition d'Esclarmonde, vefue dudit Raymond.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo tertio, die veneris  
 ante festum Sancti Gregorii, domina Esclarmonda, uxor quondam Ray-  
 mundi de Duroforti, militis, de Fanoiovis, testis iurata<sup>7</sup> et requisita<sup>8</sup> ut  
 supra, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos quod eos cognosceret, nec  
 adoravit<sup>9</sup> eos, nec audivit monitiones eorum, nec dedit eis aliquid nec

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* hæreticus.

<sup>3</sup> -tus added.

<sup>4</sup> -suit added in a very different and much smaller hand—perhaps a reader's?.

<sup>5</sup> -oribus added.

<sup>6</sup> -ionis added.

<sup>7</sup> -a added.

<sup>8</sup> -a added.

<sup>9</sup> -ravit added.

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<sup>10</sup> March 9 1273 (1274).

Asked whether he knew, or whether he heard it said who that heretic was whom he followed, and wished to | capture, as he said above, the same witness answered that afterwards he had heard it said that that heretic was Peter of Lassus.<sup>7</sup> 66<sup>r</sup>

Asked especially and expressly whether the same witness knows or believes that the aforesaid Raymond of Durfort, his father, was hereticated in the illness of which he died, he answered that he had heard it said that the aforesaid Peter of Lassus, afterwards converted from heresy, said that he had hereticated the aforesaid Raymond of Durfort, the same witness's father, and that the same Peter of Lassus, convert, said afterwards that he had attested false things on the matter of the aforesaid heretication.

Asked from what persons he heard this, he says that he does not remember.

These things he attested at Toulouse, a captive in the Château Narbonnais, before the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: Perrin of Monède,<sup>8</sup> Sicard Lunel, Giles of Lastours,<sup>9</sup> Jacquet the gaoler, Bernard | Bonet, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things. 66<sup>v</sup>

*The deposition of Esclarmonda, widow of the said Raymond.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-three, on the Friday before the feast of St Gregory,<sup>10</sup> lady Esclarmonda, wife of the late Raymond of Durfort, knight, of Fanjeaux, sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that she never saw any heretics, to recognise them as such, nor did she adore them, nor did she hear their admonitions, nor did she give or send anything to them, nor did she have any hope or

<sup>7</sup> Common place-name, with several in the *départements* of Lot-et-Garonne, Haute-Garonne and Tarn-et-Garonne; *DTF*.

<sup>8</sup> Probable identification of *Moneta*, Ariège, comm. Saint-Amadou, cant. Pamiers-Est, arrond. Pamiers; *DTF*.

<sup>9</sup> Aude, cant. Mas-Cabardès, arrond. Carcassonne; *Saisimentum*, pp. 381, 419. A Giles *de Tougesio* is attested as 'clerk of the inquisitors' (*clericus inquisitorum*). In 1255 he was in charge of receiving and spending money for the inquisitors and drawing up the accounts. The costs of his shoes and clothing are stipulated, and in 1257 he was living off part of the land confiscated from a heretic; Cabié, 'Compte', 112; Douais, *Documents*, pp. ccxv–ccxvi; Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 91–92, 97, 305, 316, 317; *Layettes du trésor*, v. 227.

misit, nec spem nec fidem in illis habuit, nec aliquid scit, de se nec de aliis, in facto hæresis vel Valdesiæ.

67<sup>r</sup> Interrogata<sup>1</sup> | utrum scivit quod prædictus *Raymundus* de Duroforti,<sup>2</sup> vir suus quondam, fuerit hæreticatus in ægritudine<sup>3</sup> qua<sup>4</sup> decessit, dixit quod non.

Interrogata utrum credit quod fuerit hæreticatus, dixit quod non.

Interrogata utrum audiverit dici quod fuerit hæreticatus, dixit quod non, sed audivit dici dudum quod inquirebatur.

Interrogata a quo vel a quibus hoc audivit, dixit se non reminisci.

Interrogata in quibus locis, dicit se non recordari, sed credit quod apud Prulianum, et in multis aliis locis.

Hæc deposuit<sup>5</sup> Tholosæ coram fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum Ramnolpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus,<sup>6</sup> detenta in turre alba Castri Narbonensis.<sup>7</sup> Testes: frater Guillelmus de Podio et frater Guillelmus Petri de Tholosa, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, Sicardus

67<sup>v</sup> Lunelli, Iaquetus carcerarius, et ego, Atho | de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>8</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -ta *added*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Durofortis.

<sup>3</sup> æ- *altered*.

<sup>4</sup> *originally* quam.

<sup>5</sup> -suit *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -ribus *added*.

<sup>7</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>8</sup> -ionis *added*.

faith in them, nor does she know anything, concerning herself or others, about the matter of heresy or Waldensianism.

Asked whether | she knew that the aforesaid Raymond of Durfort, her late husband, was hereticated in the illness from which he died, she said no. 67<sup>r</sup>

Asked whether she believes that he was hereticated, she said no.

Asked whether she heard it said that he was hereticated, she said no, but she did hear it said some time ago that he was questioned.

Asked from what person or persons she heard this, she said that she does not recall.

Asked in what places, she says that she does not remember, but she believes that at Prouille,<sup>11</sup> and in many other places.

These things she attested at Toulouse before the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors, while she was held in the white tower of the Château Narbonnais. Witnesses: brother William of Puy<sup>12</sup> and brother William Pierre of Toulouse, of the Order of Brothers Preacher, Sicard Lunel, Jacquet the gaoler, and I, Atho | of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things. 67<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Aude, comm. and cant. Fanjeaux, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1015.

<sup>12</sup> Probably not to be identified with the William of Puy who held various priorates, 201<sup>v</sup> below.

*Deposition de Bernard Hugonis, frere de Raymond Hugonis de Rupe Vitalis, qui declara avoir adoré les heretiques, et leur avoir ouy dire qu'il estoit domage que le comte de Foix fut tourmenté par le roy, et par ses officiers, qui s'emparoient de sa terre, et qu'il seroit leur amy, s'il le pouvoit, et soustiendroient leur Eglise<sup>1</sup> comme avoit fait le comte de Foix son pere; et autres choses y exprimées.*

68<sup>r</sup> *Des nones d'Avril 1274.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, nonas Aprilis, Bernardus Hugonis, frater Raymundi Hugonis de Rupe Vitalis, adductus<sup>2</sup> captus, testis iuratus et requisitus, dixit quod in domo sua et fratris sui apud Rupem Vitalem<sup>3</sup> vidit multoties<sup>4</sup> Guillelmum Prunelli et Bernardum de Thilols, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi multoties<sup>5</sup> cum ipsis hæreticis Rixendam Ugonam, matrem, et Raymundum Hugonis, fratrem, ipsius testis,<sup>6</sup> et Tholosam uxorem<sup>7</sup> ipsius testis,<sup>8</sup> et Arnaldam, uxorem prædicti Raymundi Ugonis. Et ibi ipse testis<sup>9</sup> et omnes propredicti,<sup>10</sup> aliquando simul, aliquando divisim, adoraverunt<sup>11</sup> ipsos hæreticos multoties,<sup>12</sup> et  
68<sup>v</sup> multa audierunt verba et monitiones eorum; et omnes multoties<sup>13</sup> comederunt de pane ab hæreticis benedicto.

<sup>1</sup> *comme deleted.*

<sup>2</sup> *written ad/ductus over edge of line: deletion, probably -e- after ad-; second -d- added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-lem added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-ies added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-ies added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>7</sup> *-em added.*

<sup>8</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>9</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>10</sup> *ms prope dicti.*

<sup>11</sup> *-verunt added.*

<sup>12</sup> *-ies perhaps added.*

<sup>13</sup> *-ies added.*

*The deposition of Bernard Hugh, brother of Raymond Hugh of Roquevidal, who stated that he had adored the heretics, and that he had heard them say that it was a pity that the count of Foix was harrassed by the king and by his officers, who seized his land; and that he would be their friend if he could, and would support their Church, as the count of Foix his father had done; and other things written here.*

*From the nones of April 1274.*

68<sup>r</sup>

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, on the nones of April,<sup>1</sup> Bernard Hugh, the brother of Raymond Hugh of Roquevidal,<sup>2</sup> brought out as a captive, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said that in his and his brother's house at Roquevidal he often saw William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, heretics. And he often saw there with the same heretics Rixendis Hugh, the mother, and Raymond Hugh, the brother, of the same witness, and Tolsana,<sup>3</sup> the same witness's wife, and Arnalda,<sup>4</sup> the wife of the aforesaid Raymond Hugh. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid, sometimes together, sometimes separately, often adored the same heretics, and heard many | words and admonitions from them; and all often ate of bread blessed by the heretics.

68<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> April 5 1274.

<sup>2</sup> See his deposition below, 90<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Tolsana was described as Bernard Hugh's widow in 1309. She had been condemned to prison, May 13, 1274, and was released March 3, 1308. She still had to wear crosses, but she was released from this, May 25, 1309; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.178, 206.

<sup>4</sup> Arnalda was described as Raymond Hugh's widow and living in Toulouse in 1312. She had confessed and had been condemned to prison by Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, November 4, 1274, in a public sermon in St Stephen's in Toulouse. She was released from prison, having to wear crosses and make local pilgrimages by Peter of Mulceone, in a public sermon in Saint Stephen's, and in a later sermon there the same inquisitor released her from wearing crosses; the dates are not given. She confessed later involvement to Bernard Gui, February 18, 1312, and was condemned by him to prison, April 23, 1312; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.746. In her confession to Gui, she referred to her son, William Hugh, whose (unnamed) son had recently died. William Hugh appeared before Gui, August 4, 1312; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, i.748, ii.1034–1038; see 49<sup>r</sup> n. 37 above.



Dixit etiam quod prædicti hæretici morabantur in domo prædicta ipsius testis<sup>1</sup> et fratris sui, aliquando per octo dies, aliquando plus, aliquando minus, comedentes et bibentes de bonis ipsius domus. Et sicut ipse testis<sup>2</sup> credit, venerunt primo ad domum prædictam ipsius testis<sup>3</sup> et dicti fratris sui in Quadragesima proxime præterita fuit annus; et est unus mensis vel quinque septimanæ quod ultimo fuerunt ibi. Et quando ultimo recesserunt inde, ipse testis<sup>4</sup> associavit eos de domo sua usque ad Fontem Arenis prope Rupem Vitalem.<sup>5</sup> Et inde sicut ipse testis<sup>6</sup> credit firmiter, iverunt versus Pradas inter Sanctum Paulum et Podium Laurentium, ad domum Petri Fornerii.

69<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod cum Bernarda Gausberta vel Molsarona de | Rupe Vitali<sup>7</sup> infirmaretur ægritudine quadam, de qua convaluit, Raymundus Molsaro, frater dictæ mulieris, quæsivit ab ipso teste<sup>8</sup> utrum hæretici erant in domo ipsius testis<sup>9</sup>—sed ipse non vocabat eos hæreticos, sed probos homines—et ipse testis<sup>10</sup> respondit ei quod sic. Quo audito, dictus Raymundus rogavit ipsum testem<sup>11</sup> quod mitteret eos ad domum ipsius Raymundi: et fecit. Et credit ipse testis<sup>12</sup> firmiter quod hæreticaverunt eam.<sup>13</sup> Ipse vero testis<sup>14</sup> non interfuit eius hæreticationi, nec scit si quis interfuit; sed audivit postea dici ab hæreticis quod ibi fuerant. Et fuit circa festum Omnium Sanctorum proximo præteritum, vel circa vindemias.

Item dixit quod Guillelmus Faber de Vauro quodam mane venit ad Rupem Vitalem,<sup>15</sup> ad domum ipsius testis,<sup>16</sup> ubi erant tunc prædicti

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> -is added.

<sup>3</sup> -is added.

<sup>4</sup> -is added.

<sup>5</sup> -em added.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>7</sup> -li perhaps added.

<sup>8</sup> -e perhaps added.

<sup>9</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>10</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>11</sup> -em perhaps added.

<sup>12</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>13</sup> -a deleted.

<sup>14</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>15</sup> -lem added.

<sup>16</sup> -is added.

He also said that the aforesaid heretics stayed at the aforesaid house of the same witness and of his brother, sometimes for eight days, sometimes more, sometimes less, eating and drinking of the goods of the same house. And as the same witness believes, they first came to the aforesaid house of the same witness and of his said brother a year before last Lent; and it is one month or five weeks since they were last there. And when they last left there, the same witness accompanied them from his house as far as the *Arenis*<sup>5</sup> spring near Roquevidal. And from there, as the same witness firmly believes, they went towards Prades,<sup>6</sup> between Saint-Paul and Puylaurens, to the house of Peter Fournier (*or* Peter, baker).

Item, he said that when Bernarda Gaubert or Molsaro of | Roquevidal fell ill with a certain illness, from which she recovered, Raymond Molsaro, the said woman's brother, asked the same witness whether the heretics were in the same witness's house—but he did not call them 'heretics', but 'worthy men'—and the same witness answered him that they were. When he heard this, the said Raymond asked the same witness to send them to the same Raymond's house: and he did. And the same witness firmly believes that they hereticated her. The same witness, however, was not present at her heretication, nor does he know if anyone was present; but he heard it said afterwards by the heretics that they had been there. And this was around the feast of All Saints last, or around the grape-harvest. 69<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that William Faure (*or* William, smith) of Lavour<sup>7</sup> came one morning to Roquevidal, to the same witness's house, where the

<sup>5</sup> Not identified.

<sup>6</sup> Tarn, cant. Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1014.

<sup>7</sup> Tarn, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres; *Saisimentum*, p. 420.

hæretici; et apportavit eis pisces et vidit eos in sotulo. Ipse vero testis<sup>1</sup>  
 69<sup>v</sup> non | intravit ad eos tunc cum eo, nec vidit ipsum adorantem<sup>2</sup> eos. Et est,  
 sicut credit, dimidius annus vel circa.

Item dixit alia vice quod idem Guillelmus Fabri venit ad Rupem Vita-  
 lem,<sup>3</sup> ad maleolum ipsius testis,<sup>4</sup> ubi ipse testis<sup>5</sup> tunc operabatur, et quæsi-  
 vit hæreticos ab ipso teste:<sup>6</sup> sed noluit dicere ipsi testi<sup>7</sup> ad quid volebat eos.  
 Sed ipse testis,<sup>8</sup> dimisso opere, ivit cum eodem Guillelmo Fabri ad man-  
 sum Bernardi Caercini, inter Sanctum<sup>9</sup> Paulum de Cadaiovis et Podium  
 Laurentium; et fuit nox quando fuerunt ibi. Invenerunt dictum Bernar-  
 dum qui duxit eos ad quoddam nemus iuxta quandam boariam seu bor-  
 dam, et ibi in dicto nemore invenerunt prædictos hæreticos. Et inde ipse  
 testis<sup>10</sup> et dictus Guillelmus Fabri adduxerunt<sup>11</sup> eos usque supra eccle-  
 70<sup>r</sup> siam Sancti Andrææ<sup>12</sup> prope Magrinum, et inde | prædictus *Guillelmus*  
 Faber duxit eos nescit quo, ipso teste<sup>13</sup> ad propria redeunte. Prædictus  
 vero Bernardus Caercini remanserat circa domum suam.

Interrogatus,<sup>14</sup> dixit quod ipse testis<sup>15</sup> tunc non adoravit,<sup>16</sup> nec vidit  
 alios adorare.<sup>17</sup> Et fuit annus, sicut credit, in Quadragesima proximo  
 præterita.

Item dixit quod quodam vespere<sup>18</sup> venit ad ipsum testem,<sup>19</sup> apud Ru-  
 pem Vitalem,<sup>20</sup> Arnaldus de Sancto Laurentio prope Lugannum, et dixit  
 ipsi testi<sup>21</sup> quod iret cum eo ad domum ipsius Arnaldi, quia Guillelmus

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> -ntem written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> -lem probably added.

<sup>4</sup> -is added.

<sup>5</sup> -is added.

<sup>6</sup> -e added.

<sup>7</sup> -i added.

<sup>8</sup> -is added.

<sup>9</sup> -ctu- altered.

<sup>10</sup> -is added.

<sup>11</sup> altered, possibly from abduxerunt.

<sup>12</sup> -ææ perhaps altered.

<sup>13</sup> ms testem; -em added.

<sup>14</sup> -tus added.

<sup>15</sup> -is added.

<sup>16</sup> -vit added.

<sup>17</sup> -orare written over deletion including h.

<sup>18</sup> -e altered from -æ.

<sup>19</sup> -em added.

<sup>20</sup> -em added.

<sup>21</sup> -i added.

aforesaid heretics then were; and he brought them fish and saw them in the ground floor. The same witness, however, did not | go in to them then 69<sup>v</sup> with him, nor did he see him adoring them. And this was, as he believes, half a year ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that on another occasion the same William Faure came to Roquevidal, to the same witness's newly-planted vineyard, where the same witness was then working, and asked the same witness for the heretics: but he refused to tell the same witness what he wanted them for. But the same witness, leaving his work, went with the same William Faure to the *mas* of Bernard the Cahorsin,<sup>8</sup> between Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux and Puylaurens; and it was night when they were there. They found the said Bernard who took them to a certain wood near a certain cattle-shed or barn, and there in the said wood they found the aforesaid heretics. And from there the same witness and the said William Faure took them to above the church of Saint-André near Magrin,<sup>9</sup> and from there | the 70<sup>r</sup> aforesaid William Faure took them he knows not where, while the same witness returned to his own affairs. The aforesaid Bernard the Cahorsin, however, had remained near his house.

Questioned, he said that the same witness did not adore then, nor did he see others adore. And this was a year, as he believes, before last Lent.

Item, he said that one evening there came to the same witness, at Roquevidal, Arnold of Saint-Laurent<sup>10</sup> near Lugan,<sup>11</sup> and he told the same witness to go with him to the same Arnold's house, because William

<sup>8</sup> This could mean 'Bernard from Cahors', but another general sense of 'Cahorsin' suggests that here this was 'Bernard the Banker (or) Money-lender'.

<sup>9</sup> Tarn, comm. Magrin, cant. Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 969. Saint-André is 2 km WNW of Magrin; *DTF*.

<sup>10</sup> Tarn, comm. Garrigues, cant. Lavaur, arrond. Castres; *Saisimentum*, p. 472.

<sup>11</sup> Tarn, cant. Lavaur, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 967.

Prunelli et Bernardus de Thilols, hæretici, erant ibi, et volebant eum videre. Et ipse testis<sup>1</sup> iuit cum eo usque supra, prope domum ipsius Arnaldi, iuxta quamdam bartham, ubi dictus Arnaldus dimisit ipsum testem. Et cum sedisset ibi aliquantulum<sup>2</sup> ipse testis, prædicti hæretici  
 70<sup>v</sup> venerunt ad ipsum testem.<sup>3</sup> Et erat nox obscura, | sed dictus Arnaldus non rediit, nec ipse testis<sup>4</sup> vidit ipsum cum hæreticis. Ipse vero testis<sup>5</sup> duxit prædictos hæreticos ad Rupem Vitalem,<sup>6</sup> ad domum ipsius testis.<sup>7</sup> Et fuit circa festum Omnium Sanctorum proximo præteritum.

Item quod cum Blanca, uxor Pontii Hugonis, infirmaretur ægritudine<sup>8</sup> qua decessit, Raymundus Hugonis, frater ipsius testis,<sup>9</sup> et Raymundus Bruni, frater prædictæ Blanchæ, eduxerunt prædictos hæreticos de domo ipsius testis<sup>10</sup> et prædicti fratris ipsius testis,<sup>11</sup> et duxerunt eos ad domum ipsius infirmæ quadam nocte.<sup>12</sup> Et audivit dici ipse testis<sup>13</sup> quod dicta mulier fuit hæreticata per ipsos hæreticos, ipso Raymundo Hugonis præsentem et videntem. Et fuit annus in die Iovis Cœnæ proximo præterito.

Credit etiam ipse testis<sup>14</sup> quod Raymundus Bruni, frater prædictæ mulieris, interfuit eius hæreticationi.

71<sup>r</sup> Item dixit: Sicardus Textor de Vauro, venit quadam nocte apud Rupem Vitalem<sup>15</sup> ad domum ipsius testis<sup>16</sup> et quæsiuit ab ipso teste<sup>17</sup> ubi erant hæretici. Ipse vero testis<sup>18</sup> nesciebat tunc ubi erant, sed iuit cum eo ad quærendum<sup>19</sup> eos, usque prope domum Bernardi de Podio Pradis. Et ibi

<sup>1</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms aliquamtulum; originally aliquam tulum.*

<sup>3</sup> -em *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -em *added*.

<sup>7</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>8</sup> æ- *altered, probably from e-*.

<sup>9</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>10</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>11</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>12</sup> -e *altered from -æ*.

<sup>13</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>14</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>15</sup> *originally Vitalis.*

<sup>16</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>17</sup> -e *perhaps added*.

<sup>18</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>19</sup> -æ- *altered, probably from -e-*.

Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, heretics, were there, and wanted to see him. And the same witness went with him as far as above, near the same Arnold's house, close to a certain scrubland, where the said Arnold left the same witness. And when the same witness had sat there for a little time, the aforesaid heretics came to the same witness. And it was deepest night, | but the said Arnold did not return, nor did the same witness 70<sup>v</sup> see him with the heretics. The same witness, however, took the aforesaid heretics to Roquevidal, to the same witness's house. And this was around the feast of All Saints last.

Item, when Blanca, the wife of Pons Hugh, fell ill with the illness of which she died, Raymond Hugh, the same witness's brother, and Raymond Brun, the aforesaid Blanca's brother, brought the aforesaid heretics out of the house of the same witness, and of the same witness's aforesaid brother, and took them to the same sick woman's house, one night. And the same witness heard it said that the said woman was hereticated by the same heretics, in the presence and sight of the same Raymond Hugh. And this was a year before Maundy Thursday last.

The same witness also believes that Raymond Brun, the brother of the aforesaid woman, was present at her heretication.

Item, he said: Sicard Tisserand (*or* Sicard, weaver)<sup>12</sup> of Lavaur, came 71<sup>r</sup> one night to Roquevidal, to the same witness's house, and asked the same witness where the heretics were. However, the same witness did not then know where they were, but he went with him to look for them, as far as near the house of Bernard of Puy<sup>13</sup> of Prades. And there

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<sup>12</sup> The interpretation 'Sicard, weaver' is made more likely by the fact that he is called 'Sicard' below.

<sup>13</sup> The Latin *podium*, little hill, supplies the exceptionally common names of Puy and Pech, and variants of these; *To*, pp. 57–58, no. 119; *DTF*. See Bernard's deposition below, 125<sup>r</sup>.

ipse testis,<sup>1</sup> dimittens eum extra, intravit domum ipsius<sup>2</sup> Petri Fornerii, et quæsivit ab uxore<sup>3</sup> eius, nomine Bona, utrum essent ibi prædicti hæretici. Quæ dixit quod non, nec sciebat ubi erant, sed consuluit dicta Bona quod ille qui quærebat eos rediret ibi pro dictis hæreticis die veneris tunc sequenti. Et sic ipse testis<sup>4</sup> et dictus Sicardus recesserunt inde, et credit quod dictus Sicardus rediit ibi pro dictis hæreticis prædicta die veneris. Et audivit ipsum dicentem quod quærebat eos pro quadam sororia<sup>5</sup> sua tunc infirma. Et sunt sex septimanæ vel circa.

71<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod quodam mane venit apud Rupem Vitalem,<sup>6</sup> ad domum ipsius testis,<sup>7</sup> Guillelmus, filius ipsius<sup>8</sup> Guillelmi Fabri de Vauro, et appor-  
tavit prædictis hæreticis, qui tunc erant in sotulo domus ipsius testis,<sup>9</sup>  
quandam peccuniæ summam ex parte patris<sup>10</sup> sui. Ipse vero testis<sup>11</sup> non  
vidit dictum *Guillelmum* cum dictis hæreticis, nec solvi eis prædictam  
peccuniæ summam, sed bene intravit ad ipsos hæreticos dictus Guillel-  
mus, et solvit eis dictam peccuniam. Et est dimidius annus, vel circa.

Item dixit se audivisse ab Arnalda, uxore Raymundi Hugonis, fratris  
ipsius testis,<sup>12</sup> quod prædicti hæretici morabantur aliquando in domo  
Berengarii de la Catusseira, iuxta ecclesiam de Tressanz, parrochiam de  
Rupe Vitali.<sup>13</sup>

72<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod ipse testis<sup>14</sup> recepit apud Vaurum a Guillelmo | Fabri  
denarios usque ad trecentos solidos, consutos inter duos pannos lineos,  
et paratos ad portandum.<sup>15</sup> Et credit ipse testis quod erant Turonenses  
albi. Et ipse testis aportavit eos ad domum ipsius testis, ubi erant prædicti  
hæretici, et reddidit eos ibi dictis hæreticis. Et credit ipse testis<sup>16</sup> quod

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> -ius probably added.

<sup>3</sup> -e probably added.

<sup>4</sup> -is added.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* sororta.

<sup>6</sup> -em added.

<sup>7</sup> -is added.

<sup>8</sup> *superfluous testis here in ms; -is added.*

<sup>9</sup> -is added.

<sup>10</sup> -at- altered.

<sup>11</sup> -is added.

<sup>12</sup> -is added.

<sup>13</sup> *originally* Vitalis.

<sup>14</sup> -is added.

<sup>15</sup> -dum perhaps added.

<sup>16</sup> -is added.

the same witness, leaving him outside, entered the house of the same Peter Fournier, and asked his wife, whose name was Bona, whether the aforesaid heretics were there. She said that they were not, nor did she know where they were, but the said Bona advised that the person who was seeking them should return there for the said heretics on the following Friday. And so the same witness and the said Sicard went away from there, and he believes that the said Sicard returned there for the said heretics on the aforesaid Friday. And he heard him saying that he wanted them for a certain sister-in-law of his who was then sick. And this was six weeks ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that one morning there came to Roquevidal, to the same witness's house, William, the son of the same William Faure of Lavaur, and he brought the aforesaid heretics, who were then in the ground floor of the same witness's house, a certain sum of money, on behalf of his father. The same witness, however, did not see the said William with the said heretics, nor did he see him pay them the aforesaid sum of money, but the said William certainly went in to the same heretics, and paid them the said money. And this was half a year ago, or thereabouts. 71<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that he had heard from Arnalda, the wife of Raymond Hugh, the same witness's brother, that the aforesaid heretics sometimes stayed in the house of Berengar of *La Catusseira*,<sup>14</sup> near the church of *Tressanz*,<sup>15</sup> in the parish of Roquevidal.

Item, he said that the same witness received at Lavaur from William | Faure money to the sum of 300 shillings, sewn between two linen cloths, and ready to carry. And the same witness believes that they were white Tournois.<sup>16</sup> And the same witness took them to the same witness's house, where the aforesaid heretics were, and handed them over to the said 72<sup>r</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Not identified. There are various place-names etymologically connected with the presence of *catuça* (spurge), such as Catusse and Catuzières; *Tb*, p. 76, no. 234.

<sup>15</sup> Not identified.

<sup>16</sup> The money of Tours, minted by the abbey of Saint-Martin in the second half of the twelfth century, gradually became the predominant currency of France during the thirteenth century as the French monarchs, especially Philip Augustus and Louis IX, put their authority behind it and the regions under their control expanded; Spufford, *Handbook*, pp. 164, 172. The Tournois were in pounds (livres), shillings (sols) and pence (deniers). The white Tournois were made of argent-le-roi, virtually fine silver (958 parts in 1000 silver); J. Lafaurie, *Les Monnaies des Rois de France*, 2 vols (Paris and Basle, 1951–1956), vol. 1, no. 204, and information from Peter Spufford. See black Tournois below, 125<sup>v</sup>.



Pontius Fogaterii portavit dictos denarios in Lombardiam. Et est annus vel amplius quod hoc fuit.

Item dixit quod quidam faber de Sancto Romano prope Vasegiam venit duabus vicibus ad domum ipsius testis ad videndum<sup>1</sup> ibi hæreticos. Et vidit eos prima vice, ipso teste<sup>2</sup> introducente ipsum ad dictos hæreticos, in sotulum domus ipsius testis.<sup>3</sup> Et ibi audivit verba et prædicationes ipsorum, sed non adoravit<sup>4</sup> eos quod ipse videret. Secunda vero vice non vidit eos. Et est annus vel circa, de prima vice. De secunda non recolit.

72<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod quadam vice | ipse testis associavit prædictos hæreticos de Rupe Vital[is]<sup>5</sup> usque Tholosam, et declinaverunt in domum Esclarmondæ, uxoris fabri de Sancto Romano prædicti, iuxta vallum Tholosæ. Et in adventu ipsorum, prædicta Esclarmonda adoravit<sup>6</sup> ipsos hæreticos. Et exinde<sup>7</sup> prædicti hæretici miserunt ipsum testem,<sup>8</sup> et dictam Esclarmondam, ad Gordonam, uxorem Pontii de Gomervilla de Tholosa, fugitivam<sup>9</sup> propter hæresim, ut scirent cum ea de quodam mantello cuiusdam mulieris de Tholosa, quam iidem hæretici in eius obitu receperant: utrum debeat<sup>10</sup> esse ipsorum hæreticorum, an Raymondæ Terrene de Rupe Vitali,<sup>11</sup> in cuius possessione<sup>12</sup> erat, quæ fuerat ancilla prædictæ hæreticatæ. Et prædicta Gordona, super hoc interrogata, respondit ipsi testi<sup>13</sup> et dictæ Esclarmondæ quod debebat esse dictorum hæreticorum. Et redeuntes ipse testis<sup>14</sup> et dicta Esclarmon|da ad domum prædictam Esclarmundæ, retulerunt dictis hæreticis responsionem prædictæ Gordonæ. Et habuerunt iidem hæretici prædictum mantellum, sicut ipse testis<sup>15</sup> audivit postea dici ab ipsis hæreticis, [...] <sup>16</sup> vel

<sup>1</sup> -um added.

<sup>2</sup> -e perhaps added.

<sup>3</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>4</sup> -vit added.

<sup>5</sup> There is no abbreviation mark apparent here.

<sup>6</sup> -vit added.

<sup>7</sup> ms ex inde.

<sup>8</sup> -em added.

<sup>9</sup> -am added.

<sup>10</sup> ms debent.

<sup>11</sup> -i added.

<sup>12</sup> -essione perhaps added.

<sup>13</sup> -i added.

<sup>14</sup> -is added.

<sup>15</sup> -is added.

<sup>16</sup> There would appear to be some text missing here.

heretics there. And the same witness believes that Pons Fogacier took the said money to Lombardy. And it was a year or more ago that this took place.

Item, he said that a certain smith of Saint-Rome near Baziège<sup>17</sup> came twice to the same witness's house to see the heretics there. And he saw them the first time, when the same witness had taken him in to the said heretics, in the ground floor of the same witness's house. And there he heard their words and preachings, but did not adore them, that he saw. The second time, however, he did not see them. And it was a year ago or thereabouts—the first time. About the second time he does not recall.

Item, he said that on a certain occasion | the same witness accom- 72<sup>v</sup>  
panied the aforesaid heretics from Roquevidal to Toulouse, and they stayed in the house of Esclarmonda, the wife of the aforesaid smith of Saint-Rome, near the wall of Toulouse. And on their arrival, the aforesaid Esclarmonda adored the same heretics. And from there the aforesaid heretics sent the same witness, and the said Esclarmonda, to Gordona, the wife of Pons of Gomerville of Toulouse, who [Gordona] was a fugitive for heresy, to decide with her the matter of a certain cloak belonging to a certain woman of Toulouse, which the same heretics had received on her death: whether it ought to belong to the same heretics, or to Raymonda Terren of Roquevidal, in whose possession it was—she had been a maid of the aforesaid hereticated woman. And the aforesaid Gordona, questioned on this, answered the same witness and the said Esclarmonda that it ought to belong to the said heretics. And the same witness and the said Esclarmonda, returning | 73<sup>r</sup>  
to the aforesaid house of Esclarmonda, reported to the said heretics the answer of the aforesaid Gordona. And the same heretics had the aforesaid cloak, as the same witness afterwards heard said by the same heretics, [in accord with this answer] or at their own command. And

<sup>17</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Montgiscard, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 878.

eorum mandato. Et ipse testis,<sup>1</sup> dimittens prædictos hæreticos in domo dictæ Esclarmondæ, quam tenebat conductam, ut credit, rediit versus Rupem Vitalis; et ipse testis<sup>2</sup> non traxit moram tunc Tholosæ, nisi per primam partem noctis. Et fuit annus in Ianuario<sup>3</sup> proxime transacto.

Interrogatus,<sup>4</sup> dixit se nescire quæ fuit prædicta hæreticata.

Dixit etiam quod audivit prædictos hæreticos commendantes<sup>5</sup> prædictam Gordonam, et dicentes quod erat curialis domina.

Item dixit quod apud Vaurum,<sup>6</sup> in domo Guillelmi Fabri, vidit prædictos Guillelmum Prunelli et Bernardus de Tilhols,<sup>7</sup> hæreticos. Et vidit ibi  
73<sup>v</sup> cum eis ipsum Guillelmum Fabri, Raymundam, uxorem eius, et Guillelmum, filium eorum, de Vauro, et Guillelmum Terreni et Petrum de Bugato, de Rupe Vitalis. Sed nec ipse testis, nec alii propedicti,<sup>8</sup> adoraverunt tunc ipsos hæreticos, nec audierunt prædicationes eorum. Sed de vespere<sup>9</sup> eduxerunt eos inde ipse testis<sup>10</sup> et dicti Guillelmus Terreni et Petrus de Bugato, et extra Vaurum invenerunt Raymundum Guiraudi de Rupe Vitalis. Et iverunt simul cum ipsis hæreticis usque ad locum qui dicitur 'Rophinli', prope Rupem Vitalis. Et in via audiverunt verba et prædicationes dictorum hæreticorum. Et in dicto loco dimiserunt ipsos hæreticos, et nescit ubi steterunt illa nocte. Et est annus et amplius, sicut credit.

Item dixit quod Aimericus, qui solet morari Tholosæ, modo fugitivus  
74<sup>r</sup> propter hæresim, vidit | prædictos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis<sup>11</sup> cum<sup>12</sup> Pontio Fogacerii de Tholosa, tempore quo dictus Pontius Fogacerii fuit ibi, ut supradictum est. Sed ipse testis<sup>13</sup> non vidit eum cum ipsis hæreticis.

Item dixit se audivisse dici a Raymundo Hugonis, fratre ipsius testis,<sup>14</sup> quod Stephanus Hugonis de Rupe Vitalis viderat prædictos hæreticos in

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> -is added.

<sup>3</sup> -io added.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* Interrogata; -ta added.

<sup>5</sup> *abbreviation sign added.*

<sup>6</sup> -um added.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* Tholosa.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* prope dicti.

<sup>9</sup> -e altered from -æ.

<sup>10</sup> -is added.

<sup>11</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>12</sup> ipso deleted.

<sup>13</sup> -is added.

<sup>14</sup> -is added.

the same witness, leaving the aforesaid heretics in the house of the said Esclarmonda, which she was renting, as he believes, returned to Roquevidal; and the same witness did not stay at Toulouse then, except for the first part of the night. And this was a year ago last January.

Questioned, he said that he did not know who the aforesaid hereticated woman was.

He also said that he heard the aforesaid heretics commending the aforesaid Gordona, and saying that she was a courtly lady.

Item, he said that at Lavaur, in the house of William Faure, he saw the aforesaid William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, heretics. And he saw there with them the same William | Faure, Raymonda, his wife, 73<sup>v</sup> and William, their son, from Lavaur, and William Terren and Peter of Bugat,<sup>18</sup> from Roquevidal. But neither the same witness, nor the others just mentioned, adored the same heretics, then, or heard their preachings. But in the evening the same witness and the said William Terren and Peter of Bugat brought them out from there, and outside Lavaur they found Raymond Guiraud of Roquevidal. And they went together with the same heretics to the place called *Rophinli*,<sup>19</sup> near Roquevidal. And on the way they heard the words and preachings of the said heretics. And in the said place they left the same heretics, and he does not know where they stayed that night. And this was a year and more ago, as he believes.

Item, he said that Aimery, who usually lives at Toulouse, now a fugitive for heresy, saw | the aforesaid heretics in the same witness's house with 74<sup>r</sup> Pons Fogacier of Toulouse, at the time when the said Pons Fogacier was there, as has been said above. But the same witness did not see him with the same heretics.

Item, he said that he had heard it said by Raymond Hugh, the same witness's brother, that Stephen Hugh of Roquevidal had seen the aforesaid

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<sup>18</sup> Perhaps Le Bugat, Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. and cant. Bourg-de-Visa, arrond. Castelsarrasin; *Saisimentum*, p. 372. The more semantically remote Le Buguet and Les Buguets should also be considered, since there are so many of them in the *département* of Tarn, one of them (Les Buguets) only 2 km from Roquevidal; *DTF*.

<sup>19</sup> Not identified.

nemore ipsius testis<sup>1</sup> et dicti fratris sui, ubi dicitur ad Podium Arcambaudi.

Item dixit quod quando supradicta Bernarda Gausberta de Rupe Vitalis in infirmitate sua vellet hæreticari, ipse testis ivit, cum Petro de Bugato, ad quærendum prædictos hæreticos ad domum Arnaldi de Sancto Laurentio. Et receperunt eos ab eodem Arnaldo in quadam serra supra domum Petri Borrelli, prope Garrigas, et duxerunt eos ad Rupem  
74<sup>v</sup> Vitalis, ad domum ipsius testis.<sup>2</sup> Et nullus eorum tunc adoravit eos.

Item dixit quod Petrus de Bugato de Rupe Vitalis prædictus vidit supradictos hæreticos in sotulo domus ipsius testis,<sup>3</sup> et, ipso teste<sup>4</sup> vidente, adoravit<sup>5</sup> ipsos hæreticos, et per magnum spatium audivit verba et prædicationes eorum. De tempore: dixit quod inter festum Natalis Domini et Carniprimum<sup>6</sup> proximo præterita.

Item dixit quod Guillelma Andrevæ, uxor Raymundi Borderii de Vauro, misit unum pastillum de piscibus per ipsum testem supradictis hæreticis, qui tunc erant in domo ipsius testis.

Item dixit se audivisse dici a prædictis hæreticis quod Raymundus Borderii erat magnus amicus eorum.

Item dixit quod denarios quos Guillelmus Fabri de Vauro misit prædictis hæreticis per filium suum Guillelmum, apud Rupem | Vitalis in domo ipsius testis,<sup>7</sup> debuerat idem Guillelmus Faber prædicto Raymundo Borderii, et de mandato ipsius Raymundi solvit eos hæreticis, sicut ipse testis audivit dici ab eisdem hæreticis.  
75<sup>r</sup>

Item dixit quod Petrona, soror ipsius testis, uxor Petri Bertrandi de Vauro, vidit semel prædictos hæreticos apud Rupem Vitalis, in domo ipsius testis, ipso teste<sup>8</sup> vidente, sed non adoravit<sup>9</sup> eos, nec aliud fecit ibi. Et est dimidius annus vel circa.

Item dixit se audivisse dici a prædictis hæreticis, in domo ipsius testis, quod Petrus Bagalh de Vauro receperat pro ipsis,<sup>10</sup> sive pro ecclesia

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> -is added.

<sup>3</sup> -is added.

<sup>4</sup> -e perhaps added.

<sup>5</sup> -it added.

<sup>6</sup> originally Carniprim.

<sup>7</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>8</sup> -e perhaps added.

<sup>9</sup> -it added.

<sup>10</sup> ms proipsis.

heretics in the wood of the same witness and of his said brother, at the place called Puehcambaud.<sup>20</sup>

Item, he said that when the aforementioned Bernarda Gaubert of Roquevidal wished to be hereticated in her illness, the same witness went, with Peter of Bugat, to look for the aforesaid heretics at the house of Arnold of Saint-Laurent. And they received them from the same Arnold in a certain ravine<sup>21</sup> above the house of Peter Borel, near the garrigues,<sup>22</sup> and they took them to Roquevidal, to the same witness's house. And neither of them | adored them then.

74<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that the aforesaid Peter of Bugat of Roquevidal saw the aforesaid heretics in the ground floor of the same witness's house, and in the sight of the same witness, he adored the same heretics, and for a long period of time heard their words and preachings. About the time: he said between the feast of Christmas and Lent immediately past.

Item, he said that Guillelma Andrieu, the wife of Raymond Bordier<sup>23</sup> of Lavour, sent a fish pasty<sup>24</sup> via the same witness to the aforesaid heretics, who were then in the same witness's house.

Item, he said that he had heard it said by the aforesaid heretics that Raymond Bordier was a great friend of theirs.

Item, he said that the money which William Faure of Lavour sent to the aforesaid heretics by his son William, at Roquevidal | in the same witness's house, was owed by the same William Faure to the aforesaid Raymond Bordier, and at the command of the same Raymond, he paid it to the heretics—as the same witness heard said by the same heretics.

75<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that Petrona, the same witness's sister, the wife of Peter Bertrand of Lavour, once saw the aforesaid heretics at Roquevidal, in the same witness's house, in the sight of the same witness, but she did not adore them, or do anything else there. And this was half a year ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he had heard it said by the aforesaid heretics, in the same witness's house, that Peter Bagal of Lavour had received for them,

<sup>20</sup> Currently Bois de Puehcambaud, 3 km NW of Roquevidal. Tarn, comm. Lacougotte-Cadoul, cant. Lavour, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>21</sup> This could simply indicate an area of mountainous terrain; however, as a hiding-place for heretics the translation 'ravine' seems more appropriate.

<sup>22</sup> Or 'near Les Garrigues', a very common place-name.

<sup>23</sup> Borderii (Bordier) seems to be a family name; probably from *borderius*, *bordar*.

<sup>24</sup> A 'pastillum' seems to be some sort of pasty or pie or loaf.

hæreticorum, quædam legata sive raubam, quam vendiderat, a quadam persona vel quibusdam. Ipse vero testis nescit quantum fuit illud; audivit tamen quod fuit bona rauba. Et est annus vel circa quod hoc audivit.

75<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod audivit eos dicentes quod Pontius de Albigesio de Vauro debebat eis novem solidos Tholosanos. Et hoc audivit inter festum Natalis Domini et Carniprivium proximo præterita.

Item dixit quod apud Rupem Vitalis, in solo sive area Petri de Bugato et Arnaldi, fratrum, vidit quadam nocte prædictos hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis prædictum Arnaldum de Bugato, et Guillelmum Terreni. Et ibi audiverunt verba et prædicationes ipsorum hæreticorum, sed non adoraverunt<sup>1</sup> eos, ipso teste vidente. Ipse tamen testis recessit inde, aliis remanentibus cum eisdem hæreticis. Et fuit annus circa festum Natalis Domini proxime transactum.

Item dixit quod quadam nocte viderunt hæreticos ipse testis<sup>2</sup> et dictus Guillelmus Terreni in nemore de Podio Arcambaudi quod est ipsius testis et Raymundi Hulgonis, fratris sui. Et ibi adoraverunt<sup>3</sup> eos, et audiverunt<sup>4</sup> prædicationes eorum. Et fuit inter festum Natalis Domini et Carniprivium<sup>5</sup> proximo præteritum.

Item dixit quod Raymunda Rogeria, socrus ipsius testis, visitavit prædictos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis,<sup>6</sup> sicut ipse et firmiter credit: audivit enim eos dicentes quod proba mulier videbatur.

Item dixit se audivisse dici a Tholosa, uxore ipsius testis,<sup>7</sup> quod Iohanna Rogeria, consobrina eiusdem Tholosæ, viderat<sup>8</sup> eos semel in domo prædicta ipsius testis.<sup>9</sup>

Item dixit quod quadam nocte venit ad domum ipsius testis ad videntum prædictos hæreticos, qui erant ibi, quidam homo<sup>10</sup> de Monte Caprario, senex et surdaster, de cuius nomine non recolit. Et vidit eos in sotulo, et adoravit, ipso teste vidente. Et fuit inter festum Natalis Domini et Carniprivium<sup>11</sup> | proximo præteritum.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* adoravit; -it *added*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* teste.

<sup>3</sup> -runt *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -v- *perhaps originally* -n-.

<sup>6</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>7</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* viderant.

<sup>9</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* habeo.

<sup>11</sup> -v- *perhaps originally* -n-.

or for the church of the heretics, certain legacies or stuff,<sup>25</sup> which he had sold, from a certain person or persons. The same witness however, does not know how much that was; but he heard that it was good stuff. And it was a year ago or thereabouts that he heard this.

Item, he said that he heard them saying that Pons of the Albigeois<sup>26</sup> of 75<sup>v</sup> Lavaur owed them nine Toulouse shillings. And he heard this between the feast of Christmas and Lent immediately past.

Item, he said that at Roquevidal, in the plot or piece of land<sup>27</sup> belonging to Peter of Bugat and Arnold, brothers, he saw the aforesaid heretics one night. And he saw there with them the aforesaid Arnold of Bugat, and William Terren. And there they heard the words and preachings of the same heretics, but did not adore them, that the same witness saw. However, the same witness went away from there, while the others remained with the same heretics. And this was about a year ago, around the feast of Christmas immediately past.

Item, he said that one night the same witness and the said William Terren saw the heretics in the wood of Puechcambaud, which belongs to the same witness and to Raymond | Hugh, his brother. And there they 76<sup>r</sup> adored them, and heard their preachings. And this was between the feast of Christmas and Lent immediately past.

Item, he said that Raymonda Roger, the same witness's mother-in-law, visited the aforesaid heretics in the same witness's house, as he also firmly believes—for he heard them saying that she seemed to be a worthy woman.

Item, he said that he had heard it said by Tolosa, the same witness's wife, that Joanna Roger, the cousin of the same Tolosa, had seen them once in the same witness's aforesaid house.

Item, he said that one night there came to the same witness's house, to see the aforesaid heretics, who were there, a certain man from Montcabrier,<sup>28</sup> old and somewhat deaf, whose name he does not recall. And he saw them in the ground floor, and adored, in the sight of the same witness. And this was between the feast of Christmas and Lent | immediately 76<sup>v</sup> past.

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<sup>25</sup> This word may simply refer to goods or belongings generally, as it seems to on 53<sup>r</sup>, but it could also refer specifically to clothing, as it does on 96<sup>v</sup>, or to an individual robe, as on 283<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> The Albi region.

<sup>27</sup> See 6<sup>v</sup> n. 4 above.

<sup>28</sup> Tarn, cant. Lavaur, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 987.



Item dixit quod Guillelmus Augerii de Monte Caprario, avunculus prædictæ Tholosæ, dictæ uxoris<sup>1</sup> ipsius testis, vidit prædictos hæreticos in sotulo ipsius testis,<sup>2</sup> et adoravit<sup>3</sup> eos, ipso teste<sup>4</sup> vidente. Et est annus vel amplius.

Item dixit quod audivit dictos hæreticos dicentes quod Na Stanova<sup>5</sup> de Podio Laurentio erat amicus eorum.

Item dixit se audivisse dici ab Arnalda, uxore Raymundi Hugonis, fratris ipsius testis,<sup>6</sup> quod Petrus Maurelli, nuncius hæreticorum, hospitabatur cum Arnaldo Garriga de Rupe Vitalis. Et est annus elapsus quod hoc audivit.

Item dixit quod audivit Guillelmum Terreni de Rupe Vitalis dicentem quod prædicti hæretici morati fuerant in domo Guillelmæ Cirone, cuius  
77<sup>r</sup> maritus Ber[nardus] de Monte Ciron, et Raymundus filius eius, dicuntur ivisse<sup>7</sup> ad hæreticos in Lombardiam. Sex<sup>8</sup> anni sunt de filio, et quatuor de patre.

Item dixit se audivisse dici a Petro de Bugato de Rupe Vitalis quod Richa, socrus Bernardi Tegularii de Rupe Vitalis, fuit hæreticata in ægritudine qua decessit per supradictos<sup>9</sup> hæreticos. Et est annus elapsus quod hoc audivit.

Item dixit se audivisse prædictos hæreticos dicentes quod magnum damnum erat de comite Fuxi qui nunc est, quia sic amitebat terram suam, et sic damnificabatur per dominum regem, et per gentes domini regis; et quod sic posset, amicus esset ecclesiæ hæreticorum. Audivit etiam ipsos dicentes quod pater istius comitis, dum viveret, multum sustinuit  
77<sup>v</sup> ecclesiam eorum. De tempore quo hoc audivit | dici ipse testis<sup>10</sup> ab ipsis

<sup>1</sup> *ms* dixit uxori; -i *probably added*.

<sup>2</sup> -is *probably added*.

<sup>3</sup> -vit *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -e *probably added*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* Nasta nova.

<sup>6</sup> -is *probably added*.

<sup>7</sup> *first -s- added*.

<sup>8</sup> *added*.

<sup>9</sup> *ms* supra dictos.

<sup>10</sup> -is *probably added*.

Item, he said that William Augier of Montcabrier, the uncle of the aforesaid Tolosa, the same witness's said wife, saw the aforesaid heretics in the same witness's ground floor, and adored them, in the sight of the same witness. And this was a year ago or more.

Item, he said that he heard the said heretics saying that Na Stanova<sup>29</sup> of Puylaurens was their friend.

Item, he said that he had heard it said by Arnalda, the wife of Raymond Hugh, the same witness's brother, that Peter Maurel, messenger of the heretics, used to lodge with Arnold Garriga of Roquevidal. And a year has passed since he heard this.

Item, he said that he heard William Terren of Roquevidal saying that the aforesaid heretics had stayed in the house of Guillelma Ciron, whose husband, | Bernard of Mont Séran,<sup>30</sup> and Raymond his son, are said to have gone to the heretics in Lombardy. This was six years ago with regard 77<sup>r</sup> to the son, and four with regard to the father.

Item, he said that he had heard it said by Peter of Bugat of Roquevidal that Richa, the mother-in-law of Bernard Tile-Maker (*or* Bernard, tile-maker) of Roquevidal, was hereticated in the illness of which she died by the aforesaid heretics. And a year has passed since he heard this.

Item, he said that he had heard the aforesaid heretics saying that it was a great pity about the present Count of Foix,<sup>31</sup> that he was losing his land in this way, and was harmed in this way by the lord king,<sup>32</sup> and by the lord king's people; and that, insofar as he could, he would be a friend to the church of the heretics. He also heard them saying that the father of this count, while he was alive,<sup>33</sup> greatly supported their church. About the time when the same witness heard this | said by the same heretics: 77<sup>v</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The name Stanova is unusual, and as a female name it does not accord with the male gender of the Latin for 'friend'. There are examples of male gender being used for women in inquisition depositions, especially 'boni homines' (Good Men). Another explanation is that 'Na Stanova' is a mistake for 'Raimundus de Astanova' (Raymond of Estanove), who was also a friend of these heretics; see his deposition below, 156<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Massac-Séran: Tarn, cant. Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, arrond. Castres. *DTF* lists 'castle of Séran', 'plain of' and 'ruined church of', but not 'Mont'; all are 4 km to the N of Roquevidal. Distance reduces the likelihood of Montseron, Aude, cant. Bastide-de-Sérou, arrond. Foix; *DTF*.

<sup>31</sup> Roger-Bernard III, count of Foix 1265–1302. The whole passage is discussed above, pp. 45–46.

<sup>32</sup> Philip III, the Bold, king of France 1270–1285.

<sup>33</sup> Roger IV, count of Foix 1241–1265.

hæreticis: dixit<sup>1</sup> quod quando rex cepit ipsum et terram suam, cum ipse testis<sup>2</sup> et alii redissent de exercitu.

Item dixit se audivisse prædictos hæreticos dicentes quod hostia consecrata per sacerdotem non erat corpus Christi, nec alius quam panis.

Item audivit eos dicentes de baptismo<sup>3</sup> et aliis sacramentis ecclesie Romanæ, quædam verba contraria de quibus ipse testis non recolit. Et credebat ipse testis omnia quæ sibi dicebant, sed modo non credit.

Prædictos hæreticos credidit esse bonos homines et veraces, et habere bonam fidem, et amicos Dei, et posse salvari per eos. Et fuit in illa credentia ex quo primo audivit eos prædicantes usque ad crastinum Paschæ proxime transactum, videlicet quarto nonas Aprilis, qua die | fuit captus et  
78<sup>r</sup> quæstionatus per dominum Eustachium, senescallum Tholosanum, quia non revelabat ei ubi erant hæretici.

Hæc deposuit<sup>4</sup> Tholosæ coram fratribus Ramnulpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus.<sup>5</sup> Et iuravit et ab iuravit *etcetera*, et fuit reconciliatus. Testes: fratres Ordinis Prædicatorum Petrus Barravi et Vitalis de Vassarone, magister Berengarius de Verneto, Bernardus Boneti, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, Inquisitionis<sup>6</sup> notarius,<sup>7</sup> qui hæc scripsi.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, decimo sexto kalendas Maii, prædictus testis<sup>8</sup> Bernardus Hugonis adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod dicti hæretici dixerunt sibi quod iret apud Sanctum Paulum de Cadaiovis, ad Stephanum de Pradinas, et ex parte eorum  
78<sup>v</sup> ei diceret quod veniret ad eos. Qui Stephanus, una | cum dicto teste, venit, et rediit ad dictos hæreticos ad domum ipsius testis, ubi erant dicti hæretici. Et ibi viderunt dictos hæreticos, et audierunt verba et monitiones eorum.

Interrogatus<sup>9</sup> si adoraverunt eos ibi, dixit quod non.

<sup>1</sup> *altered, probably from dicit or die.*

<sup>2</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms baptismos.*

<sup>4</sup> *ms de posuit; -uit added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-oribus added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-ionis added.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms notario.*

<sup>8</sup> *-is perhaps added.*

<sup>9</sup> *-tus probably added.*

he said that it was when the king captured him and his land, when the same witness and others had returned from the army.

Item, he said that he had heard the aforesaid heretics saying that a host consecrated by a priest was not the body of Christ, or anything other than bread.

Item, he heard them saying, concerning baptism and the other sacraments of the Roman church, certain hostile words which the same witness does not recall. And the same witness believed all that they said to him, but now he does not believe it.

He believed that the aforesaid heretics were good men and truthful, and that they had a good faith, and were friends of God, and that one could be saved through them. And he was in that belief from the first time he heard them preaching until the morrow of last Easter, that is, four days before the nones of April, on which day | he was captured and put to the question by lord Eustace, the seneschal of Toulouse,<sup>34</sup> because he would not reveal to him where the heretics were. 78<sup>r</sup>

These things he attested at Toulouse before the brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. And he took an oath and abjured etc., and was reconciled. Witnesses: the brothers of the Order of Preachers Peter Barrau and Vital of *Vassaron*,<sup>35</sup> master Berengar of Vernet, Bernard Bonet, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, sixteen days before the kalends of May,<sup>36</sup> the aforesaid witness Bernard Hugh added to his confession, saying that the said heretics told him to go to Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, to Stephen of Pradines,<sup>37</sup> and to tell him on their behalf to come to them. Which Stephen, together | with the said witness, came, and returned to the said heretics at the same witness's house, where the said heretics were. And there they saw the said heretics, and heard their words and admonitions. 78<sup>v</sup>

Asked if they adored them there, he said no.

<sup>34</sup> On Eustace, see p. 46 above.

<sup>35</sup> Place of origin not identified. Sent to study to Carcassonne (1266) and to study theology to Agen (1270), he was assigned to the convent in Marseilles (1272) and as lecturer in theology to Rieux (1277), Auvillar (1280) and Saint-Sever (1283). *ACP*, pp. 116, 170, 213, 239, 265.

<sup>36</sup> April 16 1274.

<sup>37</sup> Tarn, comm. Massac-Séran, cant. Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

Dixit tamen quod dictus Stephanus de Pradinas legebat in libro quodam dictorum hæreticorum.

Dixit etiam dictus testis quod semel dicti hæretici tradiderunt ipsi testi<sup>1</sup> quemdam saculum ubi poterant bene esse viginti solidi<sup>2</sup> Tholosani<sup>3</sup> vel circa, ut et ipse testis<sup>4</sup> eos traderet dicto Stephano de Pradinis: quod et fecit.

79<sup>r</sup> Dixit etiam dictus testis quod prædicti hæretici dixerunt sibi quod ex parte ipsorum<sup>5</sup> iret ad Bernardum Caercinum de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, ut ipsi testi traderet denarios quos sciebat: quos idem Bernardus Caercini eidem testi tradidit, in quodam panno in|volutos; quos etiam denarios ipse testis tradidit dictis hæreticis. Quibus denariis traditis, dixerunt dicti hæretici quod bene valere potuerunt<sup>6</sup> dicti denarii centum solidos<sup>7</sup> Tholosanos.<sup>8</sup> De tempore receptionis dictæ pecuniæ a dicto Bernardo Caercino: dixit quod annus est vel circa.

Item dixit quod quidam homo<sup>9</sup> qui vocabatur Raymundus Textor de Sancto Foelice, venit ad domum ipsius testis<sup>10</sup> ad videndum ibi hæreticos: quos non vidit, quia non erant ibi. Dixit tamen Raymundus Textor ipsi testi quod libenter recederet in Lombardiam ad<sup>11</sup> hæreticandum,<sup>12</sup> si haberet bonam societatem.

Interrogatus<sup>13</sup> de tempore dicti Raymundi Textoris, dixit quod circa Ramos Palmarum proximo præteritos.

79<sup>v</sup> Item dixit dictus testis quod audivit dici a prædictis hæreticis quod Raymundus Tiragoiran de Sancto | Paulo de Cadaiovis erat eorum amicus, et libenter faceret eis bonum si posset.

<sup>1</sup> -i *probably added*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms solidis; -is added*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms Tholosanis; -is added*.

<sup>4</sup> -is *probably added*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms ipsarum*.

<sup>6</sup> *ms poterunt*.

<sup>7</sup> *ms solidis; -is added*.

<sup>8</sup> *ms Tholosanis; -is added*.

<sup>9</sup> *ms habeo*.

<sup>10</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>11</sup> *superscript*.

<sup>12</sup> -andum *added*.

<sup>13</sup> -tus *added*.

He said however that the said Stephen of Pradines read in a certain book belonging to the said heretics.

The said witness also said that the said heretics once gave the same witness a certain little bag where there could well have been twenty Toulouse shillings or thereabouts, for the same witness to give them to the said Stephen of Pradines: which he did.

The said witness also said that the aforesaid heretics told him to go on their behalf to Bernard the Cahorsin of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, for him to give the same witness some money which he knew of: which the same Bernard the Cahorsin gave to the same witness, wrapped in a certain cloth; | which money also the same witness gave to the said heretics. When this money had been handed over, the said heretics said that the said money could well be worth one hundred Toulouse shillings. 79<sup>r</sup>

About the time of the receipt of the said money from the said Bernard the Cahorsin: he said that it was a year ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that a certain man who was called Raymond Tisserand (or, Raymond, weaver)<sup>38</sup> of Saint-Félix, came to the same witness's house to see the heretics there: and he did not see them, because they were not there. However, Raymond Tisserand said to the same witness that he would willingly go away into Lombardy to be hereticated, if he had good company.

Asked about the time of the said Raymond Tisserand he said around last Palm Sunday.

Item, the said witness said that he heard it said by the aforesaid heretics that Raymond Tiragoiran of St | Paul-Cap-de-Joux was their friend, and would willingly do them good if he could. 79<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> The interpretation 'Raymond, weaver' is more likely because his son is a weaver by profession.

Dixit etiam quod audivit dici a dicto Raymundo Tiragoiran quod miserat dictis hæreticis bene trecentos<sup>1</sup> solidos<sup>2</sup> Melgorienses.<sup>3</sup>

Item dixit dictus testis<sup>4</sup> quod audivit prædictos hæreticos dicentes quod Aygolan Dalgarii erat eorum amicus et credens.

Item dixit quod Sazia de Bugato de Rocavidal aliquot loquebatur libenter cum ipso teste<sup>5</sup> de hæreticis, et ter eidem testi<sup>6</sup> tradidit panem quod traderet dictis hæreticis; quod et fecit. De tempore: dixit quod a duobus annis citra.

Item dixit dictus testis<sup>7</sup> quod Petrus de Bugato de Rocavidal, filius dictæ Saziæ, tradidit eidem testi<sup>8</sup> unam eminam frumenti ex parte cuiusdam hominis, quem sibi noluit nomi|nare. Quam eminam frumenti tradidit eidem dictus Petrus ut eam traderet dictis hæreticis; quod et fecit. De tempore: dixit quod circa festum Penthecostes proxime venturum erunt duo anni vel circa.

Item dixit idem testis<sup>9</sup> quod Arnaldus de Sancto Laurentio debebat dictis hæreticis tresdecim solidos Tholosanos, ut audivit idem testis dici ab eisdem hæreticis, quod idem testis, ex parte dictorum hæreticorum, petiit a dicto Arnaldo Laurentii: quos sibi non tradidit quia non habebat. Et tunc dixit idem testis<sup>10</sup> quod traderet prædictos tresdecim solidos Gualhardæ de Luganno pro quadam equa quam idem testis<sup>11</sup> emerat nomine dictorum hæreticorum, et de eorum denariis, de ipsa Galharda, quando haberet dictos tresdecim solidos Tholosanos quos promisit dictus Arnaldus de Sancto | Laurentio se facturum.

Item dixit quod Fortius, filius Bernardi Garrige de Maurenx, venit ad domum eiusdem testis<sup>12</sup> ad videndum ibi hæreticos. Quos vidit et adoravit<sup>13</sup> ibi semel, ter flexis genibus, dicendo 'Benedicite' secundum ritum eorum; et audivit verba et monitiones eorum. Et fuit diu ibi cum dictis hæreticis.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* trecentis; -is *added*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* solidis; -is *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* Melgoriensibus; -ibus *added*.

<sup>4</sup> *originally* testator.

<sup>5</sup> -e *probably added*.

<sup>6</sup> -i *probably added*.

<sup>7</sup> *originally* testator.

<sup>8</sup> -i *probably added*.

<sup>9</sup> -is *probably added*.

<sup>10</sup> -tis *probably added*.

<sup>11</sup> -tis *added*.

<sup>12</sup> -is *probably added*.

<sup>13</sup> -it *added*.

He also said that he heard it said by the said Raymond Tiragoiran that he had sent the said heretics a full three hundred Melgueil shillings.<sup>39</sup>

Item, the said witness said that he heard the aforesaid heretics saying that Aygolan of Algans<sup>40</sup> was their friend and believer.

Item, he said that Sazia of Bugat of Roquevidal spoke freely with the same witness about the heretics on several occasions, and three times gave the same witness bread to give to the said heretics; which he did. About the time: he said within the last two years.

Item, the said witness said that Peter of Bugat of Roquevidal, the son of the said Sazia, gave the same witness a measure of wheat on behalf of a certain man, whom he [Peter] would not | name to him. The said Peter 80<sup>r</sup> gave this measure of wheat to him to give to the said heretics; which he did. About the time: he said that at around the next feast of Pentecost it will be two years or thereabouts.

Item, the same witness said that Arnold of Saint-Laurent owed the said heretics thirteen Toulouse shillings, as the same witness heard said by the same heretics; which the same witness, on behalf of the said heretics, requested from the said Arnold of Saint-Laurent: which he did not give him, because he did not have it. And the same witness then said that he would give the aforesaid thirteen shillings to Galharda of Lugan for a certain mare which the same witness had bought in the name of the said heretics, and with their money, from the same Galharda, when he had the said thirteen Toulouse shillings which the said Arnold of Saint- | 80<sup>v</sup> Laurent promised that he would pay.

Item, he said that Fort, the son of Bernard Garrigue of Maurens,<sup>41</sup> came to the house of the same witness to see the heretics there. He saw and adored them there once, genuflecting three times, saying 'Bless me' according to their rite; and he heard their words and admonitions. And he was there with the said heretics for a long time.

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<sup>39</sup> The coins issued by the counts of Melgueuil at Maugio were dominant in exchange in Languedoc from the twelfth to the late thirteenth century; Spufford, *Handbook*, pp. 137–138.

<sup>40</sup> Probably one of two of this name, Tarn, comm. and cant. Puylaurens, arrond. Castres, or Tarn, cant. Cuq-Toulza, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 859.

<sup>41</sup> Maurens-Scopont, Tarn, cant. Cuq-Toulza, arrond. Castres; *Saisimentum*, p. 425.



Hæc deposuit coram prædicto inquisitore. Testes:<sup>1</sup> fratres Ordinis Prædicatorum Petrus Ferrandi et Arnaldus Aucardi, et ego Bernardus Boneti, notarius prædictus, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, octavo Idus Maii, prædictus Bernardus addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod ipse testis,<sup>2</sup> quadam die, de mandato Guillelmi Prunelli et *Bernardi* de Tilhols, hæreticorum, tunc morantium in domo ipsius testis<sup>3</sup> et fratris sui, significavit Guillelmo Giraudi, qui moratur  
 81<sup>r</sup> apud Avesetum, prope | Rocavidal, et fuit de Podio Auderio, quem ipse testis<sup>4</sup> invenit in mercato de Vauro, quod ipsi hæretici volebant ipsum Guillelmum Guiraudi videre, et sibi loqui. Et post dies aliquos,<sup>5</sup> dictus Guillelmus Guiraudi venit apud Rocavidal, ad domum ipsius testis,<sup>6</sup> et quæsit ab ipso teste<sup>7</sup> utrum essent ibi hæretici. Qui dixit ei<sup>8</sup> quod non, et rediit ad propria. Sed alia vice venit ibi de nocte, et ipse testis<sup>9</sup> significavit tunc ipsis hæreticis, qui erant in domo sua, quod dictus Guillelmus Guiraudi redierat ad videndum eos, et prædicti hæretici<sup>10</sup> exiverunt extra ad ortos loqutum cum eo. Ipse vero testis<sup>11</sup> non interfuit, nec vidit dictum Guillelmum Guiraudi cum ipsis hæreticis, sed postea audivit dici [a] hæreticis quod viderant eum, et erant loqui cum eo. Et fuit inter Natale et Carniprivium<sup>12</sup> proximo præterita.

81<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod Bernardus de Podio de Pradas dixit ipsi testi, quadam die apud Vaurum, in domo Guillelmi Fabri, ex parte hæreticorum, hæc verba: 'Eatis ad illum quem scitis, et dicatis ei quod ipse sciat, cum illo quem scit de Soricinio, si nuntius hæreticorum venit, cum quo recedere possent de terra.'

Interrogatus<sup>13</sup> ipse quis est ille quem ipse testis<sup>14</sup> sciebat, dixit quod Petrus de Bugato de Rocavidal, et ipse debet scire quis ille de Soricinio.

<sup>1</sup> -tes added.

<sup>2</sup> -is probably added.

<sup>3</sup> -is probably added.

<sup>4</sup> -tis probably added.

<sup>5</sup> ms aliquod.

<sup>6</sup> -tis added.

<sup>7</sup> -te probably added.

<sup>8</sup> ms eis.

<sup>9</sup> -tis added.

<sup>10</sup> ms hæreti; written hære/ti over end of line.

<sup>11</sup> -tis added.

<sup>12</sup> -v- altered, perhaps from -n-.

<sup>13</sup> -tus added.

<sup>14</sup> -is added.

These things he attested before the aforesaid inquisitor. Witnesses: the brothers of the Order of Preachers Peter Ferrand<sup>42</sup> and Arnold Aucard,<sup>43</sup> and I, Bernard Bonet, the aforesaid notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, eight days before the ides of May,<sup>44</sup> the aforesaid Bernard added to his confession, saying that one day the same witness, at the command of William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, heretics, who were then staying in the house of the same witness and of his brother, informed William Guiraud, who lives at Avezac<sup>45</sup> near | Roquevidal, and 81<sup>r</sup> who was from Péchaudier,<sup>46</sup> whom the same witness found in the market of Lavour, that the same heretics wanted to see the same William Guiraud, and to speak to him. And some days later, the said William Guiraud came to Roquevidal, to the same witness's house, and asked the same witness whether the heretics were there. He told him that they were not, and he returned to his own affairs. But on another occasion he came there at night, and the same witness then informed the same heretics, who were in his house, that the said William Guiraud had returned to see them; and the aforesaid heretics went outside into the gardens to speak with him. The same witness, indeed, was not present, nor did he see the said William Guiraud with the same heretics, but afterwards he heard it said by the heretics that they had seen him, and had spoken with him. And this was between Christmas and Lent immediately past.

Item, he said that Bernard of Puy of Prades said these words to the 81<sup>v</sup> same witness, one day at Lavour, in the house of William Faure (or William, smith), on behalf of the heretics: 'Go to you-know-who, and say to him that he-knows-what with the person he knows from Sorèze, if the messenger of the heretics comes, with whom they could go away from the land.'

Asked who this person whom the same witness knew is, he said Peter of Bugat of Roquevidal, and he must know who the person from Sorèze is.

<sup>42</sup> Not found in ACP.

<sup>43</sup> Not found in ACP.

<sup>44</sup> May 8 [1274].

<sup>45</sup> Tarn, comm. Lacougote-Cadoul, cant. Lavour, arrond. Castres; *Saisimentum*, p. 354; DTF. It is 3 km NW of Roquevidal.

<sup>46</sup> Tarn, cant. Cuq-Toulza, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1009.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> quis erat nuntius hæreticus, dixit quod Fortius, filius Bernardi Guarrigua de Maurenx.

De tempore: dixit quod in Quadragesima proxime præterita.

Dixit etiam quod quando ipse testis<sup>2</sup> interrogavit dictum *Petrum* de Bugato super præmissis, ipse respondit ipsi testi<sup>3</sup> quod bene sciebat quod nondum venerat prædictus nuntius.

82<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod quadam vice | dictus *Petrus* de Bugato interrogavit ipsum testem<sup>4</sup> utrum haberet de denariis<sup>5</sup> hæreticorum, qui respondit ei quod habebat quinque solidos.<sup>6</sup> Et ille petiit mutuo ex illis tres solidos;<sup>7</sup> et habuit eos—quos postea non restituit, quod ipse testis<sup>8</sup> sciat. Sed hoc significavit ipse testis<sup>9</sup> hæreticis. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Dixit etiam quod dictum mutuum placuit hæreticis.

Hæc deposuit<sup>10</sup> Tholosæ coram fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum Ramnolpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus. Testes: frater Ramnolphus Guillelmi eiusdem ordinis, magister *Petrus* de Baure, Iaqueus carcerarius, et ego, Atho<sup>11</sup> de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>12</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> -is probably added.

<sup>3</sup> -i probably added.

<sup>4</sup> -em added.

<sup>5</sup> -iis probably added.

<sup>6</sup> -os perhaps added.

<sup>7</sup> -os probably added.

<sup>8</sup> -is probably added.

<sup>9</sup> -tis perhaps added.

<sup>10</sup> -suit added.

<sup>11</sup> name repeated at end of line and beginning of next; first occurrence deleted.

<sup>12</sup> originally inquisitor.

Asked who the heretical messenger was, he said Fort, the son of Bernard Garrigue of Maurens.

About the time: he said during last Lent.

He also said that when the same witness questioned the said Peter of Bugat on the above, he answered the same witness that he knew well that the aforesaid messenger had not yet come.

Item, he said that on one occasion | the said Peter of Bugat asked the same witness whether he had any of the heretics' money, and he answered him that he had five shillings. And he asked for a loan of three shillings from that; and he had them—which he did not afterwards repay, so far as the same witness knows. But the same witness informed the heretics of this. And this was at the same time. 82<sup>r</sup>

He also said that the said loan pleased the heretics.

These things he attested at Toulouse before the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Ranulph William<sup>47</sup> of the same order, master Peter of Vaure,<sup>48</sup> Jacquet the gaoler, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

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<sup>47</sup> Not found in ACP.

<sup>48</sup> A master P. (Peter) of Vaure, sometimes designated chaplain (*capellanus*), acted as a witness to inquisition trials in Carcassone (1250–1251); Douais, *Documents*, pp. 122–124, 129, 133, 144, 149, 151–153, 168.

- 82<sup>v</sup> *Deposition de Bona, femme de | Bernard de Podio de Pradis pres de Puy Laurens, par la quelle elle declara que son dit mari avoit souvent receu chez eux Guillaume Prunelli et Bernard de Tilhols, heretiques; qu'ils les avoient adorez avec plusieurs autres personnes y nommées, et entre autres Bernard<sup>1</sup> de Montesquieu, domicellus, fils de Saxius, chevalier de Puy Laurens; qu'elle avoit abiuré l'heresie lors de l'abiuration generale a Puy Laurens, en*  
 83<sup>r</sup> *presence de l'inquisiteur; et | qu'elle avoit confessé a R. eveque de Tholouse les crimes quelle avoit commis avec B. Godalh, le croyant iuste, et saint.*

16<sup>o</sup> kalendas Maii, 1274.

Anno quo supra, decimo sexto kalendas Maii, Bona uxor Bernardi de Podio de Pradis, prope Podium Laurentii, testis iurata<sup>2</sup> et requisita<sup>3</sup> ut supra, dixit quod apud Pradas, in manso de Podio, vidit pluries Guillel-  
 83<sup>v</sup> mum Prunelli et Bernardum de Tilhols, hæreticos, quos Bernardus de Podio, maritus ipsius testis,<sup>4</sup> recepit ibi: quod valde displicuit ipsi testi | a principio. Et fuerunt ibi morati dicti hæretici duabus vicibus, altera per octo dies vel pluries,<sup>5</sup> et altera per quindecim dies vel pluries. Et ibi ipsa testis,<sup>6</sup> et dictus Bernardus de Podio, maritus ipsius testis,<sup>7</sup> tenuerunt ipsos hæreticos, providendo eis in comestione, et parando eis cibaria, et alias serviendo. Et ibi ipsa testis<sup>8</sup> et dictus maritus ipsius testis<sup>9</sup> multo-  
 ties adoraverunt<sup>10</sup> eos, et multotiens<sup>11</sup> audiverunt verba et monitiones eorum, et multotiens comederunt de pane benedicto ab eis. De tempore: dixit quod prima vice fuerunt ibi circa festum Omnium Sanctorum proximo præteritum, secunda vice circa medium Quadragesimæ proximo transactæ.

<sup>1</sup> *superscript.*

<sup>2</sup> *-a added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-sita added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-is probably added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-i- added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-is probably added.*

<sup>7</sup> *-is probably added.*

<sup>8</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>9</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>10</sup> *-verunt added.*

<sup>11</sup> *adoraverunt deleted.*

*The deposition of Bona, wife of | Bernard of Puy, of Prades near Puylaurens, 82<sup>v</sup>  
 in which she stated that her said husband had often received William Prunel  
 and Bernard of Tilhol, heretics, in their house; that they had adored them  
 with several other people named here, and among others with Bernard of  
 Montesquieu, squire, son of Saix, knight of Puylaurens; that she had abjured  
 heresy during the general abjuration at Puylaurens, in the presence of the  
 inquisitor; and | that she had confessed to Raymond, bishop of Toulouse, 83<sup>r</sup>  
 the crimes which she had committed with Bernard Godalh, believing him  
 to be a just and holy man.*

*16 days before the kalends of May, 1274.*

In the same year as above, sixteen days before the kalends of May,<sup>1</sup>  
 Bona, the wife of Bernard of Puy of Prades, near Puylaurens, sworn in  
 as a witness and questioned as above, said that at Prades, in the *mas*  
 of Puy, she often saw William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, heretics,  
 whom Bernard of Puy, the same witness's husband, received there: which  
 greatly displeased the same witness | from the start. And the said heretics 83<sup>v</sup>  
 stayed there twice, on one occasion for eight days or more, and on  
 the other for fifteen days or more. And there the same witness, and  
 the said Bernard of Puy, the same witness's husband, kept the same  
 heretics, providing provisions for them, and preparing food for them,  
 and serving them in other ways. And there the same witness and the  
 same witness's said husband often adored them, and often heard their  
 words and admonitions, and often ate of bread blessed by them. About  
 the time: she said that on the first occasion they were there around  
 the last feast of All Saints, on the second occasion around last Mid-  
 Lent.

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<sup>1</sup> April 16 [1274].

Prædictos hæreticos credidit esse bonos homines, et veraces, et amicos Dei, et habere bonam fidem, et posse salvari per eos; et fuit in illa  
84<sup>r</sup> credentia a tempore | prædicto, quo primo audivit verba et monitiones eorum, usque modo quando ante heri fuit capta propter<sup>1</sup> hæresim.

Item dixit quod vidit cum ipsis hæreticis Isarnum de Podio, sororium ipsius testis, simul cum ipsa teste<sup>2</sup> et dicto<sup>3</sup> Bernardo de Podio, marito ipsius testis, audiente multotiens verba et monitiones eorum; sed non vidit ipsum Isarnum adorare.<sup>4</sup>

Item dixit quod ibi venit semel Bernardus Caercini, de honore Sancti Pauli de Cadaiovis, ad videndum ipsos hæreticos, et vidit eos ibi, sed ipsa testis<sup>5</sup> non intravit ad eos cum dicto Bernardo, nec vidit eum<sup>6</sup> ibi simul cum ipsis hæreticis: vidit tamen ipsum ingredientem ad eos; et tunc apportavit ibi unum pastillum piscium vel anguillarum. Et hoc fuit circa festum Omnium Sanctorum proxime præteritum.

84<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod venit ibi Bernardus Hugonis de Rupe Vitalis, qui apportavit ibi Guillelmo Prunelli, hæretico, unum supertunicale,<sup>7</sup> et unum caputium cum pellibus blanchis de sarga blava. Et vidit ipsa testis<sup>8</sup> Bernardum Hugonis prædictum sedentem cum ipsis hæreticis, sed non vidit eum adorantem.<sup>9</sup>

Dixit etiam quod altera vice venit ibi prædictus Bernardus<sup>10</sup> Hugonis ad dictos hæreticos, sed non vidit tunc ipsum Bernardum cum ipsis hæreticis. Et fuit in Quadragesima proxime transacta.

Hæc deposuit<sup>11</sup> Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore.<sup>12</sup> Testes: frater Arnaldus Aucardi, et frater Petrus Ferrandi, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>13</sup> notarius, qui hoc scripsi. Et iuravit et abiuravit etcetera.

<sup>1</sup> -ter added.

<sup>2</sup> -e added.

<sup>3</sup> altered.

<sup>4</sup> -re added; -r- perhaps altered.

<sup>5</sup> -is added.

<sup>6</sup> ms cum.

<sup>7</sup> ms super tunicale.

<sup>8</sup> -is added.

<sup>9</sup> ms adoravit.

<sup>10</sup> ms prædicto Bernardo.

<sup>11</sup> -osuit added over deletion beginning P-.

<sup>12</sup> -e probably added.

<sup>13</sup> originally inquisitor.

She believed that the aforesaid heretics were good men, and truthful, and friends of God, and that they had a good faith, and that one could be saved through them; and she was in that belief from the aforesaid time, | 84<sup>r</sup> when she first heard their words and admonitions, until now, the day before yesterday, when she was captured for heresy.

Item, she said that she saw with the same heretics Isarn of Puy, the same witness's brother-in-law, together with the same witness and the said Bernard of Puy, the same witness's husband, often hearing their words and admonitions; but she did not see the same Isarn adore.

Item, she said that there came there once Bernard the Cahorsin, of the honour of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, to see the same heretics, and he saw them there, but the same witness did not go in to them with the said Bernard, nor did she see him there together with the same heretics: she did however see him going in to them; and on that occasion he<sup>2</sup> brought there a pasty of fish or eels. And this was around the feast of All Saints last.

Item, she said that there came there Bernard Hugh of Roquevidal, who 84<sup>v</sup> brought there to William Prunel, the heretic, a surcoat, and a blue serge hood (trimmed) with white furs. And the same witness saw the aforesaid Bernard Hugh sitting with the same heretics, but she did not see him adoring.

She also said that on another occasion the aforesaid Bernard Hugh came there to the said heretics, but she did not then see the same Bernard with the same heretics. And this was during last Lent.

These things she attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Arnold Aucard and brother Peter Ferrand, of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote this. And she took an oath and abjured etc.

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<sup>2</sup> It is not absolutely clear who the subject of this verb is: but it is probably Bernard the Cahorsin.



85<sup>r</sup> Anno quo supra, quarto ka[l]endas Maii, prædicta Bona addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod apud Pradis, in prædicta domo sive manso ipsius testis,<sup>1</sup> vidit cum supradictis hæreticis multotiens Bernardum de Cantapla, iuvenem de Pradis, filium Bernardi<sup>2</sup> de Cantapla, qui, ipsa teste<sup>3</sup> præsentem, et<sup>4</sup> audivit<sup>5</sup> verba et monitiones eorum, sed non adoravit. Et fuit a festo Omnium Sanctorum citra, et a Carniprivio citra.

Item dixit se vidisse cum dictis hæreticis, bis vel ter, Raymundum Navarr de Pradis, qui audierat<sup>6</sup> verba et monitiones eorum. Non tamen vidit<sup>7</sup> eum adorantem<sup>8</sup> eos. Et fuit a dictis temporibus citra.

Item, anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, sexto nonas Maii, prædicta Bona addidit confessioni suæ quod ipsa testis,<sup>9</sup> 85<sup>v</sup> et Bernardus de Podio, vir ipsius testis,<sup>10</sup> receptaverunt in domum | suam apud Pradas Bernardum Gondalh, hæreticum, solum, quem, prout Bernardus, vir ipsius testis,<sup>11</sup> dixit<sup>12</sup> ipsi testi, adduxerunt ibi Stephanus de Leumers et Bernardus de Cantapola et Raymundus Navarr de Pradas. Quem receptaverunt multotiens, tenentes eum in domo sua comedentem et bibentem de bonis domus, et iacentem quandoque per octo vel quindecim dies, vel plus vel minus, prout placebat ipsis<sup>13</sup> hæreticis.<sup>14</sup> Et ipsa testis<sup>15</sup> præparavit multotiens ipsi hæretico cibaria, et comedit multotiens ipsa testis<sup>16</sup> de pane benedicto ipsius hæretici, dicendo 'Benedicite' secundum ritum ipsorum hæreticorum. Et vidit ibi cum dicto hæretico dictum Bernardum de Podio, virum ipsius testis,<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> ms Bernardum.

<sup>3</sup> originally testis.

<sup>4</sup> added in margin.

<sup>5</sup> ms audiente; -nte added.

<sup>6</sup> -rat added.

<sup>7</sup> altered.

<sup>8</sup> -ntem added; -n- probably altered.

<sup>9</sup> -is added.

<sup>10</sup> -is added.

<sup>11</sup> -is added.

<sup>12</sup> ms dixerunt.

<sup>13</sup> -is added.

<sup>14</sup> -is added.

<sup>15</sup> -is added.

<sup>16</sup> -is added.

<sup>17</sup> -is added.

In the same year as above, four days before the | kalends of May,<sup>3</sup> the 85<sup>r</sup>  
 aforesaid Bona added to her confession, saying that at Prades, in the same  
 witness's aforesaid house or *mas*, she often saw with the aforesaid heretics  
 Bernard of Cantepoule,<sup>4</sup> a young man of Prades, the son of Bernard of  
 Cantepoule, who in the presence of the same witness, also heard their  
 words and admonitions, but did not adore. And this was since the feast  
 of All Saints, and since Lent.

Item, she said that she had seen with the said heretics, two or three  
 times, Raymond Navarre of Prades, who had heard their words and  
 admonitions. She did not however see him adoring them. And this was  
 since the said times.

Item, in the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-  
 four, six days before the nones of May,<sup>5</sup> the aforesaid Bona added to her  
 confession that the same witness, and Bernard of Puy, the same witness's  
 husband, received in their house | at Prades Bernard Godalh, heretic,<sup>6</sup> 85<sup>v</sup>  
 alone, whom, as Bernard, the same witness's husband, said to the same  
 witness, Stephen of *Leumers*<sup>7</sup> and Bernard of Cantepoule and Raymond  
 Navarre of Prades brought there. They received him often, keeping him in  
 their house, eating and drinking of the goods of the house, and lying there  
 sometimes for eight or fifteen days, or more or less, as it pleased the same  
 heretics. And the same witness often prepared food for the same heretic,  
 and the same witness often ate of the blessed bread of the same heretic,  
 saying 'Bless me', according to the rite of the same heretics. And she saw  
 there with the said heretic the said Bernard of Puy, the same witness's

<sup>3</sup> April 28 [1274].

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, mairie Cuq-Toulza, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>5</sup> May 2 1274.

<sup>6</sup> A parishioner of Laurac, Bernard of Pradals (Bernardus des Pradal), confessed (December 6 1245), that he had received in his house in Prades in 1244 three heretics, Isarn Lord (Isarnus Dominus), Bernard (Bernardus) Godalh and Raymond (Ramundus) Tardiu; Toulouse 609, f. 235<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Not identified. See Laumère: Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Caezes-Mondenard, cant. Lauzerte, arrond. Castelsarrasin; *DTF*.

Bernardum de Cantapola, Stephanum de Leumer, et Raymundum Navarr prædictos, et Guillelmam, uxorem dicti Stephani de Leumer, 86<sup>r</sup> et | Alairz, uxorem<sup>1</sup> Bernardi de Cantapola, non simul sed separatim ...,<sup>2</sup> dictos homines simul per se, et dictas mulieres per se. Et ibi ipsa testis adoravit<sup>3</sup> plus quam quater prædictos hæreticos, et audivit prædicationem eius, similiter multotiens, et vidit dictos homines adorare<sup>4</sup> eos: sed non vidit dictas mulieres adorantes<sup>5</sup> quod recolat.

Adiecit etiam quod prædictus hæreticus stetit tunc tam in domo ipsius testis<sup>6</sup> ut dictum est, quam in domibus dictorum *Bernardi* de Cantapola et Stephanum Leumer, per duos menses vel circa; ita quod quando exhibant de una illarum domorum ibant ad alteram. Et ipsa testis<sup>7</sup> vidit quater prædictum hæreticum in domo dicti *Bernardi* de Cantapola, et vidit ibi cum dicto hæretico Alairz prædictam, uxorem ipsius *Bernardi* de Cantapola, sed ipsa testis non adoravit<sup>8</sup> eos ibi quod recolat, nec vidit adorare.<sup>9</sup>

86<sup>v</sup> Visitavit etiam dictum hæreticum in quodam batudo Stephani de Leumer, ubi tenebant eum idem Stephanus et Guillelma uxor eius, et ipsa testis<sup>10</sup> apportavit mantellum proprium ipsius testis<sup>11</sup> dicto hæretico ut abrigaret se ne pateretur frigus, et tenuit ibi ipsum mantellum per diem et noctem, et postea cum ipso mantello rediit ad domum ipsius testis.<sup>12</sup> Sed non adoravit<sup>13</sup> tunc dictos hæreticos, nec aliquam personam vidit ibi tunc cum dicto hæretico. De tempore: dixit quod hoc fuit antequam compareret coram fratre Reginaldo et socio suo, quondam

<sup>1</sup> -em *perhaps added*.

<sup>2</sup> *Three dashes have been left in the manuscript at this point, presumably indicating an illegible passage in the original register.*

<sup>3</sup> -it *probably added*.

<sup>4</sup> -re *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -tes *added*; -n- *altered*.

<sup>6</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>7</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>8</sup> -it *added*.

<sup>9</sup> -are *probably added*.

<sup>10</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>11</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>12</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>13</sup> -it *added*.

husband, the aforesaid Bernard of Cantepoule, Stephen of *Leumer*, and Raymond Navarre, and Guillelma, the wife of the said Stephen of *Leumer*, and | Alairz, the wife of Bernard of Cantepoule, not together but separately ...,<sup>8</sup> the said men together by themselves, and the said women by themselves. And there the same witness adored the aforesaid heretics<sup>9</sup> more than four times, and heard their preaching, likewise many times, and saw the said men adore them: but she did not see the said women adoring that she recalls. 86<sup>r</sup>

She also added that the aforesaid heretic stayed then both in the same witness's house, as has been said, and in the houses of the said Bernard of Cantepoule and Stephen *Leumer*, for two months or thereabouts; so that when they<sup>10</sup> left one of those houses they went to the other. And the same witness saw the aforesaid heretic four times in the house of the said Bernard of Cantepoule, and she saw there with the said heretic the aforesaid Alairz, the same Bernard of Cantepoule's wife, but the same witness did not adore them there that she recalls, nor did she see anyone adore them.

She also visited the said heretic in a certain area of wasteland belonging to Stephen of *Leumer*, where the same Stephen and Guillelma his wife were keeping him, and the same witness brought the same witness's own cloak to the said heretic, for him to cover himself with so that he would not suffer cold, and he kept the same cloak there for a day and a night, and afterwards returned to the same witness's house with the same cloak. But she did not adore the said heretics<sup>11</sup> then, nor did she then see anyone there with the said heretic. About the time: she said that this was 86<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Three dashes have been left in the manuscript at this point, presumably indicating an illegible passage in the original register. The contradiction between Bona's reference to one heretic, Bernard of Godalh, and the subsequent reference to heretics plural suggests that the missing passage referred to one or more other heretics.

<sup>9</sup> Bona had only talked of one heretic, Bernard of Godalh, not heretics, plural.

<sup>10</sup> Again, this plural is at odds with the singular 'heretic' mentioned above.

<sup>11</sup> Again, 'heretics' (plural) here, whereas below and above there is only one.

inquisitoribus,<sup>1</sup> a quibus fuit citata nominatim cum quibusdam<sup>2</sup> personis de villa sua—de quo possunt esse novemdecim anni vel circa. Et negavit tunc veritatem coram dictis inquisitoribus,<sup>3</sup> scienter contra proprium  
87<sup>r</sup> iuramentum in iudicio constituta, quia non | poterat sibi probari.

Dixit etiam quod tunc abiuravit omnem hæresim coram dictis inquisitoribus.<sup>4</sup>

Dixit etiam quod postea, in abiuratione generali apud Podium Laurentium, abiuravit similiter omnem hæresim, coram inquisitore<sup>5</sup> de cuius nomine non recolit.

Dixit tamen quod propredicta<sup>6</sup> quæ comisit coram Bernardo Godalh, hæretico,<sup>7</sup> fuit confessa domino Raymundo, olim episcopo Tholosano; sed non fuit scriptum; et non fuit coram inquisitore,<sup>8</sup> nisi ut prædictum est.

Prædictum tamen Bernardum Godalh credidit esse bonum hominem, et sanctum, et habere bonam fidem; et recognoscit quod malefecit, quia post prædictas abiurationes peccavit multotiens et multipliciter in hæresi, ut supra in principio continetur.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* inquisitore; -ore added.

<sup>2</sup> -dam *perhaps* added.

<sup>3</sup> -ibus added.

<sup>4</sup> -ibus added.

<sup>5</sup> -e *probably* added.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* prope dicta.

<sup>7</sup> -o added.

<sup>8</sup> -ore added.

<sup>15</sup> Raymond of Le Fauga (Haute-Garonne, cant. and arrond. Muret) and Mirement (Haute-Garonne, cant. Auterive, arrond. Muret), OP, was the second prior of Montpellier, and from his post as the fourth provincial prior was elected bishop of Toulouse in 1231, dying at Toulouse October 19 1270. On families of this name, see Mundy, *Society*, pp. 318–324. The lack of procedure remarked upon here—the confession not being written—has a parallel in a notorious story about Raymond's role in a summary execution in 1234 that was told by William Pelhisson. Raymond masqueraded as a Cathar bishop at the bedside of an old and ill woman in Toulouse, in order to obtain a confession of her heretical sympathies. Failing to get her to recant, he condemned her, and the *viguier* of Toulouse had her taken out in her bed to be burnt; Wakefield, *Heresy*, pp. 215–216; Pelhisson, *Chronique*, pp. 60–65; *CaF* 6 (1971), pp. 238–239. See 274<sup>r</sup> n. 18 below on the crisis faced by Raymond in 1264 and his consultations of the diviner Raymond of Pouts. Douais, *Documents*, pp. lxxvii–lxxix; Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 127, 129, 133, 134, 171 n. 184, 182, 183, 185, 286 n. 118; 'Mort des prieurs', p. 193, no. 163; *CaF* 20 1985, pp. 185–191.

before she appeared before brother Reginald<sup>12</sup> and his companion,<sup>13</sup> the former inquisitors, by whom she was summoned by name with certain people of her village—which might be nineteen years ago, or thereabouts. And she denied the truth then before the said inquisitors, knowingly, contrary to her own oath when brought into the court, because it | could 87<sup>r</sup> not be proved against her.

She also said that she abjured all heresy then before the said inquisitors.

She also said that afterwards, in the general abjuration at Puylaurens she likewise abjured all heresy, before an inquisitor whose name she does not recall.<sup>14</sup>

She said however that she confessed the aforementioned things, which she committed before Bernard Godalh, heretic, to lord Raymond, formerly bishop of Toulouse;<sup>15</sup> but this was not written down; and she was not before an inquisitor, except as has been said above.

However, she believed that the aforesaid Bernard Godalh was a good man, and holy, and that he had a good faith; and she acknowledges that she did wrong, because after the aforesaid abjurations she sinned in heresy many times and in many ways, as is contained above at the beginning.

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<sup>12</sup> Reginald's place of origin—Chartres—and his mandate by count Alphonse of Poitiers to supervise the administration of the confiscated goods of condemned heretics suggest that he should be numbered among the northern clerics and officials brought to work in the south by Alphonse. He was probably at work as inquisitor by January 1255, the date to which Dossat assigns an extant letter in which Reginald protested at count Alphonse's officials executing heretics who had been condemned to life imprisonment is dated by Dossat. In June 1255 Reginald and his fellow inquisitor, John of Saint-Pierre, were described as the new inquisitors (*novi inquisitores*). There are many traces of Reginald's inquisitorial activity up to the late 1250s, and the coincidence of this period with the survival of an account of Toulouse inquisitors' expenses preserves such material details as the purchase of medicines when he was ill. He relinquished the post before 1263. Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 90, 95–98, 153, 185, 190–193, 245, 266–267, 277–278, 294.

<sup>13</sup> The companion was either John of Saint-Pierre, OP (see 55<sup>r</sup> n. 3 below), not to be confused with the John of Saint-Pierre who acted as inquisitor together with Bernard of Caux (upon whom see 64<sup>r</sup> n. 5 above), or William Bernard of Dax (upon whom see 114<sup>r</sup> n. 38 below), who replaced John in May 1257.

<sup>14</sup> Held in early December 1255; Dossat, *Crises*, p. 246.

Dixit etiam quod fuit confessa illa quæ comisit cum *Bernardo* Godalh,  
 87<sup>v</sup> hæretico, domino episcopo prædicto eo tempore quo fecit negativam  
 confessionem dicto fratri Reginaldo;<sup>1</sup> qui dominus episcopus monuit  
 ipsam testem<sup>2</sup> et inhibuit sibi ne postmodum rediret in hæresim, nec  
 comitteret aliquid in hæresi.

Hæc<sup>3</sup> deposuit<sup>4</sup> coram fratribus Ramnulphe de Placiaco et Pontio  
 de Parnacho, inquisitoribus. Testes: dominus *Petrus*, capellanus Drulie,  
*Bernardus* Boneti, notarius,<sup>5</sup> et magister Berengarius de Verneto, qui hoc  
 scripsit.

Item, anno quo supra, sexto idus Madii, prædicta Bona adiecit confes-  
 sioni suæ, dicens quod vidit Guillelmum Prunelli et Bernardum de Tilhos  
 socium suum, hæreticos,<sup>6</sup> in domo ipsius<sup>7</sup> testis,<sup>8</sup> et vidit ibi cum dictis  
 hæreticis Bernardum de Monte Esquivo, domicellum, filium Saxii, mili-  
 88<sup>r</sup> tis de Podio Laurentio,<sup>9</sup> et Bernardum de Podio, mari|tum ipsius testis,  
 et Bernardum de Cantapola. Et ibi dictus Bernardus de Monte Esquivo,  
 ipsa teste<sup>10</sup> vidente, adoravit dictos hæreticos, ter flexis genibus ante eos,  
 dicendo 'Benedicite', secundum modum hæreticorum.<sup>11</sup> Et ipsa testis non  
 adoravit ibi dictos [hæreticos] nec vidit alios præter dictum Bernardum  
 de Monte Esquivo [adorare], ad hoc<sup>12</sup> quod recolat. De tempore: circa  
 festum Omnium Sanctorum proxime transactum.

Item dixit quod alia vice venit dictus *Bernardus* de Monte Esquivo ad  
 domum ipsius testis<sup>13</sup> apud Pradas, et iacuit ibi per unam noctem, et  
 Macip, domicellus, dominus de Pradas, cum dicto Bernardo de Monte  
 Esquivo. Et dicti hæretici erant tunc in domo ipsius testis,<sup>14</sup> sed ipsa

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Rogerio.

<sup>2</sup> *-em probably added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-æ- altered, perhaps from -o-.*

<sup>4</sup> *-suit added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-ius added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-os added.*

<sup>7</sup> *-us added in very different hand—perhaps by reader?*

<sup>8</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>9</sup> *-o altered, perhaps from -i.*

<sup>10</sup> *-e added.*

<sup>11</sup> *-orum added.*

<sup>12</sup> *non deleted.*

<sup>13</sup> *-is probably added.*

<sup>14</sup> *-is added.*

She also said that she confessed those things which she committed with Bernard Godalh, heretic, to the aforesaid lord bishop | at the same time as she made a negative confession to the said brother Reginald; and this lord bishop warned the same witness and prohibited her from returning afterwards to heresy, or from committing any act of heresy. 87<sup>v</sup>

These things she attested before brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: lord Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe,<sup>16</sup> Bernard Bonet, notary, and master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote these things.

Item, in the same year as above, six days before the ides of May,<sup>17</sup> the aforesaid Bona added to her confession, saying that she saw William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, his companion, heretics, in the same witness's house, and she saw there with the said heretics Bernard of Montesquieu,<sup>18</sup> squire, son of Saix, knight of Puylaurens,<sup>19</sup> and Bernard of Puy, | the same witness's husband, and Bernard of Cantepoule. And 88<sup>r</sup> there the said Bernard of Montesquieu, in the sight of the same witness, adored the said heretics, genuflecting three times before them, saying 'Bless me', according to the manner of the heretics. And the same witness did not adore the said heretics there, nor did she see any others except for the said Bernard of Montesquieu [adore], as far as she can recall. About the time: around the feast of All Saints last.

Item, she said that on another occasion the said Bernard of Montesquieu came to the same witness's house at Prades, and lay there for a night, and Macip, squire, the lord of Prades, with the said Bernard of Montesquieu. And the said heretics were then in the same witness's

<sup>16</sup> On Peter, see the discussion of notaries above, pp. 88–89.

<sup>17</sup> May 10 [1274].

<sup>18</sup> Montesquieu-Lauragais, Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 988. See his deposition below, 159<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Saix of Montesquieu of Puylaurens deposed before Ferrier December 14 1243; D24, f. 125<sup>v</sup>–131<sup>r</sup>. He had been a believer from the age of discretion. His sister Berengaria had been a heretic, but left the sect, converted and took a husband, around 1217, a date when Saix also said his son Bernard adored heretics. Saix took an oath of loyalty to Alphonse of Poitiers, December 1 1249; *Layettes du Trésor*, iii.87 no 3829.



testis<sup>1</sup> non vidit ibi tunc dictum<sup>2</sup> Bernardum de Monte Esquivo nec  
88<sup>v</sup> dictum Macip cum dictis hæreticis. De tempore: quod | supra.

Item dixit quod dictus *Bernardus* de Monte Esquivo apportavit duas  
anguillas salsas, et alios pisces<sup>3</sup> recentes, quos dedit ipsi testi, dicens  
eidem testi quod custodiret illos pisces: quod et fecit.

Interrogata<sup>4</sup> si dictus *Bernardus* de Monte Esquivo tunc fecit mentio-  
nem de hæreticis, vel dixit ipsi testi<sup>5</sup> quod illos pisces daret ex parte sua  
hæreticis, vel vidit ibi hæreticos,<sup>6</sup> dixit quod non.

Tamen dicti hæretici erant ibi; et credit firmiter quod illis hæreticis  
apportavit tunc dictus *Bernardus* de Monte Esquivo illos pisces. De tem-  
pore: quod supra.

Item dixit quod alia vice dictus *Bernardus* de Monte Esquivo appor-  
tavit anguillas ad domum ipsius testis, et quæsit ab ipsa teste<sup>7</sup> si probi  
homines, scilicet hæretici, erant ibi. Et ipsa testis<sup>8</sup> respondit quod non  
89<sup>r</sup> erant ibi, et dimisit | ipsi testi<sup>9</sup> dictas anguillas; et credit quod<sup>10</sup> ideo ut  
ipsa testis<sup>11</sup> daret eas hæreticis:<sup>12</sup> sed aliter, ut dicit, non expressit. De  
tempore, circa festum Natalis Domini proximo transactum.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Ramnulphe de Placiaco, inquisitore. Tes-  
tes, frater Raymundus Guillelmi et frater Arnaldus, Ordinis Prædicato-  
rum, et *Petrus*, capellanus Drulie, notarius, qui hoc scripsit.

Item, anno quo supra, quinto idus Madii, dicta Bona adiecit, dicens quod  
vidit Guillelmum Prunelli, et *Bernardum* Tilhols socium eius, hæreticos,  
in domo ipsius testis.<sup>13</sup> Et vidit ibi cum dictis hæreticis Bernardum de  
Monte Esquivo, domicellum prædictum. Et ibi ipsa testis,<sup>14</sup> ad instantiam

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> ms dictos.

<sup>3</sup> ms pices; written over the end of a line, which probably explains how the -s-  
came to be lost.

<sup>4</sup> ms Interrogatus.

<sup>5</sup> -i perhaps added.

<sup>6</sup> -os perhaps added.

<sup>7</sup> -e probably added.

<sup>8</sup> ms teste; -e probably added.

<sup>9</sup> -i added.

<sup>10</sup> -o- altered from -d-.

<sup>11</sup> ms teste; -e added.

<sup>12</sup> -is added.

<sup>13</sup> -is added.

<sup>14</sup> ms teste; -e added.

house, but the same witness did not then see the said Bernard of Montesquieu or the said Macip there with the said heretics. About the time: as | above. 88<sup>v</sup>

Item, she said that the said Bernard of Montesquieu brought two salted eels, and other fresh fish, which he gave to the same witness, saying to the same witness to take charge of those fish: which she did.

Asked if the said Bernard of Montesquieu made mention of the heretics then, or said to the same witness to give those fish to the heretics on his behalf, or saw the heretics there, she said no. However, the said heretics were there; and she believes firmly that the said Bernard of Montesquieu brought those fish to those heretics then. About the time: as above.

Item, she said that on another occasion the said Bernard of Montesquieu brought eels to the same witness's house, and asked the same witness if the worthy men, that is the heretics, were there. And the same witness answered that they were not there, and he gave | the same witness 89<sup>r</sup> the said eels; and, she believes, in order for the same witness to give them to the heretics: but anything else, as she says, he did not say. About the time: around the feast of Christmas last.

These things she attested before brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Raymond William<sup>20</sup> and brother Arnold,<sup>21</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary, who wrote this.

Item, in the same year as above, five days before the ides of May,<sup>22</sup> the said Bona added, saying that she saw William Prunel, and Bernard Tilhol his companion, heretics, in the same witness's house. And she saw there with the said heretics Bernard of Montesquieu, the aforesaid squire. And there the same witness, at the request of the said heretics,

<sup>20</sup> He could be Raymond William of Auvillar or Raymond William of Villefranche. The former was twice prior of Condom (1263–1269, 1271–1275), and died in 1275, while the latter was the first lecturer assigned to Auvillar in 1275. Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 156, 157, 193. The index-entry provided for the former, *ACP*, p. 782, conflates the two men, including one reference for the former a year after his death.

<sup>21</sup> A very common name among Dominicans in Languedoc. An Arnold (or two of them) appear without further specification, assigned to study theology at Montpellier (1286) and Condom (1294); *ACP*, pp. 295, 385.

<sup>22</sup> May 11 [1274].

dictorum hæreticorum, adoravit<sup>1</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos, ut dictum est supra; sed non vidit dictum *Bernardum* adorantem.<sup>2</sup>

89<sup>v</sup> Adiecit etiam quod ipsa<sup>3</sup> | testis<sup>4</sup> recessit inde, adoratis ibi dictis hæreticis, et ivit versus mansum ipsius testis,<sup>5</sup> qui est ad locum qui vocatur a la Costa, et dimisit ibi in domo ipsius testis<sup>6</sup> dictum Bernardum de Monte Esquivo, domicellum, solum<sup>7</sup> cum dictis hæreticis. De tempore: circa festum Omnium Sanctorum proximo transactum.

Item dixit quod alia vice vidit dictum *Bernardum* de Monte Esquivo cum dictis hæreticis in domo ipsius testis<sup>8</sup> solum, sed non adoravit nec vidit adorantem.<sup>9</sup> De tempore: in Quadragesima proximo transacta, scilicet circa principium Quadragesimæ.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore. Testes: magister Berengarius de Verneto et magister Atho, notarius Inquisitionis,<sup>10</sup> et Petrus capellanus Drulie, notarius, qui hæc scripsit.

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<sup>1</sup> -it added.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* adoravit.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* ipse.

<sup>4</sup> -is added.

<sup>5</sup> -is probably added.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>7</sup> -o- altered.

<sup>8</sup> -is added.

<sup>9</sup> *ms* adoravit; -it added.

<sup>10</sup> originally inquisitor.

adored the said heretics there, as has been said above; but she did not see the said Bernard adoring.

She also added that the | same witness left there, after the said heretics 89<sup>v</sup> had been adored there, and went towards the same witness's *mas*, which is at the place which is called 'a la Costa;<sup>23</sup> and she left there in the same witness's house the said Bernard of Montesquieu, squire, alone with the said heretics. About the time: around the feast of All Saints last.

Item, she said that on another occasion she saw the said Bernard of Montesquieu with the said heretics in the same witness's house, alone, but she did not adore or see [him] adoring. About the time: during last Lent, that is around the beginning of Lent.

These things she attested before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: master Berengar of Vernet and master Atho, notary of the Inquisition, and Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>23</sup> Probably one of the many places called Lacoste; *DTF*.

90<sup>r</sup> *Deposition de Raymond Hugues, fils de Guillaume Hugues de Rocavidal, contenant qu'il avoit adoré ches luy Guillaume Prunelli et Bernard Tilhol, heretiques; qu'il avoit veu que plusieurs autres y nommez les avoient adorés, et leur avoient donné de l'argent et des vivres; et entre autres Arnaud de Gardoie, seigneur de Rocavidal, et Alegre, curé dudit lieu.*

*Anno 1274.*

90<sup>v</sup> Anno et die quibus | proximo supra, Raymundus Hugonis, filius quondam Guillelmi Hugonis de Rocavidal, adductus captus ut suspectus, testis<sup>1</sup> iuratus,<sup>2</sup> dixit se recepissee in domum suam apud Rocavidal Guillelmum Prunelli et Bernardum de Tilhol, socium<sup>3</sup> eius, hæreticos,<sup>4</sup> qui steterunt ibi tunc per unum diem et duas noctes, comedentes ibi de bonis ipsius testis,<sup>5</sup> quæ ipse testis<sup>6</sup> dedit eis. Et vidit ibi cum dictis hæreticis Arnaldam, uxorem ipsius testis,<sup>7</sup> Bernardum Ugonis, fratrem ipsius testis,<sup>8</sup> Rixendam, matrem ipsius testis,<sup>9</sup> et Tholosam, uxorem dicti Bernardi Ugonis, fratris ipsius testis,<sup>10</sup> qui omnes morantur simul in eadem domo. Et ibi ipse testis adoravit<sup>11</sup> prædictos hæreticos in adventu et recessu, qualibet vice ter flexis genibus, et dicendo ter 'Benedicite', secundum ritum hæreticorum. Et vidit omnes prædictas | personas adorantes prædictos hæreticos in adventu et processu quolibet.<sup>12</sup> Et audivit ipse testis monitiones dictorum hæreticorum, et vidit alios audientes. De tempore: a mense citra, vel circa.

91<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> -us added.

<sup>3</sup> ms socios.

<sup>4</sup> -os added.

<sup>5</sup> -is added.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>7</sup> -is added.

<sup>8</sup> -is added.

<sup>9</sup> -is added.

<sup>10</sup> -is probably added.

<sup>11</sup> -it added.

<sup>12</sup> ms quilibet.

*The deposition of Raymond Hugh, the son of William Hugh of Roque- 90<sup>r</sup>  
vidal, containing that he had adored, at his house, William Prunel and  
Bernard of Tilhol, heretics; that he had seen several others named here  
adoring them, and giving them money and victuals; and amongst others  
Arnold de Gardouch, lord of Roquevidal, and Alegre, the priest of the said  
place.*

*From the year 1274.*

In the same year and on the same day as | immediately above,<sup>1</sup> Raymond 90<sup>v</sup>  
Hugh, son of the late William Hugh of Roquevidal, brought out, having  
been captured as a suspect, sworn in as a witness, said that he had  
received, in his house at Roquevidal, William Prunel and Bernard of  
Tilhol, his companion, heretics, who stayed there then for one day and  
two nights, eating there from the same witness's goods, which the same  
witness gave them. And he saw there with the said heretics Arnalda, the  
same witness's wife, Bernard Hugh, the same witness's brother, Rixendis,  
the same witness's mother, and Tolosa, the wife of the said Bernard Hugh,  
the same witness's brother, who all live together in the same house. And  
there the same witness adored the aforesaid heretics on their arrival and  
departure, on each occasion genuflecting three times and saying 'Bless  
me' three times, according to the rite of the heretics. And he saw all  
the aforesaid | persons adoring the aforesaid heretics on each arrival 91<sup>r</sup>  
and departure. And the same witness heard the admonitions of the said  
heretics, and he saw the others hearing them. About the time: within the  
last month or thereabouts.

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<sup>1</sup> It is hard to work out what the point of reference is here, but it seems most likely that it is the deposition of Raymond's brother Bernard. We therefore suggest a probable date of April 5 1274.

Adiecit etiam quod Guillelmus Faure, filius Amelii Faure de Sancto Alano, et Sicardus Textor de Vauro, post recessum dictorum hæreticorum venerunt ad prædictam domum petentes ab ipso teste<sup>1</sup> et dicto Bernardo, fratre ipsius testis,<sup>2</sup> prædictos hæreticos, dicentes se multum velle videre dictos hæreticos; et cum non essent ibi, non viderunt ibi tunc prædictos hæreticos. Tamen prædictus Bernardus, frater ipsius testis,<sup>3</sup> dixit ipsi testi<sup>4</sup> quod prædicti Guillelmus Faure et Sicardus petebant dictos hæreticos pro hæreticatione facienda cuiusdam mulieris quam non nominavit ipsi<sup>5</sup> testi,<sup>6</sup> nec locum unde erat.

91<sup>v</sup> Dixit tamen ipse testis<sup>7</sup> | quod propredicti<sup>8</sup> duo sunt credentes hæreticorum. De tempore: quod supra.

Dixit etiam quod Raymundus Textor de Sancto Felice qui stat apud Sanctum Felicem et habet filium nomine Amelium, qui est textor, et alium nomine Petrum qui consuevit stare cum bastida correvo curiæ Sancti Foelicis, qui venit ad dictam domum petens instanter hæreticos, et volens eos multum videre, quia iam congregaverat peccuniam suam cum qua volebat ire in Lombardiam ad hæreticandum,<sup>9</sup> et ideo volebat videre prædictos hæreticos; tamen non vidit eos tunc cum non essent ibi. Sed tamen iacuit ibi duabus noctibus comedens ibi de bonis ipsius testis<sup>10</sup> et fratris sui, quæ dederunt eidem Raymundo. De tempore: quo supra.

92<sup>r</sup> Fuit etiam idem Raymundus Textor alia vice in eadem do|mo, petens instanter videre hæreticos, ratione prædicta, sed non vidit eos ibi quia non erant ibi. De tempore: parum<sup>11</sup> ante.

<sup>1</sup> -e added.

<sup>2</sup> -is added.

<sup>3</sup> -is added.

<sup>4</sup> -i added.

<sup>5</sup> *This word ends with a long 'i' which appears to have been written over a short one.*

<sup>6</sup> -i perhaps added.

<sup>7</sup> -is probably added.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* prope dicti.

<sup>9</sup> -andum added.

<sup>10</sup> -is added.

<sup>11</sup> -um probably added.

He added also that William Faure (*or* William, smith), son of Amiel Faure (*or* Amiel, smith) of Saint-Alain,<sup>2</sup> and Sicard Tisserand (*or* Sicard, weaver),<sup>3</sup> of Lavaur, after the departure of the said heretics came to the aforesaid house, asking the same witness and the said Bernard, the same witness's brother, for the aforesaid heretics, saying that they very much wanted to see the said heretics; and since they were not there, they did not see the aforesaid heretics there at that time. However, the aforesaid Bernard, the same witness's brother, told the same witness that the aforesaid William Faure and Sicard were asking for the said heretics in order to perform the heretication of a certain woman whom he did not name to the same witness, nor the place where she came from.

The same witness said, however, | that the aforementioned two are 91<sup>v</sup>  
believers of the heretics. About the time: as above.

He also said that Raymond Tisserand (*or* Raymond, weaver)<sup>4</sup> of Saint-Félix, who lives at Saint-Félix and has a son called Amiel, who is a weaver, and another called Peter, who used to live with he used to live with Bastida, courier of the court of Saint-Félix,<sup>5</sup> who [Raymond] came to the said house, urgently asking for the heretics, and very much wanting to see them, because he had now gathered together his money with which he wanted to go into Lombardy to be hereticated, and for this reason wanted to see the aforesaid heretics, did not, however, see them then, since they were not there. Nevertheless, he lay there for two nights, eating there from the goods of the same witness and his brother, which they gave to the same Raymond. About the time: as above.

The same Raymond Tisserand was also in the same house on another occasion, | urgently asking to see the heretics for the aforesaid reason, but 92<sup>r</sup>  
he did not see them there because they were not there. About the time: a little while before.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Saint-Alain-le-Vieux, Tarn, comm. and cant. Lavaur, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1056.

<sup>3</sup> The interpretation 'Sicard, weaver' is made more likely by the fact that he is called 'Sicard' below.

<sup>4</sup> Or 'Raymond, weaver': more likely because his son is a weaver by profession.

<sup>5</sup> See Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 260, and Font-Réaulx, p. 877, for examples of Bastida as a personal and family name. 'Courier' is a conjectural translation of *correvo*, which could also be a family name.

<sup>6</sup> Or 'a little while ago'.



Item recepit multotiens, et totiens quod non recordatur, propeditos<sup>1</sup> hæreticos—Guillelmum Prunelli et Bernardum de Tilhols, socium eius, hæreticos—qui steterunt ibi quandoque per quindecim dies,<sup>2</sup> quandoque per octo, vel plus [vel] minus, prout placebat dictis hæreticis. Et vidit ibi qualibet vice cum prædictis hæreticis omnes prædictas personas domus prædictæ, multotiens adorantes<sup>3</sup> prædictos hæreticos, et audientes monitiones eorum, et comedentes de pane benedicto ipsorum hæreticorum. Ipse etiam testis<sup>4</sup> adoravit<sup>5</sup> dictos hæreticos, et audi[vit]<sup>6</sup> monitiones<sup>7</sup> eorum, et comedit de pane benedicto ipsorum hæreticorum, et  
 92<sup>v</sup> ad mensam eorundem hæreticorum, sive in eadem mensa | cum ipsis hæreticis, dicendo in prima sumptione cuiuslibet generis cibi<sup>8</sup> et potus benedictionem multotiens, et quotiens<sup>9</sup> quod non recordatur.<sup>10</sup> Et vidit aliquotiens, comedentes ad eandem mensam cum eisdem hæreticis, prædictos Bernardum fratrem, et prædictam matrem ipsius testis.<sup>11</sup> De tempore, a duobus annis citra.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis<sup>12</sup> adduxit ad prædictos hæreticos ibi Raymundum Bitoc, laboratorem de Rocavidal, qui ibi audivit diu monitiones dictorum hæreticorum: sed non vidit ipsum adorantem<sup>13</sup> eos,<sup>14</sup> quod ipse testis<sup>15</sup> recolat. De tempore: annus est vel circa.

Item, ipse testis<sup>16</sup> adduxit ibi ad videndum<sup>17</sup> hæreticos prædictos Stephanum Ugonis de Rocavidal, qui audivit ibi monitiones dictorum hæreticorum et adoravit<sup>18</sup> eos, ipso teste<sup>19</sup> vidente. Et dedit eisdem hæreticis<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ms* prope dictos.

<sup>2</sup> *-es written over longer deletion.*

<sup>3</sup> *-n- altered; -tes added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-it added.*

<sup>6</sup> *A gap has been left for an expansion, which has not been filled in.*

<sup>7</sup> *-es added.*

<sup>8</sup> *originally sibi.*

<sup>9</sup> *originally totiens.*

<sup>10</sup> *There is a superfluous de tempore here: probably added.*

<sup>11</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>12</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>13</sup> *altered, probably from adoravit.*

<sup>14</sup> *added, superscript.*

<sup>15</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>16</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>17</sup> *-um added.*

<sup>18</sup> *-it added.*

<sup>19</sup> *-e added.*

<sup>20</sup> *-is added.*

Item, he received many times, and so many times that he does not remember the number, the aforementioned heretics—William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, his companion, heretics—who stayed there, sometimes for fifteen days, sometimes for eight, or more, or less, as it pleased the said heretics. And he saw there on each occasion with the aforesaid heretics all the aforesaid persons of the aforesaid house, adoring the aforesaid heretics many times, and hearing their admonitions, and eating of the blessed bread of the same heretics. The same witness also adored the said heretics, and heard their admonitions, and ate of the blessed bread of the same heretics, and at the table of the same heretics, or at the same table | with the same heretics, saying a benediction at the first 92<sup>v</sup> taking of any kind of food and drink, many times, and so many times he does not remember the number. And he saw several times, eating at the same table with the same heretics, the aforesaid Bernard the brother, and the aforesaid mother, of the same witness. About the time: within the last two years.

He also said that the same witness brought to the aforesaid heretics there Raymond Bitoc, labourer<sup>7</sup> of Roquevidal, who heard the admonitions of the said heretics there for a long time: but he did not see him adoring them, as far as the same witness recalls. About the time: it was a year ago or thereabouts.

Item, the same witness brought there to see the aforesaid heretics Stephen Hugh of Roquevidal, who heard there the admonitions of the said heretics, and adored them, in the sight of the same witness. And he

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<sup>7</sup> The Latin 'laboratorem' could be translated 'workman'.

93<sup>r</sup> quamdam fogaciam | et dictus Raymundus Bitoc dedit eis unam quarteram frumenti, vidente ipso teste,<sup>1</sup> quando vidit eos, ut dictum est. De tempore: circa Penthecosten fuit annus vel circa.

Item ad monitionem et instantiam ipsius testis,<sup>2</sup> Pontius Hugonis, maior, de Rocavidal, frater capellani de Viveriis,<sup>3</sup> recepit in domo sua, ipso teste<sup>4</sup> ducente et redeunte, supradictos hæreticos. Et tunc ipsi hæretici hæreticaverunt Blancam, uxorem ipsius Pontius Hugonis, infirmantem<sup>5</sup> infirmitate qua obiit. Cui hæreticationi interfuerunt ipse<sup>6</sup> testis, et Maina filia ipsius infirmæ,<sup>7</sup> quæ est<sup>8</sup> uxor ipsius Guillelmi Peitavi de Rocavidal, et Raymundus Brun de Moiro Villa, in terra Sancti Fœlicis.

Dixit etiam quod prædicta hæreticatio fuit facta de consensu prædicti 93<sup>v</sup> Pontii, qui hoc voluit et consensit quasi invitus;<sup>9</sup> et non vidit | dictos hæreticos, sed bene scivit quando fuerunt adducti ad domum. Et prædicta infirma legavit prædictis hæreticis unum sestarium frumenti quod non fuit solutum, quod ipse testis<sup>10</sup> sciat.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis,<sup>11</sup> nec aliquis prædictorum, adoraverunt<sup>12</sup> tunc ipsos hæreticos. De tempore: in Quadragesima<sup>13</sup> proximo præterita fuit annus.

Item dixit quod Arnalda, uxor ipsius testis,<sup>14</sup> scivit prædictam hæreticationem, prout ipse testis<sup>15</sup> credit.

Item, Petrus de Bugat de Rocavidal visitavit bis prædictos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis,<sup>16</sup> et qualibet vice audivit monitiones dictorum hæreticorum per magnam moram, sed non recolit quod videret dictum

<sup>1</sup> -e added.

<sup>2</sup> -is added.

<sup>3</sup> second -v- written over -i- and another letter.

<sup>4</sup> -e added.

<sup>5</sup> originally infirmantes; Hugonis deleted.

<sup>6</sup> i- added.

<sup>7</sup> -æ altered from -e.

<sup>8</sup> -st altered.

<sup>9</sup> ms in vitus.

<sup>10</sup> -is added.

<sup>11</sup> -is added.

<sup>12</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>13</sup> -esima altered.

<sup>14</sup> -is added.

<sup>15</sup> -is added.

<sup>16</sup> -is added.

gave the same heretics a certain 'focaccia', | and the said Raymond Bitoc 93<sup>r</sup>  
gave them a quarter of wheat, in the sight of the same witness, when he  
saw them, as has been said. About the time: around Pentecost it was a  
year ago or thereabouts.

Item, on the advice and at the urging of the same witness, Pons Hugh  
the elder, of Roquevidal, the brother of the chaplain of Viviers,<sup>8</sup> received  
the aforesaid heretics in his house, with the same witness bringing them  
there and returning.<sup>9</sup> And the same heretics then hereticated Blanca, the  
wife of the same Pons Hugh, who was ill with the illness of which she died.  
Present at this heretication were the same witness, and Maina, daughter  
of the same sick woman, who is the wife of the same William Peitavin of  
Roquevidal, and Raymond Brun of Mayreville<sup>10</sup> in the land of Saint-Félix.

He also said that the aforesaid heretication took place with the consent  
of the aforesaid Pons, who willed this and consented to it as though  
against his wishes; and he did not see | the said heretics, but he knew 93<sup>v</sup>  
well when they were brought to the house. And the aforesaid sick woman  
bequeathed to the aforesaid heretics a sester of corn, which was not paid,  
so far as the same witness knows.

He also said that neither the same witness nor any of the aforesaid  
persons adored the same heretics then. About the time: it was a year  
before last Lent.

Item, he said that Arnalda, the same witness's wife, knew about the  
aforesaid heretication, as the same witness believes.

Item, Peter of Bugat of Roquevidal visited the aforesaid heretics twice  
in the same witness's house, and on each occasion he heard the admoni-  
tions of the said heretics during a long stay there, but he does not recall

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<sup>8</sup> Viviers-lès-Lavaur, Tarn, cant. Lavaur, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1110.

<sup>9</sup> It is unclear whether he is to be understood as returning with the heretics or not.

<sup>10</sup> Probable identification: Haute-Garonne, comm. Saint-Félix-de-Lauragais, cant. Revel, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; *Saisimentum*, p. 423. Note also Maureville and Mourvilles-Basses (preferred by Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 61), both Haute-Garonne, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse; *DTF*.

Petrum adorantem,<sup>1</sup> nec quod dederit vel miserit aliquid ipsis hæreticis. De tempore: annus est, vel circa.

94<sup>r</sup> Item, Fortius, filius Bernardi Guarriga de Maurenx, visitavit ter prædictos hæreticos in dicta domo, et qualibet vice vidit eum adorantem,<sup>2</sup> et diu loquentem cum eisdem hæreticis;<sup>3</sup> et idem Fortius erat nuntius ipsorum hæreticorum. De tempore: a duobus annis citra.

Item, Pontius Fogacerii, clericus de Tholosa, visitavit prædictos hæreticos ter in dicta domo, et diu fuit loquutus seorsum<sup>4</sup> cum prædictis hæreticis; sed non vidit eum adorantem<sup>5</sup> prædictos hæreticos. Tamen vidit eum comedentem ad eandem mensam cum eisdem hæreticis,<sup>6</sup> et apportantem quandam fogaciam eisdem hæreticis,<sup>7</sup> et altera de dictis vicibus iacuit in dicta domo per unam noctem. De tempore: a duobus annis citra, et fuit ibi ultima vice, sed anno in adventu.

Adiecit etiam quod dictus Pontius misit per ipsum testem<sup>8</sup> dictis hæreticis | unum rasorium et quasdam forpices. De tempore: duo anni sunt vel circa.

Dixit etiam quod Raymundus Fogacerii, frater dicti Pontii, venit bis ad visitandum<sup>9</sup> prædictos hæreticos ibi, volens eos multum videre, sed non vidit eos ibi quod ipse testis<sup>10</sup> recolat. De tempore: ab octo<sup>11</sup> mensibus citra.

Dixit etiam quod Arnaldus Fogacerii, frater prædictorum Pontii Fogacerii et Raymundi, venit semel ad domum ipsius testis<sup>12</sup> prædictam, et stetit ibi per unam diem, sed non vidit ibi prædictos hæreticos vel alios, quia non erant ibi. Credit tamen quod causa videndi hæreticos venisset ibi, et quod essent et sint credentes hæreticorum. De tempore: hoc anno in vindemiis.

<sup>1</sup> -ntem altered.

<sup>2</sup> -ntem altered.

<sup>3</sup> -is added.

<sup>4</sup> ms scorsum.

<sup>5</sup> -ntem altered.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>7</sup> -is added.

<sup>8</sup> -em added.

<sup>9</sup> -um added.

<sup>10</sup> -is added.

<sup>11</sup> -o added.

<sup>12</sup> -is added.

that he saw the said Peter adoring, or that he gave or sent anything to the same heretics. About the time: it was a year ago or thereabouts.

Item, Fort, the son of Bernard Garrigue of Maurens, visited the aforesaid heretics in the said house three times, and each time he saw him adoring, and talking for a long time with the same heretics; and the same Fort was a messenger of the same heretics. About the time: within the last two years. 94<sup>r</sup>

Item, Pons Fogacier, cleric of Toulouse, visited the aforesaid heretics in the said house three times, and spoke apart with the aforesaid heretics for a long time; but he did not see him adoring the aforesaid heretics. However, he saw him eating at the same table with the same heretics, and bringing a certain 'focaccia' to the same heretics, and on the second of the said occasions he lay in the said house for one night. About the time: within the last two years; and the last time he was there, however, was a year before Advent.

He added also that the said Pons sent to the said heretics, through the same witness, | one razor and some scissors. About the time: it was two years ago or thereabouts. 94<sup>v</sup>

He said also that Raymond Fogacier, brother of the said Pons, came twice to visit the aforesaid heretics there, very much wanting to see them, but he did not see them there that the same witness recalls. About the time: within the last eight months.

He said also that Arnold Fogacier, brother of the aforesaid Pons Fogacier and Raymond, came once to the same witness's aforesaid house, and stayed there for one day, but he did not see the aforesaid heretics or others there, because they were not there. He believes, however, that he had come there for the sake of seeing the heretics, and that they [the Fogaciers] were and are believers of the heretics. About the time: this year during the grape harvest.

Item, Guillelmus, filius Guillelmi Terreni de Rocavidal, visitavit bis ibidem prædictos hæreticos, et qualibet vice locutus fuit diu cum eisdem 95<sup>r</sup> hæreticis,<sup>1</sup> et apportavit eis | qualibet vice panem vel fogaciam; sed non vidit eum adorantem<sup>2</sup> prædictos hæreticos. De tempore: ab anno citra.

Item in domo ipsius Guillelmi Terreni vidit prædictos Guillelmum Prunelli et Bernardum Thilols, socium eius, hæreticos.<sup>3</sup> Et vidit ibi cum eisdem hæreticis<sup>4</sup> propredictum<sup>5</sup> Guillelmum Terreni, qui introduxit ipsum testem<sup>6</sup> in cellarium ubi erant ipsi hæretici; non tamen ipse testis<sup>7</sup> nec dictus Guillelmus adoraverunt<sup>8</sup> tunc dictos hæreticos. Non aliquam personam illius domus vidit cum ipsis hæreticis; sed bene credit quod personæ illius domus sciebant ibi ipsos hæreticos. De tempore: annus et dimidius vel circa.

Item, Raymundus Guiraldi de Rocavidal venit ibi—scilicet ad domum ipsius testis<sup>9</sup>—ad videndum<sup>10</sup> prædictos hæreticos. Et vidit ipse testis<sup>11</sup> quod Bernardus, frater ipsius testis,<sup>12</sup> vidente ipso teste,<sup>13</sup> apparuit solum ubi erant | ipsi hæretici, et ipse Raymundus Guiraudi intravit [ad] 95<sup>v</sup> eos; sed ipse testis<sup>14</sup> alias non vidit eum cum ipsis hæreticis. Sed tamen ipse Raymundus Guiraudi, quando venit, petiit ab ipso teste<sup>15</sup> dictos hæreticos. De tempore: a festo Sancti Iohannis citra.

Hæc<sup>16</sup> deposuit<sup>17</sup> coram fratribus Ramnolpho et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus.<sup>18</sup> Testes:<sup>19</sup> Guillelmus de Concoutz, Raymundus Boer, baiulus Vauri, Constantinus de Estella, et ego, magister Berengarius de Verneto, qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> originally adoravit.

<sup>3</sup> -os added.

<sup>4</sup> -is added.

<sup>5</sup> ms prope dictum.

<sup>6</sup> -em added.

<sup>7</sup> -is added.

<sup>8</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>9</sup> -is added.

<sup>10</sup> -um added.

<sup>11</sup> -is added.

<sup>12</sup> -is added.

<sup>13</sup> -e added.

<sup>14</sup> -is added.

<sup>15</sup> -e added.

<sup>16</sup> -æ- altered.

<sup>17</sup> ms de Posuit; -suit written over d and perhaps other letters.

<sup>18</sup> -ibus added.

<sup>19</sup> -es added.

Item, William, the son of William Terren of Roquevidal, visited the aforesaid heretics there twice, and on each occasion he spoke for a long time with the same heretics, and he brought them | on each occasion 95<sup>r</sup> bread or 'focaccia'; but he did not see him adoring the aforesaid heretics. About the time: within the last year.

Item, in the same William Terren's house he saw the aforesaid William Prunel and Bernard Tilhol, his companion, heretics. And he saw there with the same heretics the aforementioned William Terren, who brought the same witness into the cellar where the same heretics were; however, neither the same witness nor the said William adored the said heretics then. He did not see any person of that house with the same heretics; but he fully believes that the people of that house knew that the same heretics were there. About the time: a year and a half ago or thereabouts.

Item, Raymond Guiraud of Roquevidal came there—that is, to the same witness's house—to see the aforesaid heretics. And the same witness saw that Bernard, the same witness's brother, in the sight of the same witness, waited on<sup>11</sup> the ground floor where | the same heretics were, 95<sup>v</sup> and the same Raymond Guiraud went in to them; but the same witness did not otherwise see him with the same heretics. However the same Raymond Guiraud, when he came, asked the same witness for the said heretics. About the time: since the feast of St John.

These things he attested before brothers Ranulph and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: William of Concots, Raymond Boer, *bailli* of Lavaur, Constantine of L'Estelle,<sup>12</sup> and I, master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote these things.

<sup>11</sup> It is uncertain whether this means 'appeared in', 'waited on' or 'arranged'.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly either L'Estelle, Lot-et-Garonne, comm. Bourlens, cant. Tournon-d'Agenais, arrond. Villeneuve-sur-Lot, or Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Garganvillar, cant. Saint-Nicolas-de-la-Grave, arrond. Castelsarrasin; *Saisimentum*, p. 386. See also Lestelle-de-Saint-Martory, Haute-Garonne, cant. Saint-Martory; Font-Réaulx, p. 962. Not a member of a religious Order but a frequent witness, and therefore probably a members of the inquisitors' household, Constantine has not been identified elsewhere.



Item in crastinum adiecit quod Bernarda, uxor prædicti Stephani Ugonis de Rocavidal, misit bis prædictis hæreticis comestibilia—scilicet panem, vinum et fructus—semel per ipsum testem,<sup>1</sup> et altera vice per dictum Stephanum, virum ipsius Bernardæ. Et est credens et amica hæreticorum, licet non viderit hæreticos, ipso teste<sup>2</sup> sciente. De tempore: annus est vel circa.

96<sup>r</sup> Ad|iecit etiam quod prædicta Bernarda venit ad ipsum testem,<sup>3</sup> dicens quod audiverat dicentem prædictum Stephanum, virum suum, quod hæretici erant venditi, et debebant capi in domo ipsius testis, unde consulebat ipsi testi<sup>4</sup> quod caveret sibi. Hoc idem prædictus Stephanus ipsa die in sero dixit ipsi testi, consulens<sup>5</sup> quod modis omnibus faceret inde eos extremare, id est recedere, si erant ibi.<sup>6</sup> Tamen non viderunt dicti Stephanus et Bernarda tunc prædictos hæreticos. Et ipso teste<sup>7</sup> referente omnia prædicta ipsis hæreticis, in ipsa nocte recesserunt inde ipsi hæretici; prædicto Bernardo, fratre ipsius testis, ducente et associante eosdem. Qui Bernardus post redditum suum retulit ipsi testi<sup>8</sup> quod iverunt ad villam vel massetam de Pradis, ubi steterunt in quodam manso quorundam  
96<sup>v</sup> hominum propredicti<sup>9</sup> loci, quorum nomina non dixit testi,<sup>10</sup> nec ipse | testis scit<sup>11</sup> ea. Tamen prædictus Bernardus, frater ipsius testis, visitavit ter prædictos hæreticos in propredicto<sup>12</sup> manso, sicut ipsi dixit testi.<sup>13</sup> Et idem Bernardus aportavit eisdem raubam, scilicet vestes, et quædam alia ipsorum hæreticorum, quæ dimiserant in domo ipsius testis<sup>14</sup> et dicti fratris sui. Et prædictus Bernardus, frater ipsius testis,<sup>15</sup> scit bene nomina prædictorum hominum et loci. De tempore: mensis est vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> -em added.

<sup>2</sup> -e added, and an abbreviation mark over it deleted.

<sup>3</sup> -em added.

<sup>4</sup> -i perhaps added.

<sup>5</sup> ms consules.

<sup>6</sup> There may be marks that look like double inverted commas round 'consules ... ibi', which may have been added later—possibly by a reader?

<sup>7</sup> -s deleted.

<sup>8</sup> -i added.

<sup>9</sup> ms prope dicti.

<sup>10</sup> a letter, perhaps -s, deleted.

<sup>11</sup> -c- perhaps added.

<sup>12</sup> ms prope dicto.

<sup>13</sup> -i probably added.

<sup>14</sup> -is added.

<sup>15</sup> -is added in very different hand—possibly that of a reader?

Item, on the following day<sup>13</sup> he added that Bernarda, the wife of the aforesaid Stephen Hugh of Roquevidal, sent provisions—that is to say, bread, wine and fruit—twice to the aforesaid heretics, once through the same witness, and the other time through the said Stephen, the same Bernarda's husband. And she is a believer and friend of the heretics, although she has not seen the heretics, to the same witness's knowledge. About the time: it was a year ago or thereabouts.

He added | also that the aforesaid Bernarda came to the same witness, 96<sup>r</sup> saying that she had heard the aforesaid Stephen, her husband, saying that the heretics had been sold, and were to be captured in the same witness's house, on account of which she advised the same witness to look out for himself. The aforesaid Stephen said the same thing to the same witness on the same day, in the evening, advising him to take all means to remove them from there, that is, for them to go away, if they were there. However, the said Stephen and Bernarda did not see the aforesaid heretics then. And when the same witness recounted all the aforesaid things to the same heretics, the same heretics left there the same night; with the aforesaid Bernard, the same witness's brother, leading and accompanying them. This Bernard, on his return, recounted to the same witness, that they went to the town or farmstead of Prades, where they stayed in a certain *mas* belonging to certain men of the aforementioned place, whose names he did not tell the witness, nor does | the same witness 96<sup>v</sup> know them. However, the aforesaid Bernard, the same witness's brother, visited the aforesaid heretics three times in the aforementioned *mas*, as he told the same witness. And the same Bernard brought them stuff, that is to say, clothing and some other things belonging to the same heretics, which they had left in the same witness's and his said brother's house. And the aforesaid Bernard, the same witness's brother, knows well the names of the aforesaid men and place. About the time: it was a month ago or thereabouts.

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<sup>13</sup> Based on our calculation of the date of his previous deposition, this would be April 6 1274.

Item dixit quod prædictus Bernardus<sup>1</sup> Bruni de Mairovilla visitavit prædictos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis apud Rocavidal, et audivit verba et monitiones dictorum hæreticorum, ipso teste<sup>2</sup> vidente. Tamen non adoravit eos, nec dedit vel apportavit eis aliquid, ipso teste<sup>3</sup> vidente. De tempore: in Quadragesima proxima præterita fuit annus.

97<sup>r</sup> Item dixit se credere pro certo, | et ita videtur sibi, sed non bene recolito, quod Ermengardis, uxoris quondam Pontii Alexandri de Rocavidal, interfuit hæreticationi prædictæ Blanchæ, uxoris Pontii Ugonis, sororis ipsius Ermengardis, de qua supra dixit; sed non adoravit dictos hæreticos ibi. De tempore: ut supra, in dicta hæreticatione.

Item dixit quod Raymunda, uxor Pontii Maurelli de Rocavidal, misit prædictis hæreticis per ipsum testem<sup>4</sup> unam libram piperis. De tempore: annus est vel circa.

Audivit et dicentem Arnaldam, uxorem ipsius testis,<sup>5</sup> quod prope dicta<sup>6</sup> mulier visitavit et vidit prædictos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis, et dicta mulier, uxor Pontii Maurelli prædicti, sciebat bene quando dicti hæretici erant in domo prædicta; et erat, et est, credens hæreticorum.

97<sup>v</sup> Item Raymunda, uxor quondam Nicholai Roger de Rocavidal, vidit et visitavit multoties prædictos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis, et adoravit, et audivit monitiones eorum, et apportavit eis comestibilia, ipso teste<sup>7</sup> vidente. Erat enim socrus prædicti Bernardi, fratris ipsius testis. De tempore: a duobus annis citra, et etiam a medio anno citra.

Item Arnaldus Olricis de Rocavidal, consanguineus ipsius testis,<sup>8</sup> dixit ipsi testi<sup>9</sup> quod Guillelmus Olrici, filius eius, invenerat prædictos hæreticos in batudo ipsius testis,<sup>10</sup> contiguo batudo ipsius Arnaldi, et per ipsum Guillelmum significaverunt eidem Arnaldo quod veniret ad ipsos hæreticos ibi: quod et fecit idem Arnaldus—scilicet, visitavit eosdem hæreticos in eodem batudo, et aportaverat et dederat eis ad comedendum ipsa die. Et nocte sequenti dicti hæretici venerunt ad domum ipsius

<sup>1</sup> *altered, probably from Raymundus.*

<sup>2</sup> *-e perhaps added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-e perhaps added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-em added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-is perhaps added.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms prope dicta; -e written over longer deletion.*

<sup>7</sup> *-e perhaps added.*

<sup>8</sup> *-is perhaps added.*

<sup>9</sup> *-i probably added.*

<sup>10</sup> *-is perhaps added.*

Item, he said that the aforesaid Bernard Brun of Mayreville visited the aforesaid heretics in the same witness's house at Roquevidal, and heard the words and admonitions of the said heretics, in the sight of the same witness. He did not, however, adore them, nor did he give or bring them anything, in the sight of the same witness. About the time: it was a year before last Lent.

Item, he said that he believes for certain, | and so it seems to him, but he 97<sup>r</sup>  
does not recall it well, that Ermengardis, wife of the late Pons Alexander of Roquevidal, was present at the heretication of the said Blanca, wife of Pons Hugh, the sister of the same Ermengardis, whom he spoke of above; but she did not adore the said heretics there. About the time: as above, during the said heretication.

Item, he said that Raymonda, the wife of Pons Maurel of Roquevidal, sent one pound of pepper to the aforesaid heretics through the same witness. About the time: it was a year ago or thereabouts.

He also heard Arnalda, the same witness's wife, saying that the aforementioned woman visited and saw the aforesaid heretics in the same witness's house, and the said woman, the wife of the aforesaid Pons Maurel, used to know well when the said heretics were in the aforesaid house; and she was, and is, a believer of the heretics.

Item, Raymonda, the wife | of the late Nicholas Roger of Roquevidal, 97<sup>v</sup>  
often saw and visited the aforesaid heretics in the same witness's house, and adored, and heard their admonitions, and brought them provisions, in the sight of the same witness. For she was the mother-in-law of the aforesaid Bernard, the same witness's brother. About the time: within the last two years, and also within the last half year.

Item, Arnold Olric of Roquevidal, the same witness's kinsman, told the same witness that William Olric, his son, had come across the aforesaid heretics in the same witness's wasteland, which is next to the same Arnold's wasteland, and through the same William they signified to the same Arnold that he should come to the same heretics there: which the same Arnold did—that is, he visited the same heretics in the same wasteland, and he had brought and given them things to eat on the same day. And on the following night the said heretics came to the same witness's

98<sup>r</sup> testis,<sup>1</sup> | et tunc dixerunt ipsi testi<sup>2</sup> quod viderant prædictos Arnaldum et Guillelmum filium<sup>3</sup> eius in batudo prædicto, et idem Arnaldus aportaverat eis ad comedendum,<sup>4</sup> ut idem Arnaldus dixerat ipsi testi.

Dixit tamen, interrogatus, quod nunquam aliquem de propredictis<sup>5</sup> duobus vidit cum hæreticis.<sup>6</sup> De tempore: annus est vel circa.

Item Bernarda, filia quondam Bernardi del Poiol, quæ fuit de la Cogota, et Raymunda Terrena, uxor<sup>7</sup> Guillelmi Medici de Rocavidal, visitaverant<sup>8</sup> prædictos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis,<sup>9</sup> sicut Bernardus, frater ipsius testis,<sup>10</sup> dixit ipsi testi<sup>11</sup>—de dicta Raymunda Terrena, quæ viderat ipsos hæreticos ibi, eodem fratre præsentem. Et dicta Bernarda del Poiol dixit ipsi testi<sup>12</sup> quod ipsa viderat prædictos hæreticos ibi, et apportaverat eis comestibilia, et sciebat bene quod hæretici erant in domo | ipsius testis;<sup>13</sup> cum ipse testis<sup>14</sup> non vidit aliquam earum ibi cum hæreticis.<sup>15</sup> De tempore: a duobus annis citra.

Adiecit quod ipsi hæretici fuerunt et steterunt circa duos dies in domo ipsius Bernardæ, scientibus ipso teste<sup>16</sup> et omnibus personis domus ipsius testis,<sup>17</sup> si quas superius nominavit. Ipse tamen testis<sup>18</sup> non vidit ibi dictos hæreticos.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis,<sup>19</sup> dum ipsi hæretici erant in domo ipsius Bernardæ,<sup>20</sup> emit quemdam piscem<sup>21</sup> et misit prædictis hæreticis, sed

<sup>1</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>2</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *originally filius*.

<sup>4</sup> -um *added*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms prope dictis*.

<sup>6</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>7</sup> *ms uxore*.

<sup>8</sup> *abbreviation mark misplaced over -e-, and probably added*.

<sup>9</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>10</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>11</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>12</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>13</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>14</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>15</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>16</sup> -e *probably added*.

<sup>17</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>18</sup> -is *probably added*.

<sup>19</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>20</sup> *ms Bernardi*.

<sup>21</sup> -s- *added, perhaps by reader*.

house, | and then they said to the same witness that they had seen the 98<sup>r</sup>  
aforesaid Arnold and William his son in the aforesaid wasteland, and the  
same Arnold had brought them things to eat, as the same Arnold had  
told the same witness.

Questioned, however, he said that he had never seen one of the above-  
mentioned two with the heretics. About the time: it was a year ago or  
thereabouts.

Item, Bernarda, the daughter of the late Bernard of Pujol<sup>14</sup> who was  
from Lacougote,<sup>15</sup> and Raymonda Terren, the wife of William Médecin  
(or William, doctor) of Roquevidal, had visited the aforesaid heretics in  
the same witness's house, as Bernard, the same witness's brother, told the  
same witness—about the said Raymonda Terren, who had seen the same  
heretics there, in the same brother's presence. And the said Bernarda of  
Pujol told the same witness that she had seen the aforesaid heretics there,  
and had brought them provisions, and she knew well that the heretics  
were in the same witness's house; | although the same witness did not see 98<sup>v</sup>  
either of them there with the heretics. About the time: within the last two  
years.

He added that the same heretics were in the same Bernarda's house,  
and stayed there for about two days, with the knowledge of the same  
witness and of all the persons of the same witness's house—those he  
named above. The same witness, however, did not see the said heretics  
there.

He also said that while the same heretics were in the same Bernarda's  
house, the same witness bought a certain fish and sent it to the aforesaid

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<sup>14</sup> Probably Tarn, comm. Lacougote-Cadoul, cant. Lavour, arrond. Castres;  
*DTF*. A very common place-name; this Pujol is 3 km from Roquevidal.

<sup>15</sup> Tarn, cant. Lavour, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

non recolit utrum per uxorem ipsius testis, vel per ipsam Bernardam, vel per aliam personam. De tempore; duo anni sunt vel circa.

Item dixit quod Raymundus Textor prædictus de Sancto Fœlice dixit ipsi testi,<sup>1</sup> cum non posset videre tunc hæreticos, in domo ipsius testis, 99<sup>r</sup> quia non erant ibi, ut superius dictum est, quod ipse | Raymundus conversabatur et trevabat in manso de Podio Redon supra Cucum, diocesis Tholosanensis, in domo cuiusdam qui vocabatur Hugo, et prænominatus<sup>2</sup>—dixit ipsi testi, sed modo non recolit—qui Hugo erat homo in quo ‘se podia hom fizar’—hoc est dictu, erat amicus et credens hæreticorum, et cum dicto Hugone posset invenire dictum Raymundum Textorem quando vellet eum.

Dixit etiam idem Raymundus Textor ipsi testi<sup>3</sup> quod quidam homo ydropicus erat apud Sanctum Felicem—quem nominavit ipsi testi, sed non recolit de nomine—qui petebat hæreticos ad hæreticand[um], si agravaretur<sup>4</sup> eius infirmitas. Unde petiit ab ipso teste si vellent dicti hæretici ire ad Sanctum Felicem pro hæreticando homine prædicto: qui dixit eidem quod sicut credebatur ipse testis. De tempore: mensis est vel circa.

99<sup>v</sup> Adiecit etiam quod idem Raymundus | Textor dixit ipsi testi<sup>5</sup> quod quædam mulier de Sancto Fœlice, quasi de parage—quam nominavit ipsi testi<sup>6</sup> sed non recolit de nomine; habet tamen filium de cuius nomine non recolit—qui, et ipsa mulier, euntes in Lombardiam, redierunt de via illa: propter quod dictus filius fuit captus. Erat amica et credens hæreticorum, et habebat pecuniam paratam pro recessu in Lombardiam, et libenter vellet ire in Lombardiam, si haberet societatem in qua confidere posset. De tempore: quod supra.

Item prædictus Guillelmus Prunelli, hæreticus, dixit ipsi testi—volenti ire ad Castrum Novum de Arrio, pro habendo consilio cuiusdam infirmitatis quam paciebatur in oculo—quod ipse testis poterat habere bonum hospitium apud Sanctum Fœlicem, scilicet in domo Guillelme Folbasa— 100<sup>r</sup> cuius Guillelmæ<sup>7</sup> erat consanguineus | vel affinis Bernardus Fornerius de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, qui est compater ipsius testis<sup>8</sup>—nam ipse

<sup>1</sup> -i added.

<sup>2</sup> -inatus added over previous final letter; -t- altered.

<sup>3</sup> -i added.

<sup>4</sup> -etur added; -e- perhaps altered.

<sup>5</sup> -i added.

<sup>6</sup> -i added.

<sup>7</sup> -æ altered from -e.

<sup>8</sup> -is added.

heretics, but he does not recall whether this was through the same witness's wife, or through the same Bernarda, or through some other person. About the time: it was two years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the aforesaid Raymond Tisserand of Saint-Félix told the same witness that, when he could not see the heretics then, in the same witness's house, because they were not there, as was said above, the same | Raymond turned back, and went to the *mas* of Puy Redon<sup>16</sup> above 99<sup>r</sup> Cuq<sup>17</sup> in the diocese of Toulouse, into the house of a certain man, who was called Hugh and with a forename—he told the same witness, but now he does not recall it. This Hugh was a man in whom 'one could have faith', that is to say, he was a friend and believer of the heretics, and with the said Hugo he could find the said Raymond Tisserand, when he wanted him.

The same Raymond Tisserand also told the same witness that there was a certain man with dropsy at Saint-Félix—whom he named to the same witness, but he does not recall his name—who was asking for the heretics in order to be hereticated if his illness got worse. Therefore he asked the same witness if the said heretics would be willing to go to Saint-Félix to hereticate the aforesaid man: he told him that the same witness believed so. About the time: it was a month ago or thereabouts.

He also added that the same Raymond | Tisserand told the same wit- 99<sup>v</sup> ness that a certain woman from Saint-Félix, as it were from the nobility—whom he named to the same witness, but he does not recall her name; she, however, has a son, whose name he does not recall—and he, and the same woman, going into Lombardy, returned from that journey: and because of this the said son was captured. She was a friend and believer of the heretics, and she had money prepared for her departure into Lombardy, and she would willingly go into Lombardy if she had company in which she could trust. About the time: as above.

Item, the aforesaid William Prunel, heretic, told the same witness—who wanted to go to Castelnaudary to get advice about a certain infirmity which he was suffering in an eye—that the same witness could have good lodging at Saint-Félix, that is, in the house of Guillelma Folbasa—a kinsman or relative by marriage of this Guillelma was | Bernard Fournier<sup>18</sup> 100<sup>r</sup> of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, who is the same witness's godfather—for

<sup>16</sup> There is a Bosc Redon 1 km from Cuq-Toulza; DTF.

<sup>17</sup> Cuq-Toulza, Tarn, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 919.

<sup>18</sup> Fournier here is family name, not trade; he is identified as labourer, 101<sup>r</sup> below. See his depositions, beginning 151<sup>v</sup> below.



Guillelmus Prunelli, hæreticus, haberet bonum hospitium in domo ipsius Guillelmæ<sup>1</sup> Folhose, si veniret ibi. Et ipse testis retulit propredicta<sup>2</sup> verba Raymundo Textori prædicto, cum quo ipse testis fuit in domo prædictæ Guillelmæ Folhosa, ubi biberunt, præsentibus ipsa Guillelma et viro eius, cuius nomen non recolit, et duobus iuvenibus hominibus quorum nomina nescit. Non tamen fuerunt loqui aliquid de facto hæreticorum. De tempore: hoc anno in Quadragesima per quindecim dies vel circa.

Item ipse testis dixit Raymundo Cogota, de Cogota, de parrochia de Cadolh, quod hæretici trevabant, id est, ibant et redibant, in domo ipsius testis. Et tunc ipse *Raymundus* dixit ipsi testi<sup>3</sup> quod non faceret nec bonum nec malum ipsis hæreticis. De tempore: annus est vel circa.

100<sup>v</sup> Tamen ipse *Raymundus* | dixit ipsi testi<sup>4</sup> quod habebat sororium nomine Raymundum Daspa, qui est hæreticus in Lombardia, qui—antequam esset hæreticus—voluit semel ostendere sibi Sicardum Lunelli, hæreticum, sed ipse *Raymundus* Cogota noluit ipsum videre. De tempore: quindecim anni sunt vel circa.

Item vidit Petrum Maurelli de Auriaco, nuntium hæreticorum, ter in domo ipsius testis<sup>5</sup>—venientem ad videndum ipsos hæreticos, et loquendum ipsis hæreticis. Tamen non vidit eum cum hæreticis, cum bene sciebat quod erat nuntius hæreticorum. De tempore: a duobus annis citra.

Item audivit dicentem prædictum Bernardum, fratrem ipsius testis,<sup>6</sup> quod duæ mulieres de Lughan—mater et filia, quarum una vocatur Galharda, de nomine alterius non recolit—erant amicæ<sup>7</sup> et credentes hæreticorum, et parabant pec|cuniam suam cum qua irent in Lombardiam; et de hoc scit veritatem dictus Bernardus, frater ipsius testis.<sup>8</sup> Audivit etiam dicentes hoc prædictos hæreticos, et credit ipse testis quod ipsi hæretici fuerunt in domo ipsarum mulierum; et ipse mulieres viderunt eos. De tempore: a festo Sancti Iohannis citra.

<sup>1</sup> -æ altered from -e.

<sup>2</sup> ms prope dicta.

<sup>3</sup> -i perhaps added.

<sup>4</sup> -i perhaps added.

<sup>5</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>7</sup> -æ perhaps altered from -e.

<sup>8</sup> -is perhaps added.

the same William Prunel, the heretic, would have good lodging in the same Guillelma Folhosa's house if he came there. And the same witness recounted the aforementioned words to the aforesaid Raymond Tisserand, with whom the same witness was in the house of the aforesaid Guillelma Folhosa, where they drank, in the presence of the same Guillelma, and of her husband, whose name he does not recall, and of two young men whose names he does not know. They did not, however, say anything about the matter of the heretics. About the time: this year, fifteen days or thereabouts into Lent.

Item, the same witness told Raymond Cougotte of Lacougotte, of the parish of Cadoul,<sup>19</sup> that the heretics were frequenting, that is to say, they were coming and going, in the same witness's house. And then the same Raymond told the same witness to do neither good nor ill to the same heretics. About the time: it was a year ago or thereabouts.

The same Raymond, however, | told the same witness that he had a brother-in-law called Raymond of *Aspa*,<sup>20</sup> who is a heretic in Lombardy, who—before he was a heretic—once wanted to show him Sicard Lunel, the heretic, but the same Raymond Cougotte did not want to see him. About the time: it was fifteen years ago or thereabouts.<sup>21</sup> 100<sup>v</sup>

Item, he saw Peter Maurel of Auriac, messenger of the heretics, three times in the same witness's house—coming to see the same heretics, and to talk to the same heretics. However, he did not see him with the heretics, though he knew well that he was a messenger of the heretics. About the time: within the last two years.

Item, he heard the aforesaid Bernard, the same witness's brother, saying that two women of Lugan—mother and daughter, one of whom was called Galharda, he does not recall the name of the other—were friends and believers of the heretics, and were preparing their | money with which to go into Lombardy; and the said Bernard, the same witness's brother, knows the truth about this. He also heard the aforesaid heretics saying this, and the same witness believes it, that the same heretics were in the same women's house; and the same women saw them. About the time: since the feast of St John. 101<sup>r</sup>

<sup>19</sup> La Cougotte is 1 km N of the village that now unites the two names, Lacougotte-Cadoul; Tarn, cant. Lavaur, arrond. Castres.

<sup>20</sup> Not identified. Perhaps Aspe, Tarn, comm. Trébas, cant. Valence-d'Albigeois, arrond. Albi; *DTF*.

<sup>21</sup> Since Sicard had converted and was working for the inquisition by 1255 (see pp. 56–57 above) this date seems mistaken.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis,<sup>1</sup> et prædictus Bernardus, frater ipsius testis,<sup>2</sup> emerunt quandam equam a prædictis mulieribus hoc anno in Quadragesima, de peccunia quam ipsi hæretici mutuaverunt ipsi testi<sup>3</sup> et dicto fratri suo.

Item de mandato dicti Vuillelmi Prunelli, hæretici, ipse testis<sup>4</sup> ivit ad Bernardum Fornerii, laborantem, et Pontium Raynaldi, de terra Sancti Pauli de Cadaiovis, de parrochia Sancti Andrææ—et dictus Bernardus Fornerii stat modo, et duxit uxorem<sup>5</sup> apud Sanctum Paulum—*ut* sciret  
 101<sup>v</sup> cum eis si ipse Pontius | Raynaldi et Raymundus de Labatut, similiter de terra Sancti Pauli, erant parati ad eundum in Lombardiam. Super hoc dictus hæreticus et socius eius volebant videre ipsos Pontium<sup>6</sup> et Raymundum apud ecclesiam Sancti Andrææ in quodam casali: et non erat ibi. Dictus Raymundus de Labatut venit ad domum ipsius testis, et, ipso teste docente<sup>7</sup> locum, intravit idem Raymundus ad ipsos hæreticos in sotulum domus, et loquutus fuit ibi diu cum eis. Ipse testis tamen non vidit eum alias cum ipsis hæreticis, nec eum adorantem. De tempore: annus et dimidius est, vel circa.

Adiecit etiam quod prædictus Bernardus Fornerii erat, et est, credens hæreticorum, et multum eis familiaris.

Dixit etiam quod prædicti Raymundus de Labatut et Pontius Raynaut iverunt et fugerunt in Lombardiam ad hæreticos,<sup>8</sup> prout credit.

102<sup>r</sup> Dixit etiam quod idem | Bernardus Fornerii, ab anno et dimidio citra, fuit bis in domo ipsius testis,<sup>9</sup> volens videre et petens hæreticos. Sed non vidit eos ibi, quia ipsis hæreticis displicebat quia ipse Bernardus duxerat uxorem. Tamen bene sciebat idem Bernardus Fornerii quod hæretici conversabantur in domo ipsius testis.

Adiecit etiam quod prima vice qua propredicti<sup>10</sup> hæretici venerunt ad domum ipsius testis<sup>11</sup> apud Rocavidal, venerunt ibi procurante ipso

<sup>1</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>2</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>3</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -em *added, perhaps by reader*.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* Pontios.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* docentem.

<sup>8</sup> -os *added, perhaps by reader*.

<sup>9</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* prope dicti.

<sup>11</sup> -is *added*.

He also said that the same witness and the aforesaid Bernard, the same witness's brother, bought a certain mare from the aforesaid women, this year during Lent, with money which the same heretics lent to the same witness and to his said brother.

Item, on the instruction of the said William Prunel, heretic, the same witness went to Bernard Fournier, labourer, and Pons Reynold, of the land of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, of the parish of Saint-André<sup>22</sup>—and the said Bernard Fournier lives now, and married, at Saint-Paul. This was to find out from them if the same Pons | Reynold, and Raymond of Labatut,<sup>23</sup> similarly of the land of Saint-Paul, were prepared to go into Lombardy. The said heretic and his companion wanted to see the same Pons and Raymond about this, at the church of Saint-André in a certain 'casal' (cottage or dry-stone shed):<sup>24</sup> and he was<sup>25</sup> not there. The said Raymond of Labatut came to the same witness's house, and, with the same witness instructing him where the place was, the same Raymond went in to the same heretics in the ground floor of the house, and spoke there for a long time with them. The same witness did not, however, otherwise see him with the same heretics, nor did he see him adoring. About the time: it was a year and a half ago or thereabouts. 101<sup>v</sup>

He also added that the aforesaid Bernard Fournier was and is a believer of the heretics, and very close to them.

He also said that the aforesaid Raymond of Labatut and Pons Reynold went and fled into Lombardy to the heretics, as he believes.

He also said that the same | Bernard Fournier was twice in the same witness's house in the last year and a half, wanting to see and asking for the heretics. But he did not see them there, because it displeased the same heretics that the same Bernard had married. However the same Bernard Fournier knew well that the heretics were living in the same witness's house. 102<sup>r</sup>

He also added that, the first time the aforementioned heretics came to the same witness's house at Roquevidal, they came there with the same

<sup>22</sup> See Saint-André near Magrin, 69<sup>v</sup> above, 5 km from Saint-Paul.

<sup>23</sup> Common place-name in Languedoc; *DTF*.

<sup>24</sup> *Casale* may also mean a little plot of land.

<sup>25</sup> Or 'it was'; perhaps mistake for 'they were'.

*Bernardo* Fornerii et nunciante ipsi testi et dicto *Bernardo*, fratri<sup>1</sup> ipsius testis. De tempore: duo<sup>2</sup> anni sunt, vel circa.

Item quod propredictus<sup>3</sup> *Bernardus* Fornerii venit semel ad domum ipsius apud Rocavidal, et eduxit inde prædictos hæreticos, qui tunc erant ibi, ducens eos ad Sanctum Paulum de Cadaiovis, pro hæreticanda qua-  
 102<sup>v</sup> dam muliere, de cuius nomine non recolit: quam | propredicti<sup>4</sup> hæretici hæreticaverunt, prout postea audivit ab eisdem hæreticis, et ab eodem *Bernardo* Fornerii. De tempore: annus et dimidius est, vel circa.

Item dixit quod Stephanus de Pradinas, sartor, de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, visitavit ibi prædictos hæreticos, scilicet in domo ipsius testis<sup>5</sup> apud Rocavidal. Et ibi ipse testis<sup>6</sup> vidit dictum Stephanum cum eisdem hæreticis, vel ostendit ei quod intraret in sotulum ad ipsos hæreticos, sed non bene recolit quod istorum fuit. Et tunc idem Stephanus venerat ibi ad thalhandum vestes ipsi testi<sup>7</sup> et prædicto *Bernardo*, fratri suo, de mandato prædicti Guillelmi Prunelli, hæretici,<sup>8</sup> qui mandaverat ei quod veniret ibi pro faciendis dictis vestibus. Et prædictus *Bernardus*, frater ipsius testis, ivit pro eo ad mandatum dicti hæretici, et adduxit eum ibi. De tempore:  
 103<sup>r</sup> annus et | dimidius est, vel circa.

Credit etiam ipse testis quod ipse Stephanus Abbas viderat prædictos hæreticos, et erat amicus et credens eorum.

Dixit etiam quod idem Stephanus talhavit dictas vestes in domo ipsius testis<sup>9</sup> apud Rocavidal, et portavit eas ad Sanctum Paulum ubi sutæ sint,<sup>10</sup> et reddidit sutas sine peccunia.

Item de mandato prædicti Vuillelmi Prunelli, hæretici, ipse testis<sup>11</sup> petiit a dicto Stephano Pradinas, et Raymundo Tiragosim, quod mitteret anguillas ipsi hæretico. Et tunc ipse testis<sup>12</sup> dixit hoc ipsi Stephano, quod

<sup>1</sup> *ms* fratre.

<sup>2</sup> *written over* anni.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* prope dictus.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* prope dicti.

<sup>5</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>6</sup> *originally* testes.

<sup>7</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* hæretico.

<sup>9</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>10</sup> *deletion of about three letters*.

<sup>11</sup> -is *probably added*.

<sup>12</sup> -is *added*.

Bernard Fournier arranging this and announcing it to the same witness and to the said Bernard, the same witness's brother. About the time: it was two years ago or thereabouts.

Item, the aforementioned Bernard Fournier came once to his house at Roquevidal, and brought out from there the aforesaid heretics, who were there then, taking them to Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux to hereticate a certain woman, whose name he does not recall: whom | the aforementioned 102<sup>v</sup> heretics hereticated, as he afterwards heard from the same heretics, and from the same Bernard Fournier. About the time: it was a year and a half ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that Stephen of Pradines, tailor, of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, visited the aforesaid heretics there, that is, in the same witness's house at Roquevidal. And there the same witness saw the said Stephen with the same heretics—or he showed him the way to enter the ground floor to the same heretics—but he does not recall well which of them it was. And the same Stephen had come there then to cut clothes for the same witness and for the aforesaid Bernard his brother, on the order of the aforesaid William Prunel, heretic, who had instructed him to come there for the making of the said clothes. And the aforesaid Bernard, the same witness's brother, went for him on the order of the said heretic, and brought him there. About the time: it was a year and | a half ago 103<sup>r</sup> or thereabouts.

The same witness also believes that the same Stephen Abbas had seen the aforesaid heretics, and was a friend and believer of theirs.

He also said that the same Stephen cut the said clothes in the same witness's house at Roquevidal, and carried them to Saint-Paul, where they were sewn up, and he handed over the sewn clothes, without pay.

Item, on the order of the aforesaid William Prunel, heretic, the same witness asked the said Stephen Pradinas, and Raymond Tiragoiran, to send eels to the same heretic. And then the same witness said this to the

mitteret dictas anguillas; qui dixit ipsi testi<sup>1</sup> quod apportaret eas ipsi testi<sup>2</sup> apud torcular, ubi faciebat fieri oleum nucum in barrio Sancti Pauli. Et cum diu expectatus non veniret dictus Stephanus, ipse testis<sup>3</sup> dixit dicto  
 103<sup>v</sup> Tiragoiran quod iret ad prædictum<sup>4</sup> | Stephanum pro illis anguillis. Qui ivit ad dictum Stephanum pro illis anguillis, sed non habuit eas quia non habebat eas paratas<sup>5</sup> dictus Stephanus. De tempore: hoc anno, circa festum Omnium Sanctorum.

Adiecit etiam quod dictus Tiragoiran est credens et amicus hæreticorum; et audivit dicentem dictum Guillelmum Prunelli, hæreticum, et ipsum Tiragoiran quod si haberet paratum libenter iret ad hæreticos in Lombardiam. Audivit etiam dicentem ipsum Tiragoiran quod ipse miserat iam in Lombardiam circiter sexaginta vel septuaginta solidos Melgurienses, ductus spe<sup>6</sup> quod iret ad huc in Lombardiam.

Item dixit quod Bernardus Caerci, laborator, de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis—et est sororius prædicti Bernardi Fornerii—venit bis ad domum  
 104<sup>r</sup> ipsius testis<sup>7</sup> ad videndum prædictos hæreticos. Et altera | de dictis vicibus erant ibi prædicti hæretici, et vidit eos ibi idem Bernardus Caercini, et duxit<sup>8</sup> eos ad Sanctum Paulum de Cadaiovis ad hæreticandum quandam mulierem infirmam, cuius nomen ignorat. Ipse testis tamen non vidit eum tunc cum dictis hæreticis, sed ita dixit ipsi testi<sup>9</sup> Bernardus, frater ipsius testis prædictus. Alia vice non erant, ut sibi videtur, dicti hæretici in domo.

Adiecit etiam quod dictus Bernardus Caerci est credens et amicus, et familiaris ipsorum hæreticorum, et multum<sup>10</sup> confidunt de ipso hæretici prædicti, prout audivit dicentes ipsos hæreticos. De tempore: annus est et parum amplius.

Item audivit dicentem prædictum Guillelmum Prunelli, hæreticum, quod apud Rabastenx debebantur<sup>11</sup> eidem hæretico denarii, sed non

<sup>1</sup> -i added.

<sup>2</sup> -i added.

<sup>3</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>4</sup> ms prædictum.

<sup>5</sup> ms casparatas.

<sup>6</sup> There is a dash after this word, as if space had been left for a longer expansion—although it does not otherwise appear that the preceding word has been expanded.

<sup>7</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>8</sup> -u- altered, probably from -i-.

<sup>9</sup> -s deleted.

<sup>10</sup> ms mulierum.

<sup>11</sup> deb- perhaps written over deletion.

same Stephen, that he should send the said eels; and he said to the same witness, that he would bring them to the same witness at the press, where they had oil of nuts made, in the suburb of Saint-Paul. And when he had waited a long time, and the said Stephen still did not come, the same witness said to the said Tirogoiran that he should go to the aforesaid | 103<sup>v</sup> Stephen for those eels. And he went to the said Stephen for those eels, but he did not get them because the said Stephen did not have them prepared. About the time: this year, around the feast of All Saints.

He also added that the said Tirogoiran is a believer and friend of the heretics; and he heard the said William Prunel, heretic, saying, and the same Tiragoiran saying, that if he had the wherewithal prepared he would willingly go to the heretics in Lombardy. He also heard the same Tiragoiran saying that he had already sent about sixty or seventy Melgueil shillings into Lombardy, led on by the hope that he would yet go into Lombardy.

Item, he said that Bernard the Cahorsin, labourer, of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux—and he is the brother-in-law of the aforesaid Bernard Fournier—came twice to the same witness's house to see the aforesaid heretics. And on one | of the said occasions the aforesaid heretics were there, and the same Bernard the Cahorsin saw them there, and took them to Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux to hereticate a certain sick woman, whose name he does not know. The same witness, however, did not see him then with the said heretics, but Bernard, the same witness's aforesaid brother, told the same witness this. On the other occasion the said heretics were not in the house, as it seems to him. 104<sup>r</sup>

He added also that the said Bernard the Cahorsin is a believer and friend of, and close to, the same heretics, and the aforesaid heretics trust him greatly, as he has heard the aforesaid heretics saying. About the time: it was a year ago and a little more.

Item, he heard the aforesaid William Prunel, heretic, saying that at Rabastens money was owed to the same heretic, but he did not hear him



audivit eum dicentem quot<sup>1</sup> denarii vel a quibus debebantur. De tempore | auditus: annus est vel circa.

104<sup>v</sup> Item dicit quod Aimericus de Tholosa venit semel ad domum ipsius testis, una cum Pontius Fogacerii de Tholosa et Guillelmo Fabri de Vauro prædictis, qui omnes—ipso teste<sup>2</sup> vidente—intraverunt in sotulum ad ipsos hæreticos, et fuerunt ibi diu cum eis. Ipse tamen testis non vidit eum cum prædictis hæreticis aliter. De tempore: in hyeme<sup>3</sup> proximo præterita fuit annus.

Item idem Aymericus<sup>4</sup> optime indutus transivit alias per Rocavidal cum quadam muliere anglica. Et post paucos dies idem Aymericus, totus spoliatus fere, rediit ad domum ipsius testis, narrans quod dum iret in Lombardiam cum prædicta muliere et quadam alia,<sup>5</sup> fuerunt sibi ablata<sup>6</sup> 105<sup>r</sup> in itinere, dum iacerent in quadam domo, ambæ mulieres, et peccunia | tota, et vestes quas portabant—et fere ipse fuerat captus, sed evaserat per forsam de corer. De tempore: quod supra.

Item audivit dicentem Guillelmum Prunelli, hæreticum, quod Pontius de Gomervilla de Tholosa recesserat in Lombardia de conscientia ipsius hæretici, et quod Raymundus, frater dicti Pontius, qui ad huc est Tholosæ, post recessum ipsius Pontius, paraverat se ad eundem in Lombardiam ad hæreticos. Sed nescit ipse testis qualiter remansit—quod non recessit.

Item dixit quod cum mater Fogacerium de Tholosa infirmaretur infirmitate qua obiit, Pontius Fogacerii, filius eius, venit ad domum ipsius testis apud Rocavidal, ut adduceret sibi hæreticos, et inveniens ibi prædictos hæreticos locutus est cum ipsis hæreticis de hæreticanda ipsa. Et tandem ipsa die, recedente dicto Pontio versus Vaurum, prædicti hæretici, una cum | ipso teste, venientes Tholosam pro dicta hæreticatione, 105<sup>v</sup> venerunt simul recta via usque ultra villam de Montibus: et ibi, et ex inde, hæretici remiserunt ipsum propter quendam cultellum quem tradiderant oblivioni apud quendam fontem in via ubi<sup>7</sup> biberant. Propter quod ipse testis recessit ab eis, iam facta magna nocte, et ipsi venerunt Tholosam,

<sup>1</sup> *ms* quod.

<sup>2</sup> -e probably altered from -i.

<sup>3</sup> -y- *added*.

<sup>4</sup> totus spoliatus *deleted*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* quædam aliæ.

<sup>6</sup> -æ perhaps altered from -e.

<sup>7</sup> u- altered, perhaps from i-.

saying how much money, or by which people it was owed. About the time | when he heard this: it was a year ago or thereabouts. 104<sup>v</sup>

Item, he says that Aimery of Toulouse came once to the same witness's house, together with the aforesaid Pons Fogacier of Toulouse and William Faure of Lavaur, all of whom—in the sight of the same witness—entered the ground floor to the same heretics, and they were there for a long time with them. The same witness did not, however, otherwise see him with the aforesaid heretics. About the time: it was a year before last winter.

Item, on another occasion the same Aimery, very well dressed, passed through Roquevidal with a certain English woman. And after a few days the same Aimery, stripped of almost everything, returned to the same witness's house, telling how, while he was going to Lombardy with the aforesaid woman and a certain other woman, there were taken from him, on the journey, while they were sleeping in a certain house, both women and all the money, | and the clothes which they were carrying—and he 105<sup>r</sup> had almost been captured, but he had escaped by dint of running. About the time: as above.

Item, he heard William Prunel, heretic, saying that Pons of Gomerville, of Toulouse, had gone into Lombardy, with the same heretic's knowledge, and that Raymond, the said Pons's brother, who is still in Toulouse, after the same Pons's departure had prepared himself for going into Lombardy to the heretics. But the same witness does not know how he remained—because he did not leave.

Item, he said that when the mother of the Fogaciers of Toulouse was sick, with the illness of which she died, Pons Fogacier, her son, came to the same witness's house at Roquevidal, in order to bring the heretics to her, and finding the aforesaid heretics there he spoke with the same heretics about hereticating her. And finally on the same day, when the said Pons went away towards Lavaur, and the aforesaid heretics, together with | the same witness, came to Toulouse for the said heretication, they 105<sup>v</sup> came together on a direct route, to beyond the village of Mons; and there, and from that point, the heretics sent him back for a certain knife which they had forgotten at a certain spring by the road where they had drunk. The same witness left them for this, when it was now well into the night, and they came to Toulouse where—as he afterwards heard

ubi—sicut postmodum audivit ab ipsis hæreticis—receperunt et hæreticaverunt ipsam mulierem secundum morem suum. De tempore: annus et dimidijs est, vel circa.

Item audivit dicentes prædictos hæreticos quod ipsi hæreticaverunt in infirmitate qua obiit quandam mulierem, cuius nomen Morlanam. Tamen bene erat dives, et satis de peccunia habuerunt de ipsa. Et tempore quo fuit hæreticata erat ancilla sua Raymunda Terrena, de Rocavidal, quæ | est modo uxor Guillelmi Medici eiusdem loci, quæ interfuit prædictæ hæreticationi, et scivit totum factum illud. Et propter hoc debuit habere mantellum ipsius hæreticatæ; de quo fuit discordia inter ipsam et dictos hæreticos. Et in domo ipsius testis audivit etiam dicentes dictos hæreticos quod in civitate Tholosæ habuerant discordiam de dicto mantello cum prædicta Raymunda, et procurante Gordona, uxore Pontii de Gomervilla, cum ipsa hæreticata scivit dictam hæreticationem, prædicti hæretici obtinuerunt dictum mantellum. Fuit etiam de hoc eodem discordia inter ipsos hæreticos et Raymundam apud Rocavidal: quam discordiam sciverunt Bernardus,<sup>1</sup> frater ipsius testis, et Guillelmus Terreni, frater ipsius Raymunde, et Fauressa, mater ipsius Raymundæ.<sup>2</sup> Qui  
 106<sup>r</sup> Guillelmus et Fauressa fovebant quantum poterant partem dictæ Raymundæ, quod haberet dictum mantellum. Audivit etiam dicentes eosdem hæreticos et prædictum Bernardum, fratrem ipsius testis, quod Petrus de Bugat prædictus, et Sasia, mater eius, de Rocavidal—quæ Sasia est amica dictæ Raymundæ Terrena—et quantum poterant fovebant partem dictæ Raymundæ Terrena. Credit etiam firmiter quod prædicta Sasia esset, et sit, credens hæreticorum et amica, et benefactrix, sicut pluries audivit ab eisdem hæreticis,<sup>3</sup> et Bernardo, fratre ipsius testis,<sup>4</sup> et ab eadem Sasia, et Petro de Bugato, filio eius. De tempore propredictæ<sup>5</sup> hæreticationis: annus et dimidijs est, vel circa.

Audivit etiam dicentem Pontium Fogacerii de Tholosa prædictum quod ipse Pontius et fratres eius fuerunt in domo dictæ Sasiæ, quæ,<sup>6</sup> et  
 107<sup>r</sup> filius eius, Petrus de Bugat prædictus, sciebant fratrum ipsorum quantum ad hæresim. Et quando ipse Pontius primo venit ad dictam villam

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Raymundus.

<sup>2</sup> *-æ altered, probably from -e.*

<sup>3</sup> *-is perhaps added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-is perhaps added.*

<sup>5</sup> *ms* prope dictæ.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* quo.

from the same heretics—they received and hereticated the same woman, according to their custom. About the time: it was a year and a half ago or thereabouts.

Item, he heard the aforesaid heretics saying that they hereticated, in the illness of which she died, a certain woman named Morlana. She, however, was pretty rich, and they got enough money from her. And, at the time when she was hereticated, her maidservant was Raymonda Terren of Roquevidal, who | is now the wife of William Médecin (*or* William, 106<sup>r</sup> doctor) of the same place, and she was present at the aforesaid heretication, and knew all that affair. And on account of this she was supposed to have the same hereticated woman's cloak; about which there was a quarrel between her and the said heretics. And in the same witness's house, he also heard the said heretics saying that they had had a quarrel with the aforesaid Raymonda about the said cloak in the city of Toulouse, and that, through the offices of Gordona, wife of Pons of Gomerville, since she, who had herself been hereticated, knew about the said heretication, the aforesaid heretics obtained the said cloak. There was also a quarrel about this same matter between the same heretics and Raymonda at Roquevidal: Bernard, the same witness's brother, and William Terren, the same Raymonda's brother, and Fabrissa, the same Raymonda's mother, knew 106<sup>v</sup> about this quarrel. This William and Fabrissa supported as much | as they could the said Raymonda's side, that she should have the said cloak. He also heard the same heretics and the aforesaid Bernard, the same witness's brother, saying that the aforesaid Peter of Bugat, and Sazia, his mother, from Roquevidal—which Sazia is a friend of the said Raymonda Terren—also supported the said Raymonda Terren's side as far as they could. He also believes firmly that the aforesaid Sazia was, and is, a believer and friend and benefactress of the heretics, as he often heard from the same heretics and from Bernard, the same witness's brother, and from the same Sazia, and from Peter of Bugat, her son. About the time of the aforementioned heretication: it was a year and a half ago or thereabouts.

He also heard the aforesaid Pons Fogacier of Toulouse saying that the same Pons and his brothers were in the house of the said Sazia—she and her son, the aforesaid Peter of Bugat, | knew about the matter concerning 107<sup>r</sup> his brothers in relation to heresy. And when the same Pons first came to

ipsius testis, primo venit ad domum dictæ Sasie, et Petri de Bugat, filii eius, et inde, ipsis procurantibus, venit ad domum ipsius testis; et tunc ipse Pontius vidit ibi hæreticos ut supradictum est.

Item audivit dicentes prædictos hæreticos quod ipsi hæreticaverunt, in infirmitate qua obiit, quendam filium Pontii de Gomervilla, multum iuvenem vel puerum; de qua hæreticatione habuerunt quadringentos vel trecentos Turonenses albos. Et idem Pontius dedit pro dicta hæreticatione cuilibet prædictorum hæreticorum supertunicale<sup>1</sup> de burello. De tempore: a duobus annis citra.

Audivit etiam dicentes prædictos hæreticos quod tunc, tempore dictæ  
107<sup>v</sup> hæreticationis, stabant | Tholosæ in domo Bernardi Faure de Sancto Romano, qui tunc stabat Tholosæ iuxta vallatum—de qua domo venerunt ad hæreticandum puerum prædictum.

Adiecit etiam quod prædictus Faure visitavit et vidit bis prædictos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis apud Rocavidal, sicut audivit et ab ipsis hæreticis, et ab eodem Faure, et a Bernardo, fratre ipsius testis prædicto. Et ipse testis<sup>2</sup> vidit ipsum Faure in domo ipsius testis prædicto, et locutus fuit ipse Faure cum ipso teste<sup>3</sup> de facto hæreticorum,<sup>4</sup> et per verba sua cognovit quod ipse Faure est credens hæreticorum, et amicus. De tempore quo ultimo venit ad domum ipsius testis: est<sup>5</sup> dimidius annus vel circa. De tempore alterius visitationis: annus est vel circa.

108<sup>r</sup> Item cum Petrona, soror ipsius testis, uxor Petri Bertrandi de | Vauro, venisset ad domum ipsius testis apud Rochavidal, prædicta Rixendis, mater ipsius testis et prædictæ Petronæ, fecit eam videre ipsos hæreticos, ita quod ipsa Petrona vidit ipsos hæreticos, et locuta fuit cum eis, ita quod ipsi hæretici reputaverunt ipsam adauta fœmina. Propter quod credit quod ipsa adoravit ipsos hæreticos, et locuta fuit cum eis ita—sicut audivit hoc dicentes ipsos hæreticos, et prædictum Bernardum, fratrem ipsius testis. Ipse etiam testis dixerat antea dictæ<sup>6</sup> sorori suæ quod ipsa poterat videre prædictos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis, quia ibi conversabantur. De tempore: hoc anno in æstate.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ms* super tunicale.

<sup>2</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-e perhaps added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-orum added.*

<sup>5</sup> *ms* et.

<sup>6</sup> *perhaps written ante dictæ, with -a added.*

<sup>7</sup> *æ- probably altered from e-.*

the same witness's said village, he came first to the house of the said Sazia and of Peter of Bugat, her son, and then, at their arranging, he came to the same witness's house; and then the same Pons saw the heretics there, as has been said above.

Item, he heard the aforesaid heretics saying that they hereticated—in the illness of which he died—a certain son of Pons of Gomerville, who was very young, a boy; from which heretication they got four hundred or three hundred white Tournois. And the same Pons gave a thick wool surcoat to each of the aforesaid heretics for the said heretication. About the time: within the last two years.

He also heard the aforesaid heretics saying that then, at the time of the said heretication, they were staying | at Toulouse in the house of Bernard Faure (*or Bernard, smith*) of Saint-Romain, who was then living at Toulouse near the walls—from which house they came to hereticate the aforesaid boy. 107<sup>v</sup>

He also added that the aforesaid Faure visited and saw the aforesaid heretics twice in the same witness's house at Roquevidal, as he heard both from the same heretics, and from the same Faure, and from Bernard, the same witness's aforesaid brother. And the same witness saw the same Faure in the same witness's aforesaid house, and the same Faure spoke with the same witness about the matter of the heretics, and through his words he recognised that the same Faure is a believer of the heretics, and their friend. About the time that he last came to the same witness's house: it was half a year ago or thereabouts. About the time of the other visit: it was a year ago or thereabouts.

Item, when Petrona, the same witness's sister, the wife of Peter Bertrand of | Lavour, had come to the same witness's house at Roquevidal, the aforesaid Rixendis—the mother of the same witness and of the aforesaid Petrona—made her see the same heretics, so that the same Petrona saw the same heretics, and spoke with them, in such a way that the same heretics thought she was a charming woman. On account of this, he believes that she adored the same heretics, and spoke with them in this way—he heard the same heretics, and the aforesaid Bernard, the same witness's brother, saying this. The same witness had also said earlier to his said sister that she could see the aforesaid heretics in the same witness's house, because they were living there. About the time: this year in summer. 108<sup>r</sup>

Item, sequenti die, addidit quod cum mater Raymundi Borderii de Marsilio, qui moratur quandoque apud Vaurum, et est mercator animalium, infirmaretur apud Marsilium infirmitate de | qua convaluit, Guillelmus Faber supradictus de Vauro dixit ipsi testi<sup>1</sup> quod prædicta infirma instanter petebat hæreticos ut hæreticaretur. Et tunc supradicti hæretici, ad denunciationem ipsius testis, et ducente ipso teste ipsos usque prope ecclesiam de Cadolh, ubi debebant invenire prædictum Guillelmum Fabri—non tamen invenerunt eum ibi—dicti hæretici, ipso teste recedente, tenuerunt viam suam versus Marselh ad prædictam infirmam hæreticandam, ut dixerunt ipsi testi,<sup>2</sup> et ut post redditum ipsorum hæreticorum audivit ab hæreticis qui<sup>3</sup> hæreticaverunt supradictam infirmam secundum ritum suum, præsentē filia dictæ hæreticate, cuius nomen ignorat. Sed non audivit eis, quod recolat, qui alii interfuerunt dictæ hæreticationi, vel si quid vel quantum legavit ipsis hæreticis. De tempore: in æstate<sup>4</sup> proximo præ|terita.

Dixit etiam se nescire, licet pluries interrogaverit, utrum dicta hæreticata servet ad huc vel dimiserit sectam hæreticorum. De dicta etiam hæreticatione scit melius veritatem Bernardus, frater ipsius testis, quam ipse testis.

Item, Arnalda, uxor<sup>5</sup> ipsius testis,<sup>6</sup> potest dirigere super hac hæreticatione.

Item dixit quod prædictus Raymundus Borderii est amicus et credens hæreticorum, sicut pluries audivit a prædictis hæreticis, qui multum comendabant se de dicto Raymundo. Et idem Raymundus Border multotiens misit comestibilia, scilicet pisces et fogacias, aliquando per Bernardum, fratrem ipsius testis, et aliquando per prædictum Guillelmum Fabri de Vauro, prædictis hæreticis in domo ipsius testis, sicut audivit ab eisdem hæreticis, et a prædicto Bernardo, et ab Arnalda, uxore ipsius testis. Et ipse testis aliquotiens vidit comestibilia quæ dicebantur missa per dictum Raymundum. De tempore: a duobus annis citra.

<sup>1</sup> -s deleted.

<sup>2</sup> deletion, possibly -s, replaced by comma.

<sup>3</sup> superscript.

<sup>4</sup> æ- probably altered from e-.

<sup>5</sup> ms uxore.

<sup>6</sup> -is perhaps added.

Item, on the following day,<sup>26</sup> he added that, when the mother of Raymond Bordier of Marseille,<sup>27</sup> who sometimes lives at Lavour and is an animal trader, was ill at Marseille with an illness from | which she recovered, 108<sup>v</sup> the aforesaid William Faure (*or* William, smith) of Lavour told the same witness that the aforesaid sick woman was urgently asking for the heretics in order to be hereticated. And then the aforesaid heretics, when the same witness informed them and the same witness led them to near the church of Cadoul, where they were to find the aforesaid William Faure—they did not, however, find him there—while the same witness came back, the said heretics went on their way towards Marseille to hereticate the aforesaid sick woman, as they told the same witness, and as, after the return of the same heretics, he heard from the heretics, who hereticated the aforesaid sick woman according to their rite, in the presence of the daughter of the said hereticated woman, whose name he does not know. But he did not hear from them, so far as he recalls, who else was present at the said heretication or if she bequeathed anything, or how much, to the same heretics. About the time: during last summer.

He also said that he does not know—although he was asked several 109<sup>r</sup> times—whether the said hereticated woman still follows or has abandoned the sect of the heretics. Also, concerning the said heretication, Bernard, the same witness's brother, knows the truth better than the same witness does.

Item, Arnalda, the same witness's wife, can give information about this heretication.

Item, he said that the aforesaid Raymond Bordier is a friend and believer of the heretics, as he often heard from the aforesaid heretics, who used greatly to praise the said Raymond. And the same Raymond Bordier often sent the aforesaid heretics in the same witness's house provisions, that is, fish, and 'focaccias', sometimes through Bernard the same witness's brother, and sometimes through the aforesaid William Faure of Lavour, as he heard from the same heretics, and from the aforesaid Bernard, and from | Arnalda, the same witness's wife. And the 109<sup>v</sup> same witness sometimes saw provisions which were said to have been sent by the said Raymond. About the time: within the last two years.

<sup>26</sup> Probably April 7 1274.

<sup>27</sup> Tarn, comm. Roquevidal, cant. Cuq-Toulza, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.



Item audivit dicentem Arnaldam, uxorem ipsius testis, quod domina Ricarda, uxor Arnaldi Gardog, domini de Rocavidal, erat multum irata et male paccata, quia mater ipsius Ricardæ, quæ in infirmitate qua obiit petierat instanter hæreticos sibi adduci ut hæreticaretur, non habuerat ipsos hæreticos, ex quo volebat ipsos: sicut pluries ipsa domina Ricarda dixit hoc uxori Pontii<sup>1</sup> Maurelli prædictæ, cum qua ipsa domina Richarda multotiens locuta est de facto prædicto familiariter. Et bene sciebat ipsam Maurelam credentem hæreticorum, sicut multotiens dixit ipsi testi<sup>2</sup> prædicta uxor ipsius testis, quæ multotiens audivit hæc verba a dicta  
 110<sup>r</sup> Mau|rela. Et dicta infirma, mater dictæ Ricardæ: Arnalda, et morabatur apud Rocacavart in Viridi Folesio. De tempore mortis dictæ Arnaldæ: annus et duo menses sunt, vel circa.

Item audivit dicentes Pontius de Tilhol et Bernardum fratrem eius, qui modo est hæreticus, antequam irent in Lombardiam, quod Petrus Gardog, frater Arnaldi<sup>3</sup> Gardog, domini de Rocavidal, fere recessit cum eisdem fratribus de Tilhol in Lombardiam. Hoc idem audivit dicentem dictum Bernardum de Tilhol postquam fuit hæreticus.

Item audivit dicentem ipsum Petrum Gardog quod cum fuisset ei præceptum quod caperet Guillelmum Terreni de Rocavidal, fugitivum pro hæresi, quem inquisitores multum volebant, ipse Petrus quadam vice  
 110<sup>v</sup> invenit vel scivit eum in loco ubi bene po|tuisset eum capere si voluisset; et tamen non cepit eum nec capi fecit, nec revelavit. De tempore: decem anni sunt vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum Richa Pechavina, uxor quondam Arnaldi Alexandri de Rochavidal, [infirmaretur] infirmitate qua obiit, supradicti hæretici hæreticaverunt ipsam infirmam sicut ipse testis audivit ab eisdem hæreticis, et a Bernardo, fratre ipsius testis. Ipse autem testis<sup>4</sup> non interfuit dictæ hæreticationi, nec scit qui interfuerunt: credit tamen firmiter quod Petrus de Bugat, et Bertrandus de Bugat, gener dictæ hæreticatæ, et Bernardus Teulier, gener similiter eiusdem hæreticatæ, et Raymundus Guiraudi, frater dicti Bernardi Teulier, de Rochavidal, qui sciverunt dictam hæreticationem [interfuerunt].

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Pontius.

<sup>2</sup> *-i added.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms* Arnaldus.

<sup>4</sup> *-is perhaps added.*

<sup>29</sup> Not identified.

<sup>30</sup> Haute-Garonne. The Latin suggests use of the vernacular Verfeillois for the area.

Item, he heard Arnalda, the same witness's wife, saying that lady Richardis, wife of Arnold Gardouch, lord of Roquevidal,<sup>28</sup> was very angry and displeased because the same Richardis's mother, who in the illness of which she died had urgently asked for the heretics to be brought to her so that she could be hereticated, had not had the same heretics, as she wanted them: as the same lady Richardis said this many times to the aforesaid wife of Pons Maurel, with whom the same lady Richardis often talked in a familiar way about the aforesaid matter. And he knew well that the same Maurel woman was a believer of the heretics, as the same witness's aforesaid wife often told the same witness; she often heard these words from the said Maurel woman. | And the said sick woman, the mother of the said Richardis: Arnalda, and she used to live at *Rocacavart*<sup>29</sup> in the Verfeil area.<sup>30</sup> About the time of the death of the said Arnalda: it was a year and two months ago or thereabouts. 110<sup>r</sup>

Item, before they went into Lombardy he heard Pons of Tilhol and Bernard his brother, who is now a heretic, saying that Peter Gardouch, the brother of Arnold Gardouch, lord of Roquevidal, nearly went away with the same Tilhol brothers into Lombardy. He heard the said Bernard of Tilhol saying this same thing after he became a heretic.

Item, he heard the same Peter Gardouch saying that when he had been ordered to capture William Terren of Roquevidal, a fugitive for heresy, whom the inquisitors very much wanted, there was one occasion when the same Peter found or knew that he was in a place where he could well have captured him | if he had wanted to; however, he did not capture him, nor did he have him captured, nor did he give him away. About the time: it was ten years ago or thereabouts. 110<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that when Richa Pechavin, the wife of the late Arnold Alexander of Roquevidal, was sick with the illness of which she died, the aforesaid heretics hereticated the same sick woman, as the same witness heard from the same heretics, and from Bernard, the same witness's brother. The same witness, however, was not present at the said heretication, nor does he know who were present: he believes firmly, however, that Peter of Bugat, and Bertrand of Bugat, the son-in-law of the said hereticated woman, and Bernard Teulier, similarly the son-in-law of the same hereticated woman, and Raymond Guiraud, the brother of the said Bernard Teulier, of Roquevidal, who knew about the said heretication, (were there).

<sup>28</sup> Listed as squire, taking oath of loyalty to the king of France, 8–9 October 1271, *Saisimentum*, p. 98.

111<sup>r</sup> Item Bernardus, frater ipsius | testis, qui visitavit ipsam hæreticatam in illa infirmitate, et Arnalda, uxor ipsius testis, scivit dictam hæreticationem. Dicti hæretici etiam quadam vice, ipso teste<sup>1</sup> præsentē, petierunt a Bernardo, fratre ipsius testis, si possent habere legatam quod legaverat dicta hæreticata eisdem hæreticis. Qui respondit quod dicto Bernardo Teulier displicebat si solveretur dictum legatum hæreticis. De tempore: annus et dimidiū, vel circa.

Item audivit dicentes supradictos hæreticos, et prædictas matrem et uxorem, et Bernardum fratrem ipsius testis, et uxorem eius, quod Bernarda Massarona, uxor quondam Gauberti Medici de Rocavidal, fuit hæreticata per ipsos hæreticos quadam infirmitate de qua convaluit, et post convalescentiam dimisit ritum hæreticorum.<sup>2</sup> Ipse autem testis<sup>3</sup> non interfuit dictæ hæ|reticationi, nec scit qui interfuerunt. Credit tamen quod sciverunt prædictam hæreticationem supradictæ personæ, et Raymunda, filia dictæ hæreticatæ, quæ est uxor Raymundi Favar de Velhas, et Rixendis, soror ipsius hæreticatæ, quæ apud Podium Bego, in diocesis Albiensis, habet virum, de cuius nomine non recolit, et Raymundus Molsairo, frater eiusdem hæreticatæ, et Albia, uxor ipsius Raymundi. De tempore: circa festum Omnium Sanctorum proxime præteritum.

Item dixit se credere quod Petrus Faure, faber de Rocavidal, et Guilhelma uxor eius, sunt amici et credentes hæreticorum. Et prædictus Petrus Faure tradidit ipsi testi quandam camisiam ut daret eam ex parte Guillemæ uxoris suæ prædictæ Bernardo<sup>4</sup> de Tilhol, hæretico, consanguineo ipsius Guillemæ: quod et fecit.

112<sup>r</sup> Ipse testis<sup>5</sup> | audivit etiam dicentem Arnaldam, uxorem ipsius testis, quod propredicta<sup>6</sup> Guilhelma vidit dictos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis. Adiecit etiam quod dum propredicti<sup>7</sup> hæretici erant in domo de Napoiola, de qua locutus est superius, ipse testis<sup>8</sup> dixit prædicto Petro Fabri quod<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -e *perhaps added*.

<sup>2</sup> -orum *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>4</sup> *altered, possibly from Bernardæ.*

<sup>5</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>6</sup> *ms prope dicta.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms prope dicti.*

<sup>8</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>9</sup> *superscript.*

Item, Bernard, the same witness's brother, | who visited the same 111<sup>r</sup>  
hereticated woman during that illness, and Arnalda, the same witness's  
wife, knew about the said heretication. Also, once, in the same witness's  
presence, the said heretics asked Bernard, the same witness's brother,  
if they could have the legacy which the said hereticated woman had  
bequeathed to the same heretics. He replied that it would displease the  
said Bernard Teulier if the said legacy were paid to the heretics. About  
the time: a year and a half ago, or thereabouts.

Item, he heard the aforesaid heretics, and his aforesaid mother and  
wife, and Bernard, the same witness's brother, and his wife, saying that  
Bernarda Massarona, the wife of the late Gaubert Médecin (*or* Gaubert,  
doctor) of Roquevidal, was hereticated by the same heretics, during a  
certain illness from which she recovered, and after her recovery she  
abandoned the rite<sup>31</sup> of the heretics. The same witness, however, was not  
present at the said | heretication, nor does he know who were present. 111<sup>v</sup>  
He believes, however, that the aforementioned persons knew about the  
aforesaid heretication, and also Raymonda, the daughter of the said  
hereticated woman, who is the wife of Raymond Favar of Veilhes,<sup>32</sup> and  
Rixendis, the sister of the same hereticated woman, who has a husband  
at Puybégon<sup>33</sup> in the diocese of Albi, whose name he does not recall,  
and Raymond Molsaro, the brother of the same hereticated woman, and  
Albia, the same Raymond's wife. About the time: around the feast of All  
Saints last.

Item, he said that he believes that Peter Faure, smith, of Roquevidal,  
and Guillelma his wife, are friends and believers of the heretics. And the  
aforesaid Peter Faure handed over to the same witness a certain shirt,  
for him to give, on behalf of Guillelma, his aforesaid wife, to Bernard of  
Tilhol, the heretic, a kinsman of the same Guillelma: which he did.

The same witness | also heard Arnalda, the same witness's wife, saying 112<sup>r</sup>  
that the aforementioned Guillelma saw the said heretics in the same  
witness's house. He also added that while the aforementioned heretics  
were in the house of Na Poiola, about whom he spoke above,<sup>34</sup> the  
same witness told the aforesaid Peter Faure that the aforesaid heretics

<sup>31</sup> *Sectam* (sect) would have been more expected, and *ritum* may well be a mis-copying.

<sup>32</sup> Tarn, cant. Lavaur, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>33</sup> Tarn, cant. Graulhet, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>34</sup> This must be Bernarda of Pujol (Bernarda del Poiol), 98<sup>r</sup> above.

prædicti hæretici erant in domo ipsa; sed tamen ipse Petrus Fabri voluit eos videre, ipse testis<sup>1</sup> non vidit hæreticos cum ipso Petro. De tempore: duo anni sunt vel circa.

Item Bernardus Saliner, laborator, de Rocavidal, petiit bis ab ipso teste quod ostenderet eis hæreticos, credens quod essent in domo ipsius testis, vel quod ipse testis sciret eos. Et cum ipse testis<sup>2</sup> hoc retulisset prædictis hæreticis, noluerunt videri ab eo. Credit tamen quod ipse Bernardus esset amicus et haberet fidem hæreticorum. De tempore: annus et dimidius  
112<sup>v</sup> est | vel circa.

Audivit etiam prædictum Bernardum Salinerii [dicentem quod] frater ipsius *Bernardi*, qui moratur apud Belaval prope Rocavidal, dedit quadam vice caligas Pontio<sup>3</sup> de Tilhol et Bernardo fratri eius, qui modo est hæreticus, qui erant fugitivi pro hæresi, quos invenerat Tholosæ. Dixit etiam idem Bernardus Salinerii quod prædictus *Bernardus* Tilhol promiserat eidem *Bernardo* quod haberet bonos homines, scilicet hæreticos, ad hæreticandum<sup>4</sup> matrem ipsius *Bernardi* Salinerii si peteret eos in morte. De tempore: quod proxime supra.

Item vidit primo hæreticos in domo Petri Gausberti apud Sanctum Anhanum—scilicet Raymundum Gaucelini et Pontium Sira socium<sup>5</sup> eius, hæreticos. Et ibi multotiens audivit monitiones ipsorum hæreticorum; et ibi illi hæretici docuerunt ipsum testem<sup>6</sup> primo fidem hæreticorum. Et vidit ibi multo|tiens cum eisdem hæreticis prædictum Petrum  
113<sup>r</sup> Gausberti, et Bernardam uxorem eius, sororem ipsius testis, et Guillelmum Gausberti, fratrem dicti Petri, et Iohannam uxorem ipsius Guillelmi, quæ modo stat Tholosæ. Omnes adoraverunt<sup>7</sup> prædictos hæreticos, et audiverunt<sup>8</sup> monitiones eorum; et ipse testis<sup>9</sup> adoravit eos, sicut scivit, bis, et comedit semel cum eisdem hæreticis ad eandem mensam; et vidit alios prædictos comedentes. De tempore: viginti quinque anni sunt vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>2</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* Pontius.

<sup>4</sup> -um *added*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* socios.

<sup>6</sup> -em *added*.

<sup>7</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* audientes.

<sup>9</sup> -is *added*.

were in that house; but although the same Peter Faure wished to see them, the same witness did not see the heretics with the same Peter. About the time: it was two years ago or thereabouts.

Item, Bernard Salinier, labourer, of Roquevidal, twice asked the same witness to show him the heretics, believing that they were in the same witness's house, or that the same witness knew about them. And when the same witness recounted this to the aforesaid heretics, they did not wish to be seen by him. He believes, however, that the same Bernard was a friend of, and held the faith of, the heretics. About the time: it was a year and a half ago, | or thereabouts.

112<sup>v</sup>

He also heard the aforesaid Bernard Salinier [saying that] the same Bernard's brother, who lives at Belaval<sup>35</sup> near Roquevidal, once gave stockings to Pons of Tilhol and to Bernard his brother, who is now a heretic, who were fugitives for heresy, whom he had found at Toulouse. The same Bernard Salinier also said that the aforesaid Bernard Tilhol had promised the same Bernard that he would have the good men, that is to say the heretics, to hereticate the same Bernard Salinier's mother, if she asked for them at her death. About the time: as immediately above.

Item, he first saw heretics in the house of Peter Gaubert at Saint-Agnan<sup>36</sup>—that is, Raymond Gaucelin<sup>37</sup> and Pons Sira, his companion, heretics. And there he often heard the admonitions of the same heretics; and there those heretics first taught the same witness the faith of the heretics. And he saw there often, | with the same heretics, the aforesaid Peter Gaubert, and Bernarda his wife, the same witness's sister, and William Gaubert, the brother of the said Peter, and Joanna, the same William's wife, who now lives in Toulouse. They all adored the aforesaid heretics, and heard their admonitions; and the same witness adored them, so far as he knew, twice, and ate once together with the same heretics at the same table; and he saw the aforesaid others eating. About the time: it was twenty-five years ago or thereabouts.

113<sup>r</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Tarn, comm. Lacougotte-Cadoul, cant. Lavar, 3 km to the W of Roquevidal; *DTF*.

<sup>36</sup> Tarn, cant. Lavar, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1027.

<sup>37</sup> Isarn (Isarnus) Boquer was among parishioners of Lavar questioned February 13 1245. He had been led to a meeting with heretics by Raymond Gaucelin (Ramundus Gautelini), who later (after 1231) became a heretic; Toulouse 609, f. 235<sup>r</sup>.

Item visitavit bis prædictum Guillelmum Prunelli et *Bernardum* de Graissenx, socium<sup>1</sup> eius, hæreticos, in quadam cabana ipsius testis. Et vidit ibi cum ipsis hæreticis Bernardum, fratrem ipsius testis, et Pontium de Tillhol, sororium ipsius testis,<sup>2</sup> qui adduxit ibi prædictos hæreticos. Sed tamen ipse testis,<sup>3</sup> nec Bernardus frater ipsius testis,<sup>4</sup> adoravit prædictos hæreticos. | Vidit tamen dictum Pontium adorantem.<sup>5</sup> De tempore: 113<sup>v</sup> decem anni sunt vel circa.

Hæreticos credidit esse bonos homines, et veraces, et habere bonam fidem, et posse salvari<sup>6</sup> per eos si moreretur in secta eorum; et fuit in illa credentia viginti quinque anni sunt vel circa. Et dimisit ea ultimo nuper in crastino Paschæ, scilicet quarto nonas Aprilis, quando fuit captus et positus ad quæstionem per dominum senescallum.

Audit etiam dicentes errores, scilicet quod hostia consecrata in altari iuxta formam Ecclesiæ non est corpus Christi; et quod baptismus aquæ collatus<sup>7</sup> a Romana Ecclesia nihil est; et quod ille baptismus<sup>8</sup> non est sine peccato, nec potest quis in eo salvari; et quod sacramenta Ecclesiæ non valent ad salutem; et quod Beatus Iohannes Baptista non fuit bonus, sed Beatus Iohannes Evangelista; et quod diabolus fecerat omnia 114<sup>r</sup> visibilia; et multos | alios errores. Et ipse credebat omnia sicut ipsi dicebant.

Et fuit coram fratre Guillelmo Bernardo, inquisitore, coram quo omnem hæresim abiuravit.<sup>9</sup> Et recognoscit quod male fecit quia postquam abiuraverat hæresim, ut dictum est, vidit, adoravit, et credit hæreticos<sup>10</sup> ut dictum est. Et sunt sexdecim anni vel circa quod abiuravit hæresim, ut dixit. Et non fuit coram inquisitore nisi coram fratre Guillelmo Bernardi, et modo coram nobis.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* socios.

<sup>2</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>4</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* adoravit.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* salvare.

<sup>7</sup> *originally* collocatus.

<sup>8</sup> ille baptismus *perhaps added*.

<sup>9</sup> *originally* ab iuravit; -vit *added*.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* hæreticorum.

Item, he twice visited the aforesaid William Prunel and Bernard of Graissens, his companion, heretics, in a certain hut of the same witness's. And he saw there, with the same heretics, Bernard, the same witness's brother, and Pons of Tilhol, the same witness's brother-in-law, who brought the aforesaid heretics there. But neither the same witness nor Bernard, the same witness's brother, adored the aforesaid heretics. | However he saw the said Pons adoring. About the time: it was ten years ago or thereabouts. 113<sup>v</sup>

He believed that the heretics were good men, and truthful, and that they had a good faith, and that one could be saved through them if one died in their sect; and he was in that belief for twenty-five years or thereabouts. And he finally abandoned it recently, on the morrow of Easter, that is to say, four days before the nones of April, when he was taken prisoner, and put to the question by the lord seneschal.

He also heard them saying errors, namely that the host consecrated on the altar according to the form of the Church is not the body of Christ; and that the baptism of water applied by the Roman Church is nothing; and that that baptism is not without sin, nor can anyone be saved in it; and that the sacraments of the Church are of no value for salvation; and that the Blessed John the Baptist was not good, but that the Blessed John the Evangelist was; and that the devil had made all visible things; and many | other errors. And he used to believe all these things, as they used to say them. 114<sup>r</sup>

And he was before brother William Bernard, inquisitor,<sup>38</sup> before whom he abjured all heresy. And he acknowledged that he had done wrong, because after he had abjured heresy, as has been said, he saw, adored, and believed in heretics, as has been said. And it was sixteen years ago, or thereabouts, that he abjured heresy, as he said. And he has not been before an inquisitor, apart from before brother William Bernard, and now before us.

<sup>38</sup> William Bernard of Dax, was twice prior of Bayonne (1242, 1257), prior of Toulouse (1263–1265) and Bordeaux (1267–1268), and diffinitor at the provincial chapter of Avignon in 1264; he died in 1268. He replaced John of Saint-Pierre as the inquisitor acting alongside Reginald of Chartres in May 1257, and he was also active as inquisitor in 1258, 1263 and 1267. In his obituary notice Gui described him as a man of good sense and a person to be venerated. *ACP*, p. 101; Douais, *Documents*, pp. cxxxii, clxvi–clxvii, clxvii n. 3; Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 57, 192–193, 203, 245, 286; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 37, 51, 71, 85; 'Mort des Prieurs', no. 70, p. 172.



Hoc deposuit, et abiuravit<sup>1</sup> omnem hæresim, et iuravit<sup>2</sup> *etcetera*, coram fratribus Ramnulpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus.<sup>3</sup> Testes: frater Petrus Barravi, et frater Vitalis de Valle Seron, de Ordine<sup>4</sup> Prædicatorum, Atho de Sancto Victore, et magister Berengarius de Vernetto, qui hoc scripsit. Et fuit absolutus ab excommunicatione.

114<sup>v</sup> Item septimo idus Aprilis | prædictus<sup>5</sup> Raymundus Hugonis, rediens, addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod Arnaldus de Gardoig, dominus de Rocavidal, et Alegre, capellanus eiusdem loci, qui moratur apud Maorsenx, visitaverunt—ambo simul—prædictos Guillelmum Prunelli et Bernardum Tilhol, socium<sup>6</sup> eius, hæreticos, in solo taschali prædicti Arnaldi de Gardoig prope Rocavidal. Et ibi ipse testis<sup>7</sup> vidit ambos simul audientes verba et monitiones ipsorum hæreticorum, et vidit ambos adorantes prædictos hæreticos in adventu et recessu, secundum morem hæreticorum. Et quilibet prædictorum dedit prædictis hæreticis denarios quos portabant, ita quod inter ambos dederunt eis usque ad *decem* solidos Tholosanos.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis, de mandato prædictorum hæreticorum, procuravit et ordinavit prædictam iussionem hæreticis cum aliis prædictis—cum prædicto Arnaldo de Gardoig.

115<sup>r</sup> Adie|cit plus quod prædictus Alegre obtime scivit adorare prædictos hæreticos sine instructione, et bene videbatur quod alias adorasset hæreticos. De tempore: annus est vel circa.

Item prædicti Arnaldus de Gardoig et Alegre capellanus visitaverunt alia vice supradictos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis apud Rocavidal, ipso teste procurante et ordinante dictam visitationem hoc modo, scilicet, quod ambo prædicti Arnaldus et capellanus volentes venire ad prædictos hæreticos ibi, dixerunt isti qui loquitur<sup>8</sup> quod faceret recedere familiam:

<sup>1</sup> *ms* ab iuravit; -avit *added*.

<sup>2</sup> -avit *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* inquisitore.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* Ordinis.

<sup>5</sup> *the letters Ray-* are found at the foot of the previous page.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* socios.

<sup>7</sup> *first -s-* apparently written over -t-; -tis *added, superscript*.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* loquuntur.

<sup>41</sup> Tarn, cant. Lavaur, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>42</sup> A share of the crop, paid as rent.

This he attested, and he abjured all heresy, and took an oath etc., before brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Peter Barrau and brother Vital of *Vassarón*, of the Order of Preachers, Atho of Saint-Victor, and master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote this. And he was absolved from excommunication.

Item, seven days before the ides of April,<sup>39</sup> | the aforesaid Raymond 114<sup>v</sup>  
 Hugh, returning, added to his confession, saying that Arnold of Gardouch, lord of Roquevidal, and Alegre, chaplain of the same place,<sup>40</sup> who lives at Marzens,<sup>41</sup> visited—both together—the aforesaid William Prunel and Bernard Tilhol, his companion, heretics, on the land liable to ‘*tasca*’<sup>42</sup> belonging to the aforesaid Arnold of Gardouch near Roquevidal. And there the same witness saw both together hearing the words and admonitions of the same heretics, and he saw them both adoring the aforesaid heretics on their arrival and departure, according to the custom of the heretics. And each of the aforesaid men gave to the aforesaid heretics the money they were carrying, so that between the two of them they gave them up to ten Toulouse shillings.

He also said that the same witness, on the orders of the aforesaid heretics, brought about and arranged the aforesaid remittance to the heretics with the aforesaid others—with the aforesaid Arnold Gardouch.

He added | further that the aforesaid Alegre knew very well how to 115<sup>r</sup>  
 adore the aforesaid heretics without instruction, and it seemed very clear that he had previously adored heretics. About the time: it was a year ago or thereabouts.

Item, the aforesaid Arnold Gardouch and Alegre the chaplain visited the aforesaid heretics on another occasion in the same witness’s house at Roquevidal, and the same witness arranged and organized the said visit in this way, that is: both the aforesaid Arnold and the chaplain wanted to come to the aforesaid heretics there, and they told him who is speaking to have the members of the household go away: which

<sup>39</sup> April 7 [1274]. At the end of the previous deposition Raymond has abjured. It would appear from this that he left, and then came back more or less immediately: and the witness list would seem to bear this out.

<sup>40</sup> As chaplain of Roquevidal, Alegre was one of the team used by the inquisitors Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre in 1245, witnessing depositions from parishioners of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, Saint-Martin-Lalande, Lasbordes, Folcarde, Pexiora, Villepinte, Les Cassès, Saint-Julia and Cambiac; Toulouse 609, f. 26<sup>v</sup>, 39<sup>v</sup>–40<sup>v</sup>, 115<sup>r</sup>, 160<sup>v</sup>, 173<sup>v</sup>, 179<sup>r</sup>, 223<sup>r</sup>, 234<sup>r</sup>, 238<sup>v</sup>, 239<sup>r</sup>.

quod et fecit. Et postea ambo prædicti, vidente ipso teste, intraverunt ad ipsos hæreticos in sotulum, et steterunt ibi diu cum eis. Ipse tamen testis non vidit aliter eos tunc cum ipsis hæreticis, quia stabat cum pueris in solario. Et post recessum prædictorum iidem hæretici dixerunt ipsi testi<sup>1</sup>  
 115<sup>v</sup> quod | multum erant peccati de ipsis. De tempore: medius annus est vel circa.

Item dixit quod prædicta domina Arnalda, uxor quondam Guillelmi Calveti de Viridi Folio, mater prædictæ Ricardæ, uxoris Arnaldi de Gardog, fuit hæreticata in infirmitate qua obiit, sicut ipse testis audivit a prædictis Guillelmo Prunelli et Bernardo de Tilhol, hæreticis, qui ipsam hæreticaverunt. Et ipse testis,<sup>2</sup> ad petitionem dicti Arnaldi de Gardog, qui dixit ipsi testi<sup>3</sup> quod prædicta infirma petebat instanter hæreticos ut hæreticaretur, adduxit prædictos hæreticos usque ad horam cuiusdam casali,<sup>4</sup> prope villam de Roca Xavart, ubi iacebat dicta infirma. Et ibi prædictum Arnaldum de Gardoig invenerunt ipse testis et hæretici prædicti. Qui Arnaldus, recipiens ibi prædictos hæreticos, introduxit eos ad  
 116<sup>r</sup> dictam infirmam hæreticandam, ipso | teste<sup>5</sup> ad propria redeunte. Et legavit ipsa hæreticata hæreticis centum solidos<sup>6</sup> Tholosanos,<sup>7</sup> quos ipsa diu ante disposuerat dare hæreticis: quod dicti hæretici habuerunt, prout ipse testis<sup>8</sup> audivit postea ab ipsis hæreticis. De tempore: a duobus annis citra.

Dixit etiam quod Ricarda prædicta, uxor ipsius Arnaldi, erat tunc apud Rocaxavart, et serviebat dictæ infirmæ matri suæ. Et credit ipse testis<sup>9</sup> firmiter quod interfuerit dictæ hæreticationi.

Item dixit quod ad petitionem Blanquæ, uxoris Pontii Hugonis de Rocavidal, quæ dixit ipsi testi<sup>10</sup> quod domina Ricarda, uxor prædicti Arnaldi de Gardoig, volebat videre prædictos hæreticos in domo ipsius Blanquæ, duxit propredictos<sup>11</sup> hæreticos usque ad<sup>12</sup> hostium domus ipsius Blanquæ et Pontii Hugonis viri sui, et exinde ipsis hæreticis intrantibus

<sup>1</sup> -i *perhaps added*.

<sup>2</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>3</sup> -i *perhaps added*.

<sup>4</sup> -i *perhaps added*.

<sup>5</sup> -e *perhaps added*.

<sup>6</sup> -os *added*.

<sup>7</sup> -os *added*.

<sup>8</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>9</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>10</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>11</sup> *ms prope dictos*.

<sup>12</sup> *do deleted*.

he did. And afterwards, both the aforesaid, in the sight of the same witness, entered in to the same heretics in the ground floor, and stayed there for a long time with them. The same witness, however, did not otherwise see them with the same heretics then, because he was with the children in the solar. And after the departure of the aforesaid men, the same heretics told the same witness that | they were very pleased with 115<sup>v</sup> them. About the time: it was half a year ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the aforesaid lady Arnalda, the wife of the late William Calvet<sup>43</sup> of Verfeil,<sup>44</sup> the mother of the aforesaid Richardis, the wife of Arnold of Gardouch, was hereticated in the illness of which she died, as the same witness heard from the aforesaid William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, heretics, who hereticated her. And the same witness, at the request of the said Arnold of Gardouch, who told the same witness that the aforesaid sick woman was asking urgently for the heretics in order to be hereticated, brought the aforesaid heretics right up to the limits of a certain cottage near the village of *Rocacavart*, where the said sick woman lay. And there the same witness and the aforesaid heretics found the aforesaid Arnold of Gardouch. This Arnold, receiving the aforesaid heretics there, brought them in to the said sick woman who was to be hereticated, while the same | witness returned to his own 116<sup>r</sup> affairs. And the same hereticated woman bequeathed to the heretics a hundred Toulouse shillings, which she had long before arranged to give to the heretics: which the said heretics had, as the same witness later heard from the same heretics. About the time: within the last two years.

He also said that the aforesaid Richardis, the wife of the same Arnold, was at *Rocacavart* then, and she was caring for the said sick woman, her mother. And the same witness firmly believes that she was present at the said heretication.

Item, he said that at the request of Blanca, the wife of Pons Hugh of Roquevidal, who told the same witness that lady Richardis, the wife of the aforesaid Arnold of Gardouch, wanted to see the aforesaid heretics in the same Blanca's house, he brought the abovementioned heretics right up to the doorway of the house of the same Blanca, and of Pons Hugh, her husband, and then, while the same heretics entered the said house,

<sup>43</sup> Among the nobles who took an oath of loyalty to the king of France, doing this for himself and his father of the same name, 8–9 October 1271, *Saisimentum*, p. 108.

<sup>44</sup> Haute-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1101.

116<sup>v</sup> dictam domum, ipse testis<sup>1</sup> | rediit ad propria. Et tunc prædicti hæretici steterunt in ipsa domo diu cum prædicta Blanca et supradicta Ricarda, prout hæretici postmodum dixerunt ipsi testi; et multum laudaverunt se de ipsa Richarda prædicta. Etiam Richarda dixit ipsi testi quod ipsa viderat tunc prædictos hæreticos, et steterat ibi cum eis, et tenebat se pro paccatam de ipsis. De tempore: dixit quod post dictam hæreticationem matris dictæ Richardæ.

Item dixit quod quadam die prædictus Guillelmus Prunelli, hæreticus, qui tunc erat, una cum Bernardo de Tilhols<sup>2</sup> socio suo, in domo ipsius testis, dixit ipsi testi,<sup>3</sup> volenti<sup>4</sup> ire Vaurum<sup>5</sup> ad forum,<sup>6</sup> ‘Videatis dominum Olricum Baudoini de Vauro, et salutetis eum ex parte nostra, et petatis ab eo decem solidos<sup>7</sup> Tholosanos,<sup>8</sup> quos promisit dare nobis, et si velit eos dare | nobis aportetis nobis.’ Et tunc, iens Vaurum vidit prædictum Olricum, et loquens eidem seorsum,<sup>9</sup> dixit eidem Olrico prædicta ex parte prædicti hæretici. Et tunc idem Olricus tradidit ipsi testi<sup>10</sup> decem solidos<sup>11</sup> Tholosanos,<sup>12</sup> dicens quod eos daret dicto hæretico et socio eius, et salutaret eos ex parte ipsius Olrici. Et ipse, rediens de Vauro, invenit ipsos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis apud Rocavidal, et dedit eis prædictos denarios ex parte ipsius Olrici, et salutavit eos ex parte eiusdem. Qui hæretici comendaverunt se de dicto Olrico, et dixerunt ipsi<sup>13</sup> testi<sup>14</sup> quod viderunt eum apud Rocha Cavart in hæreticatione prædictæ Arnaldæ, sororis, cui interfuerat. De tempore: dixit quod ab anno citra.

Item dixit quod prædictus Alegre, capellanus de Rocavidal, dixit ipsi 117<sup>v</sup> testi quod fratres sui, | magister Guillelmus et Iordanus Alegre, volebant videre ipsos hæreticos in domo ipsorum apud Vaurum, rogans ipsum

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> -s added.

<sup>3</sup> -i added.

<sup>4</sup> -i added.

<sup>5</sup> -um added.

<sup>6</sup> -um added.

<sup>7</sup> -os added.

<sup>8</sup> -os added.

<sup>9</sup> ms se orsum.

<sup>10</sup> -i added.

<sup>11</sup> -os added.

<sup>12</sup> -os added.

<sup>13</sup> -i probably altered from -e.

<sup>14</sup> -i probably added.

the same witness | returned to his own affairs. And then the aforesaid 116<sup>v</sup>  
heretics stayed in that house for a long time with the aforesaid Blanca and  
the aforementioned Richardis, as the heretics later told the same witness;  
and they praised the same aforesaid Richardis a lot. Richardis also told  
the same witness that she had seen the aforesaid heretics then, and that  
she had been with them there, and she regarded herself as pleased with  
them. About the time: he said that it was after the said heretication of the  
mother of the said Richardis.

Item, he said that one day the aforesaid William Prunel, heretic, who  
was then, together with Bernard of Tilhol, his companion, in the same  
witness's house, said to the same witness, who wanted to go to Lavour to  
the market, 'You are to see lord Olric Baldwin<sup>45</sup> of Lavour, and greet him  
on our behalf, and ask him for ten Toulouse shillings which he promised  
to give us, and if he wants to give them | to us, you are to bring them to 117<sup>r</sup>  
us.' And then, going to Lavour, he saw the aforesaid Olric, and, speaking  
to him privately, he told the same Olric the aforesaid things on behalf of  
the aforesaid heretic. And then the same Olric handed over ten Toulouse  
shillings to the same witness, saying that he was to give them to the said  
heretic and his companion, and that he was to greet them on behalf of  
the same Olric. And he, returning from Lavour, found the same heretics  
in the same witness's house at Roquevidal, and gave them the aforesaid  
money on behalf of the same Olric, and greeted them on his behalf. The  
heretics praised the said Olric, and told the same witness that they saw  
him at *Rocacavart* at the heretication of the aforesaid Arnalda, the sister,  
at which he had been present. About the time: he said within the last year.

Item, he said that the aforesaid Alegre, chaplain of Roquevidal, told  
the same witness that his brothers, | master William and Jordan Alegre, 117<sup>v</sup>  
wanted to see the same heretics in their house at Lavour,<sup>46</sup> asking the

<sup>45</sup> Among the nobles of Lavour listed taking an oath of loyalty to the king in 1271, the nearest name to this is Arnold Olric, *Saisimentum*, p. 99.

<sup>46</sup> The Alegres were perhaps related to Alazaissia Alegre, seen by a parishioner of Lavour, Isarn Boquer, lodging two female heretics in her house at Lavour around 1221; statement to inquisitors, February 13 1245, Toulouse 609, f. 235<sup>r</sup>. See above, 112<sup>v</sup> n. 37.

testem<sup>1</sup> quod adduceret eos ad domum prædictam. Propter quod ipse testis<sup>2</sup> quadam nocte duxit prædictos Guillelmum Prunelli et Bernardum de Tilhols, hæreticos, Vaurum, et cum essent in villa, iuxta domum dels Taulat, hæretici dixerunt ipsi testi<sup>3</sup> quod retrocederet<sup>4</sup> et expectaret eos ad caput pontis in capite carreriæ delz Taulatz, et ipsi irent ad domum dictorum Alegres: quod ipse testis<sup>5</sup> fecit. Et post magnam moram ipsi hæretici, redeuntes, invenerunt ipsum testem<sup>6</sup> in capite pontis prædicto, et redierunt una cum ipso teste<sup>7</sup> ad domum ipsius testis apud Rochavidal. Tamen per viam narraverunt et dixerunt ipsi testi<sup>8</sup> quod fuerant in  
 118<sup>r</sup> domo prædicta dels Alegres, ubi vide|rant dictum capellanum Nalegre, qui receperant eos ad hostium, et magistrum Guillelmum, et Iordanum Alegre, fratres, et uxores dictorum magistri Guillelmi et Iordani, quarum nomina ignorat. Et fuerant loqui, et steterant cum omnibus propredictis personis; et se laudabant et tenebant per paccatos de ipsis.

Interrogatus<sup>9</sup> dixit quod ipse testis non intravit prædictam domum cum ipsis hæreticis, nec vidit aliquam personam ibi cum dictis hæreticis. De tempore: medius annus est, vel circa. Audivit etiam dicentes prædictos hæreticos quod Iordanus, pater dictorum Alegres, fuit hæreticatus in infirmitate de qua obiit.

Hæc deposuit coram fratribus inquisitoribus<sup>10</sup> prædictis. Testes: frater Vitalis de Valleseron, et magister Berengarius de Vernet, qui hæc scripsit.

118<sup>v</sup> Item audivit prædictos hære|ticos dicentes quod ante domum in qua stabat Pontius de Gemervilla Tholosæ, erat quidam dives homo<sup>11</sup> qui habebat magnam domum et pulcram, qui misit ipsis hæreticis ensennia comestibulum; et erat amicus et credens eorum, et viderant eum et loqui fuerant cum eo. De nomine tamen eius non recolit.

<sup>1</sup> -em added.

<sup>2</sup> -is added.

<sup>3</sup> -i added.

<sup>4</sup> ms retro cederent.

<sup>5</sup> -is added.

<sup>6</sup> -em added.

<sup>7</sup> -e added.

<sup>8</sup> -i added.

<sup>9</sup> ms Interrogavit.

<sup>10</sup> -ibus added.

<sup>11</sup> ms habeo; altered to adeo.

same witness to bring them to the aforesaid house. On this account, one night the same witness took the aforesaid William Prunel and Bernard Tilhol, heretics, to Lavaur, and when they were in the village beside the house of the Taulats, the heretics told the same witness to go back and wait for them<sup>47</sup> at the end of the bridge which is at the end of the street of the Taulats, and that they would go to the house of the said Alegres: which the same witness did. And after a long wait the same heretics, returning, found the same witness at the aforesaid end of the bridge, and they returned together with the same witness to the same witness's house at Roquevidal. But on the way they recounted and told to the same witness that they had been in the aforesaid house of the Alegres, where they had seen | the said chaplain Alegre, who had received them at the door, and master William and Jordan Alegre, the brothers, and the wives 118<sup>r</sup> of the said master William and Jordan, whose names he does not know. And they had spoken, and they had been with all the abovementioned persons; and they praised them, and regarded themselves as pleased with them.

Questioned, he said that the same witness did not enter the aforesaid house with the same heretics, nor did he see any person there with the said heretics. About the time: it was half a year ago or thereabouts.

He also heard the aforesaid heretics saying that Jordan, the father of the said Alegres, was hereticated in the illness of which he died.

These things he attested before the aforesaid brother inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Vital of *Vassaron*, and master Berengar of Vernet who wrote these things.

Item,<sup>48</sup> he heard the aforesaid heretics | saying that in front of the house in 118<sup>v</sup> which Pons of Gomerville lived in Toulouse there was a certain rich man, who had a large and beautiful house, who sent the same heretics gifts of comestibles, and he was a friend and believer of theirs, and they had seen him, and spoken with him. His name, however, he does not recall.

<sup>47</sup> Or 'that they would go back and he was to wait': but unlikely.

<sup>48</sup> Probably April 7 1274. This would appear to be an addendum to the previous deposition, and to have taken place on the same day.



Item in quadam alia domo in eadem carreria supra domum Pontii<sup>1</sup> de Gomervilla prædictam, quæ erat cuiusdam hominis bene divitis qui habebat duos filios, fuerant receptati iidem hæretici per domum ipsius domus, cuius nomen nescit ipse testis. Et steterunt ibi cum dicto homine et filiis eius prædictis, quos multum laudabant, et reputabant amicos et credentes eorum. De nominibus prædictorum tamen non  
 119<sup>r</sup> recolit. Tamen credit quod prædictus Faber de Sancto Romano | et Raymundus de Gomervilla poterit dicere veritatem, et dirigere inquisitores de nominibus et factis<sup>2</sup> prædictorum hominum. De tempore: a duobus annis citra.

Hoc deposuit<sup>3</sup> coram prædictis.

Item, anno quo supra, quarto idus Aprilis, prædictus Raymundus Hugonis addidit, dicens quod Cale Faber de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis est credens et amicus hæreticorum.<sup>4</sup> Et ita firmiter credit ipse testis<sup>5</sup> quia cum ipse testis<sup>6</sup> quadam die iret ad Sanctum Paulum, prædictus Guillelmus Prunelli, hæreticus, dixit ipsi testi<sup>7</sup> quod diceret dicto Cale quod ipse erat causa caitiva, quia nolebat eos tenere in domo sua. Tamen ipse Cale non habet uxorem, nec unquam habuit quod ipse testis<sup>8</sup> sciat, et hoc, ut creditur, quia ad huc intendit fieri hæreticus. Unde propter prædicta credidit  
 119<sup>v</sup> et credit firmiter ipse testis<sup>9</sup> quod ipse Cale viderit | hæreticos et loquutus fuerit cum eis, et sit credens hæreticorum.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis<sup>10</sup> salutavit ex parte dicti Guillelmi Prunelli, hæretici, prædictum *Raymundum* de Tiragoiran, et pransus fuit cum eodem Raymundo, qui libenter dedit ipsi testi;<sup>11</sup> et prædictus Guillelmus Prunelli dixerat ipsi testi<sup>12</sup> quod pranderent cum ipso Tiragoiran. De tempore: annus et dimidius est, vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Pontius.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* factorum.

<sup>3</sup> -suit *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -orum *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>7</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>8</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>9</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>10</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>11</sup> -s *deleted*.

<sup>12</sup> -s *deleted*.

Item, in a certain other house in the same street, beyond the aforesaid house of Pons of Gomerville, which belonged to a certain very rich man who had two sons, the same heretics had been received by the master of that house, whose name the same witness does not know. And they were there with the said man and his aforesaid sons, whom they praised very much, and regarded as their friends and believers. The names of the aforesaid, however, he does not recall. However, he believes that the aforesaid Faure of Saint-Romain | and Raymond of Gomerville will 119<sup>r</sup> be able to tell the truth, and inform the inquisitors about the names and doings of the aforesaid men. About the time: within the last two years.

This he attested before the aforesaid.

Item, in the same year as above, four days before the ides of April,<sup>49</sup> the aforesaid Raymond Hugh added, saying that Cale Faure (*or* Cale, smith), of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, is a believer and friend of the heretics. And the same witness firmly believes this, because, when the same witness was going to Saint-Paul one day, the aforesaid William Prunel, heretic, told the same witness to tell the said Cale that he was a wicked thing, because he did not want to have them in his house. However, the same Cale does not have a wife, nor has he ever had one so far as the same witness knows, and this, so it is believed, because he is still planning to become a heretic. So, on account of the aforesaid things, the same witness believed and firmly believes that the same Cale has seen | heretics and 119<sup>v</sup> spoken with them, and is a believer of the heretics.

He also said that the same witness greeted the aforesaid Raymond of *Tiragoiran*<sup>50</sup> on behalf of the said William Prunel, heretic, and he ate with the same Raymond, who gave freely to the same witness; and the aforesaid William Prunel had told the same witness that they would eat with the same Tiragoiran. About the time: it was a year and a half ago or thereabouts.

<sup>49</sup> April 10 [1274].

<sup>50</sup> Not identified.

Item audivit dicentem Guillelmum Prunelli, hæreticum prædictum,<sup>1</sup> quod domina Stebore, uxor domini Isarni de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, erat multum adaicta domina, et proba,<sup>2</sup> et libenter videret ipsos hæreticos si auderet. Propter quod ipse testis firmiter credit quod ipsa domina viderit prædictum hæreticum, et sit credens hæreticorum.

120<sup>r</sup> Ipse vero testis,<sup>3</sup> interrogatus,<sup>4</sup> dixit quod nunquam vidit dictam dominam cum | hæreticis,<sup>5</sup> nec prædicti hæretici viderunt eam quod ipse testis<sup>6</sup> sciat. De tempore auditus: a duobus annis citra.

Item audivit dicentes prædictos hæreticos quod quidam de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, cognominatus, ut sibi videtur, de Vilela, erat falso arlotus et auls, quia etiam denarios quos ipse Guillelmus mutuaverat ei denegabat sibi reddere. Dixit etiam idem hæreticus quia multi de Sancto Paulo debebant sibi denarios, et tres de ipsis solverant sibi. Non tamen nominavit eos ipsi testi.<sup>7</sup> De tempore: annus est et amplius.

120<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod Guillelma Galhota, uxor Bernardi de Monte Siron, fugitivi propter hæresim, est amica et credens hæreticorum; et sciebat quod prædicti hæretici conversabantur in domo ipsius testis [et in domo] prædicti Guillelmi Terreni. Et audivit dicentes prædictos hæreticos | quod ipsi fuerant et steterant in domo ipsius Guillelmæ, postquam dicti hæretici venerunt de Lombardia, et ante—scilicet antequam vir et Raymundus, filius ipsius Guillelmæ, fugerent in Lombardiam propter hæresim. Ipsa etiam misit aliquotiens comestibilia ipsis hæreticis in domo ipsius testis, et aliqua apportabat illa quandoque Guillelmus Terreni,<sup>8</sup> gener ipsius Guillelmæ.

<sup>1</sup> R. de Tiragoiran *deleted*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* probus.

<sup>3</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* ipse testis; -is *added*.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* Guillelmo Terrerii.

<sup>53</sup> The structure here is rather obscure and difficult. 'Ipsius testis' might be a mistake, copied because it so often is the witness's house. This would leave 'the aforesaid heretics were living in the house of the aforesaid William Terren'.

Item, he heard William Prunel, the aforesaid heretic, saying that lady Stebor, the wife of lord Isarn of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux,<sup>51</sup> was a very charming lady, and worthy, and would willingly see the same heretics if she dared. On account of this the same witness firmly believes that the same lady has seen the aforesaid heretic, and is a believer of the heretics.

The same witness, however, asked, said that he never saw the said lady with | the heretics, nor did the aforesaid heretics see her as far as the same witness knows. About the time when he heard this: within the last two years. 120<sup>r</sup>

Item, he heard the aforesaid heretics saying that a certain man of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, surnamed, he thinks, of Villèle,<sup>52</sup> was a false villain and wicked, because he was refusing to return the money which the same William had lent to him. The same heretic also said that many from Saint-Paul owed him money, and three of them had paid him. He did not, however, name them to the same witness. About the time: it was a year ago and more.

Item, he said that Guillelma Galhota, the wife of Bernard of Mont Séran, who [Bernard] is a fugitive for heresy, is a friend and believer of the heretics; and she knew that the aforesaid heretics were living in the same witness's house [and in the house] of the aforesaid William Terren.<sup>53</sup> And he heard the aforesaid heretics saying | that they had been and had stayed in the same Guillelma's house, after the said heretics came from Lombardy, and before—that is, before the husband, and Raymond, the son of the same Guillelma, fled into Lombardy for heresy. She also sometimes sent provisions to the same heretics, in the same witness's house, and sometimes William Terren, the same Guillelma's son-in-law, brought some of these things. 120<sup>v</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Isarn took an oath of loyalty to Alphonse of Poitiers, December 1 1249 (*Layettes du Trésor*, iii.87 no 3829), and he was listed among nobles of the *bailie* of Puylaurens taking an oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 1271, *Saisimentum*, p. 97. Lord of Saint-Paul, Isarn was mentioned often in the depositions in front of Ferrier. One example among many: he was seen by the knight Bartac in the company of the heretics Bertrand Martin, then Elder Son (on this term, see 301<sup>v</sup> n. 24 below), and Guilabert of Castres, in a garden near Saint-Paul around 1231; D24, f. 111<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> One of two disappeared places of this name: Haute-Garonne, comm. Prèserville, cant. Lanta, arrond. Toulouse; *Saisimentum*, p. 484; Haute-Garonne, comm. Mourvilles-Basses, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse, now Campourliac; Font-Réaulx, p. 1107.

Item dixit se credere firmiter quod prædictus<sup>1</sup> Raymundus Molsairo<sup>2</sup> et Albia uxor eius sint amici et credentes hæreticorum. Et dicta Albia bene sciebat quod dicti hæretici conversabantur apud Rochavidal, sicut dixit ipsi testi prædicta Arnalda, uxor ipsius testis, quæ, ut dixit, sæpe loquuta fuerat sibi, et econverso, de facto hæreticorum.

121<sup>r</sup> Item audivit dicentem ipsum Bernardum de Tilhols,<sup>3</sup> hæreticum, | quod Barravus de Lastenx de parrochia de Sancto Pardols prope Rocavidal erat credens, et habebat fidem hæreticorum, et quod idem Barravus voluit recedere et ire in Lombardiam una cum ipso Bernardo et fratribus eius, quando ipse *Bernardus*—antequam esset hæreticus—fugit una cum dictis fratribus eius in Lombardiam. De tempore auditus: a duobus annis citra.

Audivit etiam propredictum<sup>4</sup> hæreticum dicentem quod Raymundus Pectavi de Rocavidal erat amicus et habebat fidem hæreticorum,<sup>5</sup> et multum laudabat eum. De tempore: quod supra.

Item dixit quod audivit Guillelmum Peichavi de Rochavidal comendantem hæreticos. Propter quod ipse testis credit quod ipse Guillelmus fidem habeat hæreticorum. De tempore: a duobus annis vel citra.

121<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod prædicti Guillelmus Prunelli, et Bernardus de Tilhols,<sup>6</sup> socium<sup>7</sup> eius, hæretici, dixerunt ipsi testi<sup>8</sup> quod steterant Tholosæ in domo Bernardi Faure de Sancto Romano, bene per mensem, vel tantum tempus quod carmenaverant<sup>9</sup> ipsi hæretici decem peiras de lana uxori dicti Bernardi. Et credit ipse testis<sup>10</sup> firmiter quod multæ personæ de Tholosa viderunt ibi et sciverunt prædictos hæreticos.

Audivit eosdem hæreticos dicentes quod in domo quæ est ante domum Pontii de Gomervilla Tholosæ, de qua superius loquutus est, visitaverant eosdem hæreticos multæ personæ de Tholosa, quarum nomina nescit.

Item audivit prædictos hæreticos dicentes quod Raymunda Terrena, uxor Guillelmi Medici de Rochavidal, interfuit hæreticationi cuiusdam

<sup>1</sup> Guill *deleted*.

<sup>2</sup> -l- *written over* -n-.

<sup>3</sup> -s *added*.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* prope dictum.

<sup>5</sup> -orum *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -s *added*.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* socii.

<sup>8</sup> -s *deleted*.

<sup>9</sup> *ms* carmenaverat.

<sup>10</sup> -is *added*.

Item, he said that he firmly believes that the aforesaid Raymond Mol-saro, and Albia, his wife, are friends and believers of the heretics. And the said Albia knew well that the said heretics were living at Roquevidal, as the aforesaid Arnalda, the same witness's wife, told the same witness—she, as she<sup>54</sup> said, had often spoken to her—and vice versa—about the matter of the heretics.

Item, he heard the same Bernard of Tilhol, heretic, saying | that Barrau 121<sup>r</sup> of Lastens,<sup>55</sup> of the parish of Saint-Perdouls,<sup>56</sup> near Roquevidal, was a believer and had the faith of the heretics, and that the same Barrau wanted to leave and go into Lombardy together with the same Bernard and his brothers, when the same Bernard—before he was a heretic—fled together with his said brothers into Lombardy. About the time when he heard this: within the last two years.

He also heard the abovementioned heretic saying that Raymond Peitavin of Roquevidal was a friend and had the faith of the heretics, and he praised him a great deal. About the time: as above.

Item, he said that he heard William Peitavin of Roquevidal commending the heretics. On account of this the same witness believes that the same William has the faith of the heretics. About the time: two years ago or less.

Item, he said that the aforesaid William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, 121<sup>v</sup> his companion, heretics, told the same witness that they had stayed at Toulouse in the house of Bernard Faure (*or* Bernard, smith) of Saint-Romain for a good month, or for such a long time that the same heretics had carded ten stones of wool for the wife of the said Bernard. And the same witness firmly believes that many people of Toulouse saw the aforesaid heretics there, and knew that they were there.

He heard the same heretics saying that in the house which is in front of the house of Pons of Gomerville at Toulouse—about which he spoke above—many people of Toulouse, whose names he does not know, had visited the same heretics.

Item, he heard the aforesaid heretics saying that Raymonda Terren, the wife of William Médecin (*or* William, doctor) of Roquevidal, was

<sup>54</sup> Or 'he'.

<sup>55</sup> Tarn, comm. Algans, cant. Cuq-Toulza, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>56</sup> Tarn, comm. Algans, cant. Cuq-Toulza, arrond. Castres, 3 km S of Roquevidal; Font-Réaulx, p. 1046.

122<sup>r</sup> mulieris de Tho|losa, cuius tunc ipsa Raymunda erat ancilla. Et vocabatur dicta hæretica Morlana, et stabat Tholosæ apud Salvetatem, vel prope erat. Et stabat dicta ancilla cum dicta Morlana procurantibus ipsis hæreticis, ut haberet ipsa Morlana personam, scilicet ipsam Raymundam, in qua confideret de facto hæresis.<sup>1</sup> Dixerunt etiam hæretici ipsi testi<sup>2</sup> quod dicta Morlana parabat se ad eundum in Lombardiam ad hæreticos, quando arripuit eam infirmitas prædicta, et hoc bene sciebat—imo totum factum hæresis dictæ Morlanæ sciebat—dicta Raymunda Terrena. Postea scitum est quod vocatur Guillelma.

Item credit firmiter quod Terrena, soror Guillelmi Terreni senioris de Rochavidal et stat nunc Tholosæ—qui Guillelmus Terreni est fugitivus  
122<sup>v</sup> propter hæresim—| est credens et amica hæreticorum, quia habebat magnam familiaritatem cum Fogaceriis de Tholosa, qui fugerunt propter hæresim.

Item est de genere multum infecto de hæresi, et quia habebat filiam suam Iordanam, quæ heretica vestita in Lombardia, et habet filium bordelarium in Tholosa, nomine Guillelmum Pechavi.

Item dixit quod hoc anno audita captione Petri Maurelli, nuntii hæreticorum, timens multum de ipso, accessit Soresium ad Raymundum de Puteo augurem, et habita promissione ab ipso Raymundo quod de omni re poterat confidere in ipso Raymundo, dixit ipse testis<sup>3</sup> dicto Raymundo quod multum timebat sibi pro facto hæresis, quia captus erat nuntius,  
123<sup>r</sup> quod dictus nuntius hæreticorum revelaret ipsum testem<sup>4</sup> de hæresi. | Qui Raymundus, visis auguriis suis, dixit ipsi testi<sup>5</sup> quod non oportebat ipsum testem<sup>6</sup> timere, nec fugere, nec extremare res suas, quia dictus nuntius nihil diceret de ipso teste.<sup>7</sup>

Dixit etiam quod Stephanus Ugoni de Rochavidal ivit cum ipso teste<sup>8</sup> ad dictum Raymundum de Puteo, sciens quod ipse testis<sup>9</sup> volebat de prædictis petere consilium ab ipso Raymundo de Puteo; et ostendit domum

<sup>1</sup> -sis written over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> -s deleted.

<sup>3</sup> -is added.

<sup>4</sup> -em added.

<sup>5</sup> -s deleted.

<sup>6</sup> -em added.

<sup>7</sup> -e added.

<sup>8</sup> -e added.

<sup>9</sup> -is added.

present at the heretication of a certain woman of Toulouse, | whose 122<sup>r</sup>  
 maidservant the same Raymonda then was. And the said heretic was  
 called Morlana, and she lived at Toulouse at the 'salvetat' (new quarter)—  
 or it was nearby. And the said maidservant lived with the said Morlana  
 at the same heretics' instigation, so that the same Morlana could have  
 a person, that is, the same Raymonda, in whom she could trust on the  
 matter of heresy. The heretics also told the same witness that the said  
 Morlana was preparing herself for going into Lombardy to the heretics  
 when the aforesaid illness took hold of her, and the said Raymonda  
 Terren knew this well—indeed she knew the whole matter of the heresy  
 of the said Morlana. Later it became known that she is called Guillelma.

Item, he firmly believes that Terrena, the sister of William Terren the  
 elder of Roquevidal—and she now lives at Toulouse, and this William  
 Terren is a fugitive for heresy—| is a believer and friend of the heretics, 122<sup>v</sup>  
 because she was very close to the Fogaciers of Toulouse, who fled for  
 heresy.

Item, she is of a family very infected with heresy, and because she had  
 as her daughter Jordana, who [became] a robed heretic in Lombardy, and  
 she has a son, a smallholder, in Toulouse, called William Peitavin.

Item, he said that this year, when he heard about the capture of Peter  
 Maurel, messenger of the heretics, fearing greatly for himself, he went to  
 Sorèze to Raymond of Pouts,<sup>57</sup> an augur,<sup>58</sup> and, after he had obtained a  
 promise from the same Raymond that he could trust the same Raymond  
 on every matter, the same witness told the said Raymond that he was very  
 afraid for himself on the matter of heresy, because the messenger had  
 been captured, that the said messenger of the heretics would give away  
 the same witness concerning heresy. | This Raymond, having examined 123<sup>r</sup>  
 his auguries, told the same witness that the same witness had no need to  
 fear, nor to flee, nor to dispose of his things, because the said messenger  
 would say nothing about the same witness.

He also said that Stephen Hugh of Roquevidal went with the same  
 witness to the said Raymond of Pouts, knowing that the same witness  
 wanted to ask advice about the aforesaid things from the same Raymond

<sup>57</sup> Lot-et-Garonne, comm. Montaut, cant. Villereal, arrond. Villeneuve-sur-Lot, is a possible identification. For 'de Puteo' as 'of Pouts', see Font-Réaulx, p. 1016. Cf Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 163; Raimond Dupuis.

<sup>58</sup> See Raymond's deposition, 271<sup>v</sup> below.



ipsius *Raymundi* de [Puteo] dicto testi<sup>1</sup> et retulit ipsi testi<sup>2</sup> quod idem Stephanus pluries consuluerat ipsum *Raymundum* quod respiceret in auguriis; et respexit, et invenerat eum veracem in responsionibus suis. Idem etiam Stephanus dixit ipsi testi<sup>3</sup> quod ipse Stephanus fecerat auguriare dictum Raymundum pro facto Raymundi Calveti de Tulh, qui respondit, visis auguriis suis, quod Raymundus Calveti prædictus perderet<sup>4</sup> hæreditatem suam, sed persona evaderet bene de manibus in|quisitoris:<sup>5</sup> et ita postmodum contingit sicut dictus augur auguriavit.

Dixit etiam quod Petrus de Bugato dixit ipsi testi<sup>6</sup> quod ipse *Petrus* de Bugat fecit ipsum augurem auguriare de diversis factis, sed non pro facto hæresis.

Adiecit plus quod pro dicto augurio dedit ipse testis dicto auguri octo solidos<sup>7</sup> Tholosanos.<sup>8</sup>

Dixit etiam, si firmiter crederet,<sup>9</sup> quod prædictus augur sit credens et amicus hæreticorum, et ideo confidit de prædictis verbis in ipso augure.

Item audivit dicentes prædictos hæreticos quod Aigolan de Algarius est amicus et credens hæreticorum, et ipsi hæretici fuerant conversati cum eo, et consueverat esse magis credens quam modo sit.

Adiecit et quod Maimo, filius dicti Aigolan, fugit pro hæresi in Lombardiam, et ibi, scilicet in Lombardia, fuit multum conversatus | cum hæreticis. Tamen mortuus fuit et non fuerat receptus ab hæreticis,<sup>10</sup> ut audivit ab eisdem hæreticis.<sup>11</sup> De tempore: ab anno citra hoc audivit.

Item credit quod Rixenda, uxor Raymundi de Plausolas, sit credens hæreticorum, quia audivit dicentem Raymundum de Siren—qui postmodum fugit in Lombardiam et se fecit hæreticum—quod<sup>12</sup> ipsa Rixen erat amica hæreticorum, et est de genere corrupto de hæresi, et est familiaris Bernardæ Molsairone, quæ fuit hæreticata, ut supradictum est.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* teste; -e added.

<sup>2</sup> -i added.

<sup>3</sup> -s deleted.

<sup>4</sup> originally perdecet.

<sup>5</sup> -is added.

<sup>6</sup> -s deleted; original -is probably added.

<sup>7</sup> -os added.

<sup>8</sup> -os added.

<sup>9</sup> -t added.

<sup>10</sup> -is added.

<sup>11</sup> -is added.

<sup>12</sup> *ms* pro.

<sup>61</sup> Massac-Sèran; see 76<sup>v</sup> n. 30 above.

of Pouts; and he showed the house of the same Raymond [of Pouts] to the said witness, and told the same witness that the same Stephen had often consulted the same Raymond, asking him to examine the auguries; and he had examined them, and he had found him truthful in his replies. The same Stephen also told the same witness that the same Stephen had made the said Raymond read his auguries for the matter of Raymond Calvet of *Tulh*,<sup>59</sup> and he replied, when he had examined his auguries, that the aforesaid Raymond Calvet would lose his inheritance, but that his person would escape from the hands | of the inquisitor all right; and later it happened just as the said augur had foretold. 123<sup>v</sup>

He also said that Peter of Bugat told the same witness that the same Peter of Bugat made the same augur read his auguries about various matters, but not on the matter of heresy.

He added further that for the said reading of the auguries the same witness gave the said augur eight Toulouse shillings.

He also said—[asked] if he firmly believed it—that the aforesaid augur is a believer and friend of the heretics, and for this reason he trusted in the same augur concerning the aforesaid words.

Item, he heard the aforesaid heretics saying that Aigolan of Algans is a friend and believer of the heretics, and that the same heretics had lived with him, and that he used to be a greater believer than he is now.

And he added that Maimo, the son of the said Aigolan, fled for heresy into Lombardy and there, that is, in Lombardy, he lived a lot | with the heretics. However, he died, and had not been received by the heretics, as he heard from the same heretics. About the time: he heard this within the last year. 124<sup>r</sup>

Item, he believes that Rixendis, the wife of Raymond of *Plausolas*,<sup>60</sup> is a believer of the heretics, because he heard Raymond of Séran<sup>61</sup>—who later fled into Lombardy and made himself a heretic—saying that the same Rixendis was a friend of the heretics, and is of a family corrupted by heresy, and she is close to Bernarda Molsairona, who was hereticated, as has been said above.

<sup>59</sup> Not identified. Perhaps Thil: Tarn, comm. Saint-Jean-de-Rives, cant. Lavaur, arrond. Castres. Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 75 points to the possibility of a scribal error for Jul, Tarn, comm. Pratviel, cant. Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, arrond. Castres. Like the majority of places mentioned in this deposition, Jul is close (2 km) to Roquevidal; *DTF*.

<sup>60</sup> Not identified. See Font-Réaulx, p. 738, for the listing in 1538 of a parish-priest of Ayguesvives (Haute-Garonne, cant. Montgiscard, arrond. Toulouse) surnamed Plausolles. There is a Plauzolles in the department of Gard; *DTF*.

Item audivit dicentem Petrum de Algarius, filium Petri de Algarius de Rochavidal, quod Bernardus de Montesyon de eodem loco, qui modo est hæreticus, tractavit cum *Petro* Dalgarns, patre suo, quod idem *Petrus* Dalgarns senior fugeret ad hæreticos in Lombardiam cum dicto *Bernardo* de Monte Syron, quando | ipse *Bernardus* fugit in Lombardiam. Non tamen fugit dictus<sup>1</sup> *Petrus*. Dictus etiam *Petrus* Dalgarns senior habet magnam familiaritatem cum *Petro* de Bugato eiusdem loci,<sup>2</sup> qui est multum credens hæreticorum: quare credit ipse testis<sup>3</sup> quod dictus *Petrus* Dalgarns senior sit amicus et credens hæreticorum.

Hæc deposuit<sup>4</sup> coram fratribus Ramnolpho et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus. Testes: frater *Petrus* Ferrandi, et Arnaldus Autardi, et magister Berengarius de Verneto qui hæc scripsit.

Item addidit quod Maina, uxor Guillelmi Pechavi de Rochavidal, visitavit prædictos hæreticos in domo ipsius testis apud Rochavidal, quæ, ipso teste vidente, adoravit prædictos hæreticos, et audivit monitiones eorum. De tempore: circa Penthecosten proximo præteritum.

Hæc deposuit<sup>5</sup> coram prædictis.

125<sup>r</sup> Item addidit quod audivit dicentes prædictos hæreticos quod Tholosanus Eugelberti, filius, ut credit, Petri Eugilberti de Vauro, parabat se ad recedendum in Lombardiam ad hæreticos, una cum ipso vel Raymundo de Gomervilla; et nescit ipse testis si recessit dictus Tholsanus vel non. De tempore auditus: a duobus annis citra.

Hæc deposuit<sup>6</sup> coram prædictis.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* dicti.

<sup>2</sup> *deletion*.

<sup>3</sup> *-is added*.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* de Posuit; *originally* de Pod; *-uit added, perhaps by a reader; -d- changed to -s- by same hand*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* de posuit; *originally* de pod.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* de posuit; *originally* de pod.

Item, he heard Peter of Algans, the son of Peter of Algans of Roquevidal, saying that Bernard of Mont Séran of the same place, who now is a heretic, negotiated with Peter of Algans, his father, that the same Peter of Algans, the elder, should flee to the heretics in Lombardy with the said Bernard of Mont Séran when | the same Bernard fled into Lombardy. The 124<sup>v</sup> said Peter did not, however, flee. The said Peter of Algans, the elder, is also very close to Peter of Bugat of the same place, who is very much a believer of the heretics: for which reason the same witness believes that the said Peter of Algans, the elder, is a friend and believer of the heretics.

These things he attested before brothers Ranulph, and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Peter Ferrand and Arnold Aucard, and master Berengar of Vernet who wrote these things.

Item,<sup>62</sup> he added that Maina, the wife of William Peitavin of Roquevidal, visited the aforesaid heretics in the same witness's house at Roquevidal, and, in the sight of the same witness, adored the aforesaid heretics, and heard their admonitions. About the time: around last Pentecost.

These things he attested before the aforesaid.

Item, he added that he heard the aforesaid heretics saying that Tolsan 125<sup>r</sup> Eugilbert, the son, so he believes, of Peter Eugilbert of Lavaur, was preparing to go away into Lombardy to the heretics, together with him or with Raymond of Gomerville; and the same witness does not know if the said Tolsan went away or not. About the time when he heard this: within the last two years.

These things he attested before the aforesaid.

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<sup>62</sup> Both these short depositions are probably addenda to the previous one, so should be dated April 10 1274.

*Deposition de B. de Podio de Pradis, contenant entre autres choses que Pierre Bertrand de Montesquieu, fils de Saxius, chevalier de Puy Laurens, 125<sup>v</sup> avoit assiste aux predications des heretiques, et leur avoit fait present | de deux anguilles salées.*

*5<sup>o</sup> kalendas Madii, 1275.*

Item, anno quo supra, quinto kalendas Madii, *Bernardus* de Podio de Pradis adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod *Guillelmus* Prunelli et *Bernardus* de Tilhols, socius<sup>1</sup> eius, hæretici, dum starent in domo ipsius testis ut est dictum supra, tradiderunt ipsi testi<sup>2</sup> undecim solidos et sex denarios Tholosanos novorum, ut cambiret illos denarios pro Turonensibus nigris. Quo facto, ipse testis venit apud Vaurum ad *Bernardum* Hugonem de Vauro, qui est consanguineus Bonæ, uxoris ipsius testis, et quæsivit ab 126<sup>r</sup> ipso teste quare cambiret dictos denarios: qui | dixit ipsi *Bernardi* Hugonis quod dicti denarii erant prædictorum hæreticorum. Et tunc dictus *Bernardus* Hugonis dixit ipsi testi<sup>3</sup> quod libenter videret illos hæreticos si posset. Dixit quod dictus *Bernardus* Hugonis dixit ipsi testi<sup>4</sup> quod *Petrus* Bagalh de Baure habebat depositum hæreticorum,<sup>5</sup> et quod hæretici conquerebantur de dicto *Petro* Bagalh super dicto deposito. Et tunc idem *Bernardus* Hugonis ivit ad dictum *Petrum* Bagalh, et loquutus fuit de hoc cum dicto *Petro* Bagalh. Quo facto, dictus *Bernardus* Hugonis rediit ad ipsum testem, et ambo, scilicet ipse testis et dictus *Bernardus* Hugonis, iverunt ad dictum *Petrum* Bagalh, scilicet ad operatorium ipsius *Petri*

<sup>1</sup> *ms* socii.

<sup>2</sup> -s *deleted*.

<sup>3</sup> -s *deleted*.

<sup>4</sup> -s *deleted*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* hæreticis.

<sup>3</sup> Black tournois were alloy coins: the Tournois pennies (deniers tournois), just under a third silver. Lafaurie, *Monnaies des Rois de France*, vol. 1, no. 207, and information of Peter Spufford. On white Tournois, see 72<sup>r</sup> above. On Toulouse coins and exchange with Tournois, see Spufford, *Handbook*, pp. 137, 182, 197.

*The deposition of Bernard of Puy of Prades, containing among other things that Peter Bertrand of Montesquieu, the son of Saix, knight of Puylaurens, had been present at the preachings of the heretics, and had made them a present | of two salted eels.*

125<sup>v</sup>

*Five days before the kalends of May, 1275.*

Item, in the same year as above, five days before the kalends of May,<sup>1</sup> Bernard of Puy of Prades added to his confession, saying that William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, his companion, heretics, while they were staying in the same witness's house as has been said above, gave the same witness eleven shillings and six pence in new Toulouse coins,<sup>2</sup> for him to change those coins for black Tournois.<sup>3</sup> When this had been done, the same witness came to Lavaur, to Bernard Hugh of Lavaur, who is a kinsman of Bona, the same witness's wife, and he asked the same witness why he was changing the said money: and he | said to the same Bernard 126<sup>r</sup> Hugh, that the said money belonged to the aforesaid heretics. And then the said Bernard Hugh said to the same witness that he would gladly see those heretics if he could. He said that the said Bernard Hugh said to the same witness that Peter Bagalh of Lavaur held the heretics' deposit, and that the heretics were complaining about the said Peter Bagalh concerning the said deposit. And then the same Bernard Hugh went to the said Peter Bagalh, and spoke about this with the said Peter Bagalh. When this had been done, the said Bernard Hugh returned to the same witness, and both of them, that is the same witness and the said Bernard Hugh, went to the said Peter Bagalh, that is, to the same Peter Bagalh's workshop,

<sup>1</sup> April 27 [1274]: the date of 1275 in the French introduction is almost certainly mistaken. This is clearly a second or later deposition: the witness's first deposition, like his wife's, may well have taken place on April 16, or on a date very close to that.

<sup>2</sup> In 1271 Philip III had new Toulouse pennies (deniers toulousains) struck in Toulouse, inscribed PHILIPVS REX and TOLO CIVI. Like old Toulouse pennies (also called tolza), they were worth two pennies tournois, since although the same size pennies as the tournois, they were nearly two thirds silver rather than nearly a third silver; Lafaurie, *Monnaies des Rois de France*, vol. 1, no. 209, and information of Peter Spufford.

Bagalh, et fuerunt loqui ambo, scilicet ambo<sup>1</sup> ipse testis et dictus *Bernardus* Hugonis, de dicto deposito cum dicto Petro Bagalh. Et post hoc,  
 126<sup>v</sup> dictus Petrus Bagalh dixit ipsi testi<sup>2</sup> et *Bernardo* | Hugonis prædicto<sup>3</sup>  
 quod irent ad operatorium dicti *Bernardi* Hugonis; quod et fecerunt.  
 Quo facto, venit dictus Petrus Bugalh ad ipsum testem<sup>4</sup> et ad *Bernar-*  
*dum* Hugonem<sup>5</sup> prædictum, et dedit ipsi testi<sup>6</sup> quatuor solidos<sup>7</sup> sterlin-  
 guorum, quos dixit se habuisse de quodam mantello quem vendiderat—  
 de quo, ut dicebat idem *Petrus* Bagalh, fuerat sibi iniunctum quod daret  
 illum mantellum vel eius pretium hæreticis—et duodecim Turonenses,  
 quos dixit se habuisse a quadam muliere de Vauro: sed non nominavit  
 ipsi testi<sup>8</sup> dictam mulierem. Dedit etiam dictus *Petrus* Bagalh ipsi testi<sup>9</sup>  
 quatuor solidos Turonenses, quos volebat restituere hæreticis pro dua-  
 bus libris ceræ quos habuerat ex deposito hæreticorum *Albiensium*,<sup>10</sup> et  
 amiserat illam ceram quando fuit intrusus pro hæresi. Et iniunxit ipsi  
 127<sup>r</sup> testi<sup>11</sup> quod omnes illos denarios | daret ipse testis prædictis hæreticis,<sup>12</sup>  
 qui erant in domo ipsius testis, et quod dicti hæretici haberent ipsum  
*Petrum* Bagalh excusatum.

Dixit etiam quod dictus *Bernardus* Hugonis numeravit dictos dena-  
 rios, et misit salutes ipsis hæreticis per ipsum testem<sup>13</sup> qui dedit dictam  
 pecuniam dictis hæreticis; et salutavit eos ex parte dicti *Bernardi* Hugoni  
 de Vauro.<sup>14</sup>

Dixit etiam quod dictus *Bernardus* Hugonis pro omnibus denariis  
 prædictis, exceptis duodecim denariis Turonensibus<sup>15</sup> nigrorum dedit  
 ipsi testi<sup>16</sup> Turonenses<sup>17</sup> albos ad opus hæreticorum.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* ambe.

<sup>2</sup> -s *deleted*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* prædictis.

<sup>4</sup> -em *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -em *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* solidorum.

<sup>8</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>9</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>10</sup> -ium *perhaps added*.

<sup>11</sup> -i *perhaps added*.

<sup>12</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>13</sup> -em *perhaps added*.

<sup>14</sup> *superfluous* prædicti *follows here*.

<sup>15</sup> *ms* denarios Turonenses; -os *and* -es *added*.

<sup>16</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>17</sup> -es *added*.

and they both spoke, that is both the same witness and the said Bernard Hugh, about the said deposit with the said Peter Bagalh. And after this, the said Peter Bagalh told the same witness and the aforesaid Bernard | 126<sup>v</sup> Hugh to go to the workshop of the said Bernard Hugh; which they did. When this had been done, the said Peter Bagalh came to the same witness and to the aforesaid Bernard Hugh, and gave the same witness four shillings sterling,<sup>4</sup> which he said that he had had from a certain cloak which he had sold—concerning which, as the same Peter Bagalh said, he had been instructed to give that cloak or its price to the heretics—and twelve Tournois, which he said that he had had from a certain woman of Lavaur: but he did not name the said woman to the same witness. The said Peter Bagalh also gave the same witness four shillings Tournois, which he wished to return to the heretics for two pounds of wax which he had had from the deposit of the heretics of Albi<sup>5</sup>—and he had lost that wax when he was imprisoned for heresy. And he instructed the same witness that the same witness should give all that money | to the aforesaid heretics who were in the same witness's 127<sup>r</sup> house, and that the said heretics were to have the same Peter Bagalh excused.

He said also that the said Bernard Hugh counted the said money, and sent greetings to the same heretics by the same witness, who gave the said money to the said heretics; and he greeted them on behalf of the said Bernard Hugh of Lavaur.

He also said that the said Bernard Hugh, for all the aforesaid money, except for the twelve pence of black Tournois, gave the same witness white Tournois for the use of the heretics.

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<sup>4</sup> On the sterling money of England, which circulated also in Gascony and Guyenne see Spufford, *Handbook*, pp. 198–210.

<sup>5</sup> 'Albi' here means the heretics' church of Albi, distinct from their church of Toulouse.



Adiecit etiam quod idem *Bernardus* Hugonis misit tunc per ipsum testem<sup>1</sup> dictis hæreticis unum Turonensem<sup>2</sup> album. De tempore: circa Carniprivium proximo transactum.<sup>3</sup>

127<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod vidit Bernardum Godalh, hæreticum, solum in domo ipsius testis, et vidit cum dicto hæretico Bernardum de | Cantapola, sororium ipsius testis,<sup>4</sup> qui adduxit illum hæreticum ad domum ipsius testis, et Stephanum de Leumer de Pradis, et Raymundum Navarri de Pradas, et Bonam, uxorem ipsius testis, et Guillelmam, uxorem dicti Stephani de Leumer, nunc defunctam: qui omnes, et ipse testis,<sup>5</sup> ipso vidente, adoraverunt dictum hæreticum, et audiverunt prædicationem dicti hæretici. De tempore: viginti anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod *Bernardus* Hugonis prædictus misit per ipsum testem<sup>6</sup> sotulares Guillelmo Prunelli et socio suo, hæreticis,<sup>7</sup> quando misit eis similiter dictum Turonensium album, ut est dictum supra.

128<sup>r</sup> Dixit etiam quod fuit coram fratre Reginaldo et socio suo, inquisitoribus,<sup>8</sup> et negavit eis veritatem, contra proprium iuramentum, de omnibus his quæ fecerat sive commiserat in hæ|resi, et abiuravit<sup>9</sup> omnem hæresim coram eis. Et recognovit quod malefecit quia postmodum vidit hæreticos et comisit in hæresi, ut dictum est supra.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Ramnulpho, inquisitore. Testes: frater *Petrus* Ferrandi et Constantinus, et *Petrus* capellanus Drulie, notarius publicus, qui hæc scripsit.

Item quod quando *Bernardus* Godalh, hæreticus prædictus, fuit in domo ipsius testis, ut dictum est supra, Bona, uxor ipsius testis,<sup>10</sup> retulit eidem *Godalh* quod Azalaicis, soror ipsius testis, quæ est uxor *Bernardi* de Cantapola, volebat recedere cum dicto hæretico; quod et faciebat: cum dictus *Bernardus* Godab, hæreticus, exiret quadam nocte de domo dicti Stephani de Leumer, ipse et *Bernardus* de Cantapola, sororius ipsius testis, secuti fuerunt dictam Alaizaiciam, quæ recedebat cum dicto hæretico, et

<sup>1</sup> -em added.

<sup>2</sup> -em written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> -m perhaps added.

<sup>4</sup> -is added.

<sup>5</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>6</sup> -em added, perhaps by reader.

<sup>7</sup> ms hæretico; superfluous per ipsum testem follows here: -em probably added.

<sup>8</sup> ms inquisitore.

<sup>9</sup> -avit added.

<sup>10</sup> deletion, perhaps in.

He also added that the same Bernard Hugh sent the said heretics at that time one white Tournois by the same witness. About the time: around last Lent.

Item, he said that he saw Bernard Godalh, heretic, alone in the same witness's house, and he saw with the said heretic Bernard of | Cantepoule, 127<sup>v</sup> the same witness's brother-in-law, who brought that heretic to the same witness's house, and Stephen of *Leumer* of Prades, and Raymond Navarre of Prades, and Bona, the same witness's wife, and Guillelma, the wife of the said Stephen of *Leumer*, now deceased: all of whom, and the same witness, in his sight, adored the said heretic, and heard the preaching of the said heretic. About the time: twenty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the aforesaid Bernard Hugh sent shoes by the same witness to William Prunel and his companion, heretics, when he likewise sent them the said white Tournois, as has been said above.

He also said that he appeared before brother Reginald and his companion, inquisitors, and denied the truth to them, contrary to his own oath, concerning all these things which he had done or committed in | 128<sup>r</sup> heresy, and he abjured all heresy before them. And he acknowledged that he did wrong because afterwards he saw heretics and committed acts of heresy, as has been said above.

These things he attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Peter Ferrand and Constantine, and Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, public notary, who wrote these things.

Item,<sup>6</sup> that when Bernard Godalh, the aforesaid heretic, was in the same witness's house, as has been said above, Bona, the same witness's wife, told the same Godalh that Aladaicia, the same witness's sister, who is the wife of Bernard of Cantepoule, wished to go away with the said heretic; which she did: when the said Bernard Godalh, heretic, went out one night from the house of the said Stephen of *Leumer*, he and Bernard of Cantepoule, the same witness's brother-in-law, followed the said Aladaicia, who was going away with the said heretic, and brought her back

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<sup>6</sup> [April 27 1274] An addendum to the previous deposition.

128<sup>v</sup> reduxerunt eam ad domum dicti *Bernardi* | de Cantapola, mariti dictæ Alazaicis. De tempore: viginti anni sunt, vel circa.

Hæc deposuit coram dicto inquisitore.<sup>1</sup> Testibus prædictis.<sup>2</sup>

Item, anno quo supra, septimo idus Madii, prædictus *Bernardus* de Podio de Pradis, testis iuratus, adiecit confessioni<sup>3</sup> suæ, dicens quod quadam die, dum Guillelmus Prunelli et *Bernardus* de Tilhols, hæretici, essent in domo ipsius testis, *Bernardus* de Montesquivo, filius Saxii, militis de Podio *Laurentio*, qui moratur apud Guitalux, quodam sero venit ad domum ipsius testis pro quibusdam denariis de quadam quista petendis, quos ipse testis et dictus *Bernardus* de Montesquivo et quidam alii debebant colligere, et invenit hostium domus ipsius testis clausum,<sup>4</sup> et pulsavit ibi. Et ipse testis venit ad dictum *Bernardum* de Montesquivo, et introduxit ipsum<sup>5</sup> in domum ip[s]ius testis, et quæsit [ab] ipso teste<sup>6</sup> quare tenebat hostium clausum. Et ipse testis respondit quod ideo quia boni homines, scilicet prædicti hæretici, erant ibi; et quod posset ipsos videre si vellet. Et dictus *Bernardus* respondit quod bene volebat eos videre, si hæretici vellent. Et ibidem ipse testis quæsit a dictis hæreticis si volebant videre dictum *Bernardum* de Montesquivo, qui erat ibi; et hæretici responderunt eidem testi quod bene placebat eis. Et his dictis, ipse testis introduxit ipsum *Bernardum* de Montesquivo; et fuerunt ibi dictus testis et Bona, uxor ipsius testis, et dictus *Bernardus* de Montesquivo, et audierunt, ipso vidente et audiente, prædicationem dictorum hæreticorum, diu sedentes<sup>7</sup> cum dictis hæreticis: sed non adoravit nec vidit adorare.<sup>8</sup>

Adiecit etiam quod postmodum dicti hæretici iverunt cubitum, et dictus *Bernardus* de Montesquivo remansit ibi per totam noctem, et iacuit<sup>9</sup> | ibi in domo ipsius testis, et quodam lecto iuxta lectos in quibus iacebant dicti hæretici, et in crastinum, mane, dictus *Bernardus* de Montesquivo recessit inde.

<sup>1</sup> -e added.

<sup>2</sup> ms Testis prædictus.

<sup>3</sup> ms confessione.

<sup>4</sup> -um written over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> altered, perhaps from ipsius.

<sup>6</sup> -e probably added.

<sup>7</sup> ms sedente.

<sup>8</sup> second -r- perhaps altered; -re perhaps added.

<sup>9</sup> ms iacui.

to the house of the said Bernard | of Cantepoule, the husband of the said 128<sup>v</sup>  
Aladaicia. About the time: it was twenty years ago, or thereabouts.

These things he attested before the said inquisitor. With the aforesaid witnesses.

Item, in the same year as above, seven days before the ides of May,<sup>7</sup> the aforesaid Bernard of Puy of Prades, sworn in as a witness, added to his confession, saying that on a certain day, while William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, heretics, were in the same witness's house, Bernard of Montesquieu, the son of Saix, knight of Puylaurens, who lives at Guitalens,<sup>8</sup> came one evening to the same witness's house to get some monies in relation to a demand for cash, which the same witness and the said Bernard of Montesquieu and certain others were to collect, and he found the door of the same witness's house closed, and knocked there. And the same witness came to the said Bernard of Montesquieu, and brought him into the | same witness's house, and he asked the same 129<sup>r</sup>  
witness why he kept the door closed. And the same witness replied that for this reason, that the good men, that is the aforesaid heretics, were there; and that he could see them if he wanted. And the said Bernard replied that he certainly wanted to see them, if the heretics wished it. And there and then the same witness asked the said heretics if they wished to see the said Bernard of Montesquieu, who was there; and the heretics replied to the same witness that this pleased them well. And when these things had been said, the same witness brought the same Bernard of Montesquieu in; and the said witness and Bona, the same witness's wife, and the said Bernard of Montesquieu were there, and they heard, in his sight and hearing, the preaching of the said heretics, sitting for a long time with the said heretics: but he did not adore or see others adore.

He added also that afterwards the said heretics went to bed, and the said Bernard of Montesquieu remained there the whole night, and lay | 129<sup>v</sup>  
there in the same witness's house, and in a certain bed next to the beds in which the said heretics were lying, and on the morrow, in the morning, the said Bernard of Montesquieu left there.

<sup>7</sup> May 9 [1274].

<sup>8</sup> Tarn, cant. Vielmur-sur-Agout, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 944.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> dixit quod dictus *Bernardus* de Montesquivo non adoravit ibi dictos hæreticos, ipso teste vidente. De tempore: inter festum Natalis Domini et festum Purificationis Beatæ Mariæ proximo transacta.

Item dixit quod dicti hæretici dixerunt ipsi testi<sup>2</sup> quod dictus *Bernardus* de Montesquivo aportaverat illis hæreticis duas anguillas, et etiam, ut ipse testis dicit, comedit de ipsis anguillis; dixit etiam quod dictæ anguillæ erant salsæ. De tempore: quod supra, parum post dictam visionem.

Item dixit quod pluries venit ad domum ipsius testis, occasione dictorum denariorum prædictæ quistæ, dictus *Bernardus* de Montesquivo. |  
130<sup>r</sup> Et<sup>3</sup> dicti hæretici erant in domo ipsius testis, sed ipse testis non vidit ipsum *Bernardum* cum hæreticis illis, nisi ut dictum est supra. De tempore: quod supra.

Interrogatus quare celavit hoc ipse testis nuper, contra proprium iuramentum, dixit quod amore dicti *Bernardi* de Montesquivo, et amicorum eiusdem *Bernardi* de Montesquivo.

Hæc deposuit coram fratribus inquisitoribus,<sup>4</sup> scilicet coram fratre Ramnulpho et fratre Pontio de Parnacho. Testes: frater Raymundus Guillelmi, ordinis Prædicatorum, et *Petrus*, capellanus Drulie, notarius, qui hæc scripsit.

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<sup>1</sup> *ms* Interroga.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* teste.

<sup>3</sup> *added in margin.*

<sup>4</sup> *ms* inquisitionis; *originally* inquisitor.

Questioned, he said that the said Bernard of Montesquieu did not adore the said heretics there, in the sight of the same witness. About the time: between the feast of Christmas and the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary last.

Item, he said that the said heretics told the same witness that the said Bernard of Montesquieu had brought those heretics two eels, and he also, as the same witness says, ate of the same eels; he also said that the said eels were salted. About the time: as above, shortly after the said seeing.

Item, he said that the said Bernard of Montesquieu often came to the same witness's house, because of the said monies of the aforesaid chest. | 130<sup>r</sup>  
And the said heretics were in the same witness's house, but the same witness did not see the same Bernard with those heretics, except as has been said above. About the time: as above.

Asked why the same witness recently concealed this, contrary to his own oath, he said that for love of the said Bernard of Montesquieu, and of the friends of the same Bernard of Montesquieu.

These things he attested before the brothers inquisitors, that is before brother Ranulph and brother Pons of Parnac. Witnesses: brother Raymond William, of the Order of Preachers, and Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary, who wrote these things.

- Deposition de Pierre Guillaume de Rocavilla, domicellus, fils de Bertrand, chevalier, seigneur de Montgaillard, contenant | que s'en alant en cour de Rome trouver Michel, vice chancelier du Pape Urbain 4<sup>e</sup> il rencontra dans Plaisance en Lombardie Estiene Donati de Montgaillard, heretique, auquel il demanda 200l Thol', que Bex de Rochavilla, son oncle, fugitif et condamné a cause d'heresie avoit legues audit Bertrand son pere; et ledit Donati respondit que son eveque heretique avoit receu plainte que ledit Bertrand, chevalier, s'estoit emparé de la terre de Pierre Donati, frere dudit Estiene, au*
- 131<sup>r</sup> *prejudice de l'eglise des heretiques qui avoit droit sur ladite terre, ratione fratrissæ; et qu'il luy estoit defendu de luy delivrer ladite somme; et quil fut visité par Guillaume Unaudi de Lantar, chevalier, fugitif a cause de l'heresie, qui le chargea de dire a Mirota sa femme qu'il la verroit s'il avoit autant de pouvoir qu'elle avec l'Eglise.*

15<sup>o</sup> kalendas Iunii 1274.

- 131<sup>v</sup> Anno quo supra | decimo quinto kalendas Iunii, Petrus Guillelmi de Rochavilla, domicellus, filius Bertrandi de Rochovilla, militis, domini de Montegalhardo, testis iuratus et requisitus ut supra, dixit quod apud Placentiam in Lombardia, in hospitio Petri de Bueuvilla, qui fuit de Avinione, fugitivi et condemnati propter hæresim, vidit Stephanum Donati

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<sup>4</sup> Montgaillard-Lauragais, Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 984.

<sup>5</sup> See Peter of Beauville's depositions below, beginning 297<sup>r</sup>, and on 'Beauville' see 298<sup>r</sup> n. 2 below.

<sup>6</sup> Avignon-Lauragais, Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 871.

*The deposition of Peter William of Roqueville, squire, son of Bertrand, knight, lord of Montgaillard, containing | that, while going to the Court of Rome to find Michael, vice-chancellor of Pope Urban IV, he met in Piacenza in Lombardy Stephen Donat of Montgaillard, heretic, from whom he demanded £200 of Toulouse, which Bec of Roqueville, his uncle, a fugitive and condemned for heresy, had bequeathed to the said Bertrand his father; and the said Donat answered that his heretical bishop had received a complaint that the said Bertrand, knight, had seized the land of Peter Donat, brother of the said Stephen, to the | prejudice of the church of the heretics, which had a right to the said land, by reason of the younger brother's share of the inheritance; and that he had forbidden him to hand over the said sum to him; and that he was visited by William Unaud of Lanta, knight, a fugitive for heresy, who charged him with saying to Mirota his wife that he would see her if he had as much power as she did with the Church.* 130<sup>v</sup> 131<sup>r</sup>

*15 days before the kalends of June 1274.*

In the same year as above, | fifteen days before the kalends of June,<sup>1</sup> 131<sup>v</sup> Peter William of Roqueville,<sup>2</sup> squire, son of Bertrand of Roqueville,<sup>3</sup> knight, lord of Montgaillard,<sup>4</sup> sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that at Piacenza in Lombardy, in the lodging of Peter of Beauville,<sup>5</sup> who was from Avignonet,<sup>6</sup> a fugitive and condemned for

<sup>1</sup> May 18 [1274].

<sup>2</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. and cant. Montgiscard, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1024.

<sup>3</sup> Bertrand of Roqueville (Bertrandus de Roquovila), knight, of Montgaillard, questioned July 1 1245, admitted seeing heretics in the houses of his uncles Bego (Bec) and Estolt of Roqueville at Toulouse around 1215; Toulouse 609, f. 43<sup>r</sup>. A Bertrand of Roqueville, squire, was among nobles listed taking oaths of loyalty to the king of France 8–9 October and 20–24 December 1271, *Saisimentum*, pp. 94 and 213. The involvement of several generations of the family in heresy is described by Duvernoy, *Registre de Bernard de Caux*, p. 22, n. 26. The brothers Raymond, Peter Pons and Bernard were named as involved with heretics around 1243 by the converted heretic William Carrier in his confessions of 1254–1255; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 36, 38, 40. Bertrand and Raymond took oaths of loyalty to Alphonse of Poitiers, December 1 1249; *Layettes du Trésor*, iii.88 no 3829.



de Montegalhardo, hæreticum, et quatuor vel quinque socios eius, qui, sicut credit, erant<sup>1</sup> hæretici, et uxorem dicti Petri de Bueuvilla, cuius nomen nescit, similiter condemnatam. Et ibi ipse testis fuit loquutus cum dicto Stephano Donati, hæretico,<sup>2</sup> petendo ab ipso hæretico ducentos<sup>3</sup> solidos<sup>4</sup> Tholosanos,<sup>5</sup> quos Bexs de Rocho Villa, avunculus ipsius testis, fugitivus, similiter condemnatus propter hæresim, decedens, legaverat patri ipsius testis. Sed non reddidit dictus hæreticus | prædictam pecuniam ipsi<sup>6</sup> testi,<sup>7</sup> quia ipse testis<sup>8</sup> noluit tunc eam recipere, sed reddidit ipsi testi<sup>9</sup> sigillum prædicti Bexs, et unum anulum aureum. Et hoc fuit tempore domini Urbani quarti, papæ, quando ipse testis ibat ad magistrum Michaellem, vicecancellarium<sup>10</sup> curiæ Romanæ. Et in regressu de curia Romana, transivit similiter per Placentiam, et vidit in eodem hospitio<sup>11</sup> dictum Stephanum Donati, hæreticum, et repetiit tunc ab eo prædictam pecuniam.<sup>12</sup> Et tunc respondit ipsi testi quod suus episcopus hæreticus audiverat quærimoniam de terra quam pater ipsius testis auferbat Petro Donati de Montegalhardo fratre<sup>13</sup> ipsius hæretici, et quia ecclesia hæreticorum intendebat<sup>14</sup> habere ius in dicta terra, ratione fratris ipsius Stephani, non erat voluntas ipsius episcopi quod ipse<sup>15</sup> Stephanus redderet ipsi testi prædictam pecuniam, | nisi pater ipsius testis quitaret prædictam terram.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* sunt crediderant.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* hæretici.

<sup>3</sup> -os *altered*.

<sup>4</sup> -os *probably altered*.

<sup>5</sup> -os *probably added*.

<sup>6</sup> -i *altered*.

<sup>7</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>8</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>9</sup> -s *deleted*.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* vice cancellarium.

<sup>11</sup> h- *added*.

<sup>12</sup> *superfluous* ab eo *follows*.

<sup>13</sup> *ms* fratribus.

<sup>14</sup> *first -t- written over deletion*.

<sup>15</sup> i- *written over deletion*.

<sup>10</sup> He is mentioned in many of Urban IV's bulls, between October 18 1263 and May 10 1264; *Les registres d'Urban IV* (1261–1264), ed. J. Guiraud, 4 vols (Paris, 1892–1958), earliest no. 893 (ii.432), latest no. 2417 (iii.417); see index-entry, iv.144.

<sup>11</sup> Peter (P[etrus]) Donat of Montgaillard, questioned July 13 1245, denied contact with or belief in heretics; Toulouse 609, f. 46r.

heresy, he saw Stephen Donat of Montgaillard,<sup>7</sup> heretic, and four or five companions of his, who, as he believes, were heretics, and the wife of the said Peter of Beauville, whose name he does not know, likewise condemned. And there the same witness spoke with the said Stephen Donat, heretic, asking the same heretic for two hundred Toulouse shillings, which Bec of Roqueville,<sup>8</sup> the same witness's uncle, a fugitive, likewise condemned for heresy, dying, had bequeathed to the same witness's father. But the said heretic did not hand over | the aforesaid money to the same witness, because the same witness refused to receive it at that time, but he did hand over to the same witness the seal of the aforesaid Bec, and a gold ring. And this was in the time of the lord Urban IV, pope,<sup>9</sup> when the same witness was going to master Michael, the vice-chancellor of the Roman Curia.<sup>10</sup> And in returning from the Roman Curia, he passed likewise through Piacenza, and saw in the same lodging the said Stephen Donat, heretic, and he then asked him again for the aforesaid money. And he then replied to the same witness that his heretical bishop had heard a complaint about land which the same witness's father had taken from Peter Donat of Montgaillard,<sup>11</sup> the same heretic's brother, and because the church of the heretics considered that it had a right in the said land, by reason of the same Stephen's younger brother's share, it was not the same bishop's will that the same Stephen should hand over the aforesaid money to the same witness, | unless the same witness's father relinquished the aforesaid land.

132<sup>r</sup>132<sup>v</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The Donat brothers were co-lords of Montgaillard. Stephen Donat, of Montgaillard, had been questioned by William Arnold at Toulouse, and was questioned twice by Bernard of Caux, July 1 and 7 1245. He admitted contacts with heretics going back to around 1220, when he had travelled to Lombardy to near *Milas* (Milan?) to bring some heretics back to Lasbordes; Toulouse 609, f. 43<sup>r-v</sup>, 46<sup>v</sup>. He appears frequently in depositions to Ferrier and in Toulouse 609; some references are gathered by Cazenave, 'Ms 124', 430 n. 1. Stephen appears in the confessions of the converted heretics William Carrier (Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 36) and Stephana of Château-Verdun, who confessed receiving and supporting the brothers Donat and Stephen Donat, knowing they were fugitives for heresy, at Château-Verdun (Cazenave, 'Ms 124', 429–430). See below, 312<sup>v</sup> n. 66.

<sup>8</sup> Bego of Roqueville (de Rocovila) of Montgaillard, questioned on the same day as his brother, Bertrand of Roqueville, admitted seeing heretics from around 1220. His mother Aicelina was seen with heretics around 1232–1233; Toulouse 609, f. 43<sup>r</sup>, 43<sup>v</sup>. He is to be distinguished from his uncle of the same name.

<sup>9</sup> Pope August 29 1261–October 2 1264.

Dixit etiam [quod] Guillelmus de Gomervilla de Montegalhardo, fugitivus propter hæresim et condemnatus, visitavit ipsum testem,<sup>1</sup> et Hugonem de Rivali, domicellum, tunc socium ipsius testis, in hospitio;<sup>2</sup> ad quem declinaverant et comedit ibi cum eis.

Item dixit quod visitavit eos ibi Guiraldus Unaudi de Lantar, miles, fugitivus et condemnatus propter hæresim, et fuit loquutus cum ipso teste, et commisit ipsi testi<sup>3</sup> quædam verba, dicenda uxori<sup>4</sup> suæ, dominæ Mirotæ, ex parte ipsius Guiraldi. Et ipse testis recepit ea, et concessit ei quod ea referret dictæ dominæ; verumtamen non retulit ea sibi. Verba quoque fuerunt ista: quod dictus Guiraldus rogavit ipsum testem<sup>5</sup> quod diceret ipsi dominæ quod si ipse esset in loco dictæ dominæ, et econtra  
 133<sup>r</sup> ipsa in loco dicti Guirau[di], [et] haberet tantum posse cum ecclesia quantum ipsa habebat, ipse Guiraldus curaret qualiter videret eam. Et erunt undecim anni, sicut credit, in Augusto proxime venienti.

Item dixit quod ipse testis habuit litteram de licentia a fratre Guillelmo Bernardi, repetendi prædictum legatum a quibuscumque personis, et specialiter a dicto Stephano Donati, hæretico, sed non habet modo illam litteram, quia reddidit eam prædicto fratri tunc inquisitori.

Item dixit quod hæc omnia fuit confessus ipse testis prædicto fratri Guillelmo de Monte Revelli, postea<sup>6</sup> inquisitori, et fuit absolutus et reconciliatus per fratrem Guillelmum Bernardi, tunc priorem domus

<sup>1</sup> -em added.

<sup>2</sup> h- added.

<sup>3</sup> deletion, perhaps -s.

<sup>4</sup> deletion, perhaps -s.

<sup>5</sup> ms teste.

<sup>6</sup> ms post ea.

<sup>15</sup> This is the first mention of brother William of Montreuil in this deposition. It is possible that the earlier reference to brother William Bernard is in fact to this man; alternatively, the word 'prædicto' may be an error by one of the scribes (thirteenth or seventeenth-century), or there may have been another deposition by this witness, now lost, that mentioned him. William of Montreuil was designated a visitor of convents (1254), and was twice prior of Périgueux, in the early 1250s and 1256–1258. Gui noted that he was an inquisitor of heretics, without further comment, and modern scholarship sees him as acting as inquisitor between about 1250 and 1268. *ACP*, p. 62; Douais, *Documents*, pp. cxxxi, clxvii n. 3; Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 194, 318. Gui noted that 'he died in the year of the Lord' (*hic obit anno Domini*), leaving the sentence unfinished; Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 92; 'Mort des Prieurs', no. 77, p. 174.

He also said that William of Gomerville of Montgaillard, a fugitive for heresy and condemned,<sup>12</sup> visited the same witness and Hugh of Rivals,<sup>13</sup> squire, then the same witness's companion, in the lodging; and they met with him and he ate there with them.

Item, he said that Gerald Unaud of Lanta, knight,<sup>14</sup> a fugitive and condemned for heresy, visited them there, and spoke with the same witness, and entrusted to the same witness certain words, to be said to his wife, lady Mirota, on behalf of the same Gerald. And the same witness received them, and told him that he would deliver them to the said lady; however, he did not deliver them to her. The words too were these: that the said Gerald asked the same witness to say to the same lady that if he were in the said lady's position, and she in turn was in the same Gerald's | 133<sup>r</sup> position, [and] he had as much power with the church as she had, the same Gerald would concern himself with how it saw her. And it will be eleven years ago, as he believes, next August.

Item, he said that the same witness had a letter of permission from brother William Bernard, to demand the return of the aforesaid legacy from all persons, and especially from the said Stephen Donat, heretic, but he does not now have that letter, because he returned it to the aforesaid brother, then inquisitor.

Item, he said that the same witness confessed all these things to the aforesaid brother William of Montreveil, later inquisitor,<sup>15</sup> and he was absolved and reconciled by brother William Bernard, then prior of the

<sup>12</sup> Questioned earlier by William Arnold and again by Bernard of Caux, December 19 1245, William of Gomerville (Willelmus de Gomervila) of Montgaillard admitted seeing heretics from around 1226, and adoring them, together with his parents Pons (Poncius) and Florentia, in 1233. Pons had been a heretic and was burnt at Castelnau-dary in 1243; Toulouse 609, f. 46<sup>v</sup>–47<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Vallègue, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; *Saisimentum*, p. 460. Hugh of Rivals was among the nobles of the *bailie* of Avignonet who took an oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 1271; *Saisimentum*, p. 99.

<sup>14</sup> The Unaud were one of the more powerful families of the Lantarès. Gerald's father, William Bernard Unaut, was a heretic and burnt at Toulouse, while both Gerald and his brother Jordan were defenders of Toulouse during its siege (1217–1218). Gerald had been seen by deponents questioned in 1245–1246 in the company of heretics in Lanta (around 1225), and Toulouse (around 1226, 1231) and elsewhere (1241). Around 1235 he was maintaining his father and his fellow heretics through his *bailli*, Bernard of Goudourville; Toulouse 609, f. 67<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup>, 73<sup>r</sup>, 200<sup>v</sup>, 210<sup>v</sup>. He took an oath of loyalty to Alphonse of Poitiers, December 1 1249; *Layettes du Trésor*, iii.87 no 3829.

133<sup>v</sup> Prædicatorum Tholosæ, de mandato fratris Guillelmi de Monte Revelli, inquisitoris, qui præsens erat, qui hoc commisit ipsi priori pro eo quia | ipse sciebat factum. Et prædicta absolutio et reconciliacio fuit facta in ipsa domo Prædicatorum.

Item dixit quod nuper quando ivit Bononiam cum licentia fratris Ramnulphi, inquisitoris, pro domino Guillelmo de Caceto, in eundo et redeundo fuit pransus ipse testis apud Mediolanum cum Pontio Papier de Avinione, fugitivo propter hæresim, et uxore sua; et recepit ab eis mutuum et encennia. Audiverat tamen dici, et sciverat per relationem hospitis<sup>1</sup> sui, quod fuerat confessus de hæresi et reconciliatus, et habuerat poenitentiam apud Mediolanum per inquisitorem.<sup>2</sup>

Interrogatus,<sup>3</sup> dixit se non posse probare licentiam, absolutionem, et reconciliationem quam habuit ab ipso fratre Guillelmo Bernardi.

134<sup>r</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum Ramnulpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus. Item dixit quod nunquam alibi vidit hæreticos, nec aliud commisit unquam in hæresi. Testes:<sup>4</sup> Iaquetus carcerarius, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>5</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Item, anno quo supra, duodecimo kalendas Junii,<sup>6</sup> prædictus Petrus Guillelmi, detentus in carcere, emendavit se, dicens se vidisse Bernardum Columbi et Hugonem Dominici, socium<sup>7</sup> eius, hæreticos, in domo paterna apud Montem Galhardum, in quodam solario ipsius domus: quos ipse testis vidit ibi per quoddam foramen suentes; sed tunc non fuit loquutus cum<sup>8</sup> dictis<sup>9</sup> hæreticis,<sup>10</sup> nec adoravit<sup>11</sup> eos. Et post duos dies Bego de Rocovila, avunculus ipsius testis, Stephanus Donati

<sup>1</sup> h- probably added.

<sup>2</sup> -em added.

<sup>3</sup> -tus added.

<sup>4</sup> -es added.

<sup>5</sup> -ionis written over deletion.

<sup>6</sup> ms Maii.

<sup>7</sup> ms socios.

<sup>8</sup> superscript.

<sup>9</sup> -s written over deletion.

<sup>10</sup> -s written over deletion.

<sup>11</sup> -vit written over deletion.

<sup>21</sup> Deposing to Ferrier January 26 1244, Peter Fogasset referred to 'Hugh Dominic, who is now a vested heretic at Montségur' (Hugo Dominicus, qui modo est hæreticus indutus apud Montem Securum); D23, f. 316<sup>r</sup>.

house of the Preachers at Toulouse, at the command of brother William of Montreuil inquisitor, who was present, who entrusted this to the same prior because | he knew the matter. And the aforesaid absolution and 133<sup>v</sup> reconciliation took place in the same house of the Preachers.

Item, he said that lately, when he went to Bologna<sup>16</sup> with the permission of brother Ranulph, inquisitor, for lord William of *Caceto*,<sup>17</sup> while going and coming back the same witness ate at Milan with Pons Papier of Avignonet, a fugitive for heresy, and his wife; and he received from them a loan and a gift. He had also heard it said, and had known from the account of his host, that he had confessed to heresy and been reconciled, and had had a penance at Milan from the inquisitor.<sup>18</sup>

Questioned, he said that he could not prove the permission, absolution and reconciliation which he had from the same brother William Bernard.

These things he attested at Toulouse before the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, | inquisitors. Item, 134<sup>r</sup> he said that nowhere else did he see heretics, nor did he ever commit any other act of heresy. Witnesses: Jacquet the gaoler, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

Item, in the same year as above, twelve days before the kalends of June,<sup>19</sup> the aforesaid Peter William, held in prison, corrected himself, saying that he had seen Bernard Colomb<sup>20</sup> and Hugh Dominic,<sup>21</sup> his companion, heretics, in his paternal home at Montgaillard, in a certain solar in the same house: and the same witness saw them there through a certain aperture, sewing; but he did not then speak with the said heretics, nor did he adore them. And two days later Bec of Roqueville, the same

<sup>16</sup> Emilia-Romagna, Italy.

<sup>17</sup> Not identified. See Casset, *DTF*. See dominus Guillelmus de Cassitis, defunct by 1293–1294, *Comptes royaux* i.471, no. 9800; Haute-Garonne, Les Cas-ses, comm. Cox, cant. Cadours (*Saisimentum*, p. 376).

<sup>18</sup> On Lombard inquisitors in this period, see M. Benedetti, *Inquisitori Lombardi del duecento*, Temi e Testi 66 (Rome, 2008).

<sup>19</sup> The text reads 'May' here: but if this is so, then the witness must have been kept in prison for a full year. A date of May 21 1274 seems more likely.

<sup>20</sup> A parishioner of Renneville, Peter Brun (P[etrus] Bruni), questioned July 1 1245, had seen Bernard (Ber[nardus]) Colom and others in the company of two heretics; Toulouse 609, f. 50<sup>v</sup>. At this date, around 1236, Colom was clearly not yet a heretic. Another member of the family in Renneville, Arnold of Brun (Arnaldus de Bruno), testified (December 1 1245) seeing four heretics, Colom, Peter Boer (Petrus Boerii) and their companions, in relation to the heretication of his late father, at a not specified date; Toulouse 609, f. 50<sup>v</sup>.

et Guillelmus<sup>1</sup> Donati, frater eius, et Aicelina, avia ipsius testis, duxerunt ipsum testem<sup>2</sup> ad videndum<sup>3</sup> prædictos hæreticos in prædictum solarium; et vidit ibi quatuor hæreticos,<sup>4</sup> scilicet prædictos duos, et credit quod Arnaldus Pradier, et quendam alium quem non recognovit. Et ibidem vidit omnes prædictos cum eisdem hæreticis;<sup>5</sup> et tam ipse testis quam omnes alii prædicti adorarunt<sup>6</sup> in adventu et recessu, ipso teste<sup>7</sup> vidente, prædictos hæreticos, et audiverunt verba eorum, et sederunt<sup>8</sup> ibidem per quendam moram cum eisdem hæreticis.<sup>9</sup> Et ipse testis fuit doctus adorare per dictum Stephanum Donati. De tempore: viginti quatuor anni sunt vel circa.

Item ipse testis et prædicti Stephanus Donati et Bego de Rocovila<sup>10</sup> visitaverunt Bernardum Columbi et tres alios socios eius, quorum nomina nescit, hæreticos, in quodam nemore prope Montem Galhardum, et ibi salutavit prædictos hæreticos. Et postea prædicti duo loqui fuerunt seorsum cum prædictis hæreticis, et in recessu adoraverunt prædictos hæreticos, ipso teste vidente: sed ipse testis non adoravit, quia tenebat ancipitrem dicti avunculi, et stabat seorsum cum canibus. De tempore: quod supra.

Item vidit Ugonem Dominici et socium<sup>11</sup> eius, hæreticos,<sup>12</sup> in borda domini Raymundi de Rocovila apud Cassum; et vidit ibi cum eisdem hæreticis<sup>13</sup> prædictos Begonem, Stephanum Donati, et Bernardum de Rocovila, filium domini Raymundi de Rocovila. Qui omnes, ipso teste<sup>14</sup> vidente, et ipse testis,<sup>15</sup> adorarunt<sup>16</sup> ibi prædictos hæreticos.

<sup>1</sup> G- altered from D-.

<sup>2</sup> -em added.

<sup>3</sup> -um perhaps added.

<sup>4</sup> -os perhaps added.

<sup>5</sup> -is added, perhaps over a deletion.

<sup>6</sup> -runt added, perhaps over a deletion.

<sup>7</sup> -e added.

<sup>8</sup> ms sedendo.

<sup>9</sup> -is added.

<sup>10</sup> superfluous prædicti here.

<sup>11</sup> -ium perhaps added.

<sup>12</sup> -os added.

<sup>13</sup> -is written over deletion.

<sup>14</sup> -e added.

<sup>15</sup> -is added.

<sup>16</sup> -runt added, perhaps over a deletion.

witness's uncle, Stephen Donat and William Donat, his brother, and Aicelina, the same witness's grandmother, took the same witness to see the aforesaid heretics in | the aforesaid solar; and he saw there four 134<sup>v</sup> heretics, that is, the aforesaid two, and he believes Arnold Pradier,<sup>22</sup> and a certain other whom he did not recognise. And there he saw all the aforesaid with the same heretics; and both the same witness and all the aforesaid others adored the aforesaid heretics on their arrival and departure, in the sight of the same witness, and they heard their words, and they sat there for some time with the same heretics. And the same witness was taught to adore by the said Stephen Donat. About the time: it was twenty-four years ago or thereabouts.

Item, the same witness and the aforesaid Stephen Donat and Bec of Roqueville visited Bernard Colomb and three other companions of his, whose names he does not know, heretics, in a certain wood near Montgaillard, and there he greeted the aforesaid heretics. And afterwards the aforesaid two spoke apart with the | aforesaid heretics, and on their 135<sup>r</sup> departure adored the aforesaid heretics, in the sight of the same witness: but the same witness did not adore, because he was holding his said uncle's hawk, and was standing apart with the dogs. About the time: as above.

Item, he saw Hugh Dominic and his companion, heretics, in the barn of lord Raymond of Roqueville at Les Cassés;<sup>23</sup> and he saw there with the same heretics the aforesaid Bec, Stephen Donat and Bernard of Roqueville, the son of lord Raymond of Roqueville. All of whom, in the sight of the same witness, and the same witness, adored the aforesaid heretics there.

<sup>22</sup> Deacon of Laurac 1235–1256; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 349; Guiraud, *Inquisition*, i.222. According to the former heretic Saurina [Rigaud] (confessing around 1254/5), while she was living at the house of Pons Rigaud in Fanjeaux around 1243/4, she often received pairs of heretics, including Arnold Pradier and Raymond Rigaud, who would stay for three days or so, being visited and adored by followers; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 266. See below, 193<sup>v</sup> n. 8, 319<sup>r</sup> n. 87 and 26<sup>v</sup> n. 39.

<sup>23</sup> Aude, comm. and cant Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 902.



Dixit etiam quod prædicti Bego, et Stephanus Donati, quos ipse testis sequebatur dum venirent ad dictam bordam, acceperunt quendam hominem cuius nomen nescit, quem prædicti duo duxerunt<sup>1</sup> ad<sup>2</sup> ipsum<sup>3</sup> testem<sup>4</sup> quod volebat ire in Lombardiam; qui homo,<sup>5</sup> ascendens super roncinum quem ipse testis equitabat, | duxerunt ipsum hominem, ipso teste equitante, in carraria cum prædicto Begone ad bordam prædictam; et ibi dimiserunt dictum hominem. Et ipse testis reduxit dictum roncinum ad Montem Galhardum.

Audivit etiam tunc dum erat in borda quod dominus Pontius de Sancta Fide, hæreticus, volebat recedere in Lombardiam: et nescit ipse testis si erat ille quem adduxerant cum roncino. De tempore: quod supra.

Alibi non vidit hæreticos, nec aliud scit de hæresi, nec unquam credidit hæreticos esse bonos homines. Et fuit coram fratre Guillelmo Bernardi apud Sanctum Romanum, in abiuratione<sup>6</sup> generali; et non recolit si iuravit ibi, sed credatur libro. Et recognoscit quod male fecit quia prædicta celavit scienter nuper coram nobis, contra proprium iuramentum.

Hæc deposuit<sup>7</sup> coram fratre Ramnulpho, inquisitore. Testes: fratres  
 136<sup>r</sup> Ordinis Prædicatorum Ramnulphus Guillelmi | et Arnaldus Gervasii, et magister Berengarius de Verneto, qui hæc scripsit.

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<sup>1</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>2</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> -um added.

<sup>4</sup> -em written over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> ms adeo; originally habeo.

<sup>6</sup> -atione added.

<sup>7</sup> -suit written over deletion.

He also said that the aforesaid Bec and Stephen Donat, whom the same witness followed while they were coming to the said barn, received a certain man whose name he does not know, whom the aforesaid two brought to the same witness, [saying] that he wanted to go into Lombardy; when this man had mounted the pony which the same witness was riding, | 135<sup>v</sup> they took the same man, with the same witness riding, on the road with the aforesaid Bec to the aforesaid barn; and there they left the said man. And the same witness took the said pony back to Montgaillard.

He also heard then while he was at the barn that lord Pons of Sainte-Foy, heretic, wished to go away into Lombardy; and the same witness does not know if it was him whom they had brought with the pony. About the time: as above.

Elsewhere he did not see heretics, nor does he know anything else about heresy, nor did he ever believe that the heretics were good men. And he appeared before brother William Bernard at Saint-Rome in the general abjuration; and he does not recall if he took an oath there, but the book should be trusted [on this matter]. And he acknowledges that he did wrong because he concealed the aforesaid knowingly lately before us, contrary to his own oath.

These things he attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph William | and Arnold 136<sup>r</sup> Gervase, and master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote these things.

*Deposition de Jean de Torrena qui dit avoir appris<sup>1</sup> d'un religieux de la Rode que lors de la maladie de Paderius, chevalier de Lempeut, il vit Guillaume Matfredi, son fils, acompagné de deux hommes vestus de noir, qui se cachèrent dans un bois: qu'il soubçonna estre heretiques, et que ledit Matfredi les conduisoit pour visiter son pere.*

12° kalendas Iunii 1274.

136<sup>v</sup> Anno Domini millesimo | ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, duodecimo kalendas Iunii, Iohannes de Torena, qui alio nomine vocatur Iohannes den Hug, qui consuevit stare prope grangiam de Laroda iuxta Empeutum, et nunc moratur apud Regalem Montem in diocesi Albiensi, adductus captus ut suspectus de hæresi, testis iuratus, dixit quod nunquam vidit nec adoravit hæreticos, nec audivit prædicationem<sup>2</sup> vel monitiones<sup>3</sup> eorum, nec hæreticationi alicuius personæ interfuit, nec eam aliter scivit, nec aliquam aliam participationem cum hæreticis habuit, nec eis vel eorum erroribus credidit, nec aliquid scit de hæresi vel Valdesia.<sup>4</sup>

Dixit tamen quod frater Petrus Guillelmi, sacerdos, monachus Ardorelli, qui tunc stabat in grangia de Laroda prædicta, dixit ipsi testi<sup>5</sup> in quodam prato tunc ipsius testis, quod tempore quo dominus Paderius, miles, 137<sup>r</sup> infirma|retur infirmitate qua obiit apud Empeutum, Guillelmus Matfredi, filius dicti Paderii, portans baculum in manu sua, et ducens secum

<sup>1</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> -icationem added.

<sup>3</sup> -iones added.

<sup>4</sup> V- written over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> deletion, perhaps -s.

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<sup>6</sup> Padier was denounced by Sicard Lunel in his confession of around 1254; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 492. Padiès, Tarn, comm. Lempaut, cant. Puylaurens, arrond. Castres. It is not clear whether he is the same as Raymond of Padiès [Raimundus de Padiers], who witnessed the deposition of Bartac, October 7 1242 (D24, f. 116<sup>v</sup>), and was among nobles from the *bailie* of Puylaurens who took an oath of loyalty to the king of France, December 21–24 1271 (*Saisimentum*, p. 217 no 324).

<sup>7</sup> William Matfred was among the nobles of the *bailie* of Puylaurens taking an oath to the king of France October 8–9 and December 20–24 1271; *Saisimentum*, pp. 97, 217. See 30<sup>v</sup> n. 22 above.

*The deposition of John of Torrena, who says that he learned from a monk of La Rode that during the illness of Padier, knight of Lempaut, he saw William Matfred, his son, accompanied by two men dressed in black, who hid in a wood: whom he suspected of being heretics, and that the said Matfred was taking them to visit his father.*

*12 days before the kalends of June 1274.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand | two hundred and seventy-four, <sup>136<sup>v</sup></sup>  
 twelve days before the kalends of June,<sup>1</sup> John of *Torena*,<sup>2</sup> who is also  
 called John den Hug, who used to live near the grange of La Rode<sup>3</sup> near  
 Lempaut, and now lives at Réalmont<sup>4</sup> in the diocese of Albi, brought out,  
 having been captured as a suspect of heresy, sworn in as a witness, said  
 that he never saw or adored heretics, nor did he hear their preaching  
 or admonitions, nor was he present at the heretication of any person,  
 nor did he know about it otherwise, nor did he have any other dealings  
 with heretics, nor did he believe them or their errors, nor does he know  
 anything about heresy or Waldensianism.

He said however that brother Peter William, priest, monk of Ardo-  
 rel,<sup>5</sup> who was then living at the aforesaid grange of La Rode, said to the  
 same witness, in a certain meadow then belonging to the same witness,  
 that at the time when lord Padier,<sup>6</sup> knight, was | sick at Lempaut with the <sup>137<sup>r</sup></sup>  
 illness of which he died, William Matfred,<sup>7</sup> the son of the said Padier,  
 carrying a stick in his hand and taking dogs with him, came out of

<sup>1</sup> May 21 1274.

<sup>2</sup> Not identified. Possibilities include Tourène, Tarn, comm. Labastide-Saint-Georges, cant. Lavaur, arrond. Castres, and Tourrene, Haute-Garonne, comm. Larroque, cant. Boulone-sur-Gesse, arrond. Saint-Gaudens; *DTF*.

<sup>3</sup> A dependence of the Cistercian monastery of Ardorel, 2 km to the E of Lempaut, Mentioned, *HGL*, iv.616, 799.

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Albi; *DTF*.

<sup>5</sup> Cistercian monastery founded in 1114, located by Payrin-Augmontel, Tarn, cant. Mazamet Nord-Est, arrond. Castres; Wildhaber, 'Catalogue', pp. 24–25; see *CaF* 21 (1986), index-entry, p. 382; *DHGE*, iii.1617–1621.

canes, exivit de nemore dicto Sormorta fingens se venari, et ivit versus Empeutum, et sequebantur eum a longe<sup>1</sup> duo homines vestiti de sarlato, scilicet panno nigro, qui homines videntes dictum monachum qui erat in condamina, in retro grangiae, retrocesserunt, et exiverunt nemus longe a dicto monacho, ad quatuor contorns sequentes dictum Guillelmum. Ipse tamen monachus non cognovit dictos<sup>2</sup> homines, sed suspicatus est vehementer, ut dixit ipsi testi, quod essent hæretici qui irent et ducerentur per dictum Guillelmum ad dictum Paderium infirmum. De tempore: dixit quod in Quadragesima proximo præterita fuerunt circiter quinque anni.

137<sup>v</sup> Hæc deposuit<sup>3</sup> coram fratre Ramnulpho, | inquisitore.

Item dixit quod Estampas, capellanus de Frontonge et de Sancto Germano, ipso teste audiente, dixit Heliæ Coasulilpinas, monacho Ardorelli, qui tunc erat grangerius de Laroda, quod Chaus, generosus de Frontorgue, qui se donavit monasterio Ardorelli et fuit ibi sepultus post illam donationem, dum adhuc<sup>4</sup> viveret fuit hæreticatus, sicut idem capellanus bene invenerat; et hæreticatus, fuerat mortuus et sepultus apud Ardorellum. Et erant præsentibus istis verbis quidam fossores logaderii, de quorum nominibus non recolit, qui fodebant in vinea de Laroda, ubi fuerunt verba prædicta. De tempore auditis: decem anni sunt vel circa.

Hæc deposuit<sup>5</sup> coram fratre Ramnulpho, inquisitore. Testes: frater Ramnulphus Guillelmi, Guillelmus de Concoetz, procurator hæresis, 138<sup>r</sup> Constantinus de Stella, et ma|gister Berengarius de Verneto, qui hæc scripsit.

Item, decimo kalendas Iunii, prædictus Iohannes addidit quod illa die qua præfatus frater Petrus Guillelmi, monachus, narravit ipsi testi prædicta verba, ut superius in illa depositione continetur, in mane illius diei,

<sup>1</sup> *ms* allonge.

<sup>2</sup> -o- altered, perhaps from -u-.

<sup>3</sup> -suit written over deletion.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* ad huc.

<sup>5</sup> -suit written over deletion.

<sup>13</sup> See below, 53<sup>v</sup>, for a nobleman with a similar surname, Poncius Caus of Albi.

<sup>14</sup> May 23 [1274].

the wood called 'Sormorta',<sup>8</sup> pretending that he was hunting, and went towards Lempaut, and there followed him at a distance two men dressed in 'sarlat', that is in black cloth; and these men, seeing the said monk, who was in the demesne land at the back of the grange, went back, and came out of the wood a long way from the said monk, following the said William at a distance of four 'contorns'.<sup>9</sup> Although the same monk did not know the said men, nevertheless he strongly suspected, as he said to the same witness, that they were heretics who were going, and were being brought by the said William, to the said sick Padier. About the time: he said that it was about five years before last Lent.

These things he attested before brother Ranulph, | inquisitor.

137<sup>v</sup>

Item,<sup>10</sup> he said that Estampas, chaplain of *Frontorge*<sup>11</sup> and of Saint-Germain,<sup>12</sup> in the same witness's hearing, said to Elias Coasulipinas, monk of Ardorel, who at the time was granger of La Rode, that Chaus,<sup>13</sup> a nobleman of *Frontorge*, who offered himself to the monastery of Ardorel, and was buried there after that oblation, was hereticated while he was still alive, as the same chaplain had clearly found; and hereticated, he had died and been buried at Ardorel. And present at these words were certain hired diggers, whose names he does not recall, who were digging in the vineyard of La Rode, where the aforesaid words were spoken. About the time when he heard this: it was ten years ago or thereabouts.

These things he attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Ranulph William, William of Concots, procurator of heresy, Constantine of L'Estelle, and | master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote 138<sup>r</sup> these things.

Item, ten days before the kalends of June,<sup>14</sup> the aforesaid John added that on the same day on which the aforementioned brother Peter William, monk, recounted the aforesaid words to the same witness, as is contained

<sup>8</sup> Not identified.

<sup>9</sup> Agrarian measure of length; E. Levy, *Petit dictionnaire provençale-français*, 4th ed. (Heidelberg, 1966), p. 93.

<sup>10</sup> [May 21 1274.] An addendum to the previous deposition.

<sup>11</sup> Not identified. See 30<sup>v</sup> n. 19 above.

<sup>12</sup> Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Tarn, cant. Puylaurens, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1036.

dum ipse testis esset in capite prati prope pontem de Melrie, venerunt Raymundus Carbonelli, cruce signatus pro hæresi, et Bernardus Molinerii, qui morabantur cum domino Paderio, adducentes secum duos homines quos ipse testis non cognovit, deversus<sup>1</sup> Empeuti,<sup>2</sup> et ipse *Raymundus* Carbonelli intravit nemus de Sormorta cum prædictis hominibus, et idem *Bernardus* Molinerii tenebat viam quæ se tenet cum dicto nemore. Et incontinenti venit post eos Guillelmus Matfredi, miles,<sup>3</sup> filius dicti  
 138<sup>v</sup> Paderii, eques<sup>4</sup> sequens eos, et intravit | nemus cum dicto Carbonello et hominibus prædictis. Et mandavit dicto Carbonello, ipso teste<sup>5</sup> audiente, quod diceret dicto Molinerio quod iret ad molendinum, et moleret; quid enim facit hic ...<sup>6</sup> ille; quod fecit dictus Carbonellus. Unde statim dictus Molinerius tenuit viam suam ad molendinum, dicto Guillelmo Matfredi et Carbonello remanentibus in nemore cum prædictis hominibus.

Dixit etiam, interrogatus, se firmiter credere quod dicti homines essent hæretici qui venirent de Paderio, milite, qui tunc iacebat infirmus infirmitate qua obiit: et hoc credit, et tunc credidit, quia quam cito potuit dictus Carbonellus occultavit se in nemore cum illis hominibus, et displicuit sibi quia obviaverat ipsi testi.

Hæc deposuit<sup>7</sup> coram fratre Ramnulpho, inquisitore. Testes: fratres<sup>8</sup>  
 139<sup>r</sup> Ramnulphus Guillelmi | et Arnaldus Gervasii de Ordine Prædicatorum, Constantinus de Stella, et magister Berengarius de Verneto, qui hæc scripsit.

Postmodum, anno quo supra, idus Iunii, addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod in crastinum diei<sup>9</sup> illius, qua viderat Raymundum Carbonelli et Guillelmum Matfredi prædictos intrantes dictum nemus cum dictis hæreticis, et ivit ad molendinum apud Lescout,<sup>10</sup> et ibi invenit dictum Bernardum Molinerii, molendinarium dicti Paderii eiusdem molendini, et narravit ei prædicta omnia, scilicet qualiter viderat dictum Raymundum

<sup>1</sup> *originally* de versus.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* Empeutum.

<sup>3</sup> dicti *deleted*.

<sup>4</sup> *written* e qu es.

<sup>5</sup> -e *perhaps added*.

<sup>6</sup> *These three dots appear in the manuscript, and would perhaps indicate a passage in the original which the seventeenth-century copyist could not read.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms* de posuit; posuit *written over deletion*.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* frater.

<sup>9</sup> *first -i- added*.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* Sescout.

above in that deposition, in the morning of that day, when the same witness was at the top of the meadow near the bridge of *Melrie*,<sup>15</sup> there came Raymond Carbonel, marked with the cross for heresy, and Bernard Molinier, who [both] lived with lord Padier, bringing with them two men whom the same witness did not know, towards Lempaut, and the same Raymond Carbonel entered the wood of 'Sormorta' with the aforesaid men, and the same Bernard Molinier kept to the road which borders the said wood. And immediately behind them came William Matfred, knight, the son of the said Padier, on horseback, following them, and he entered | the wood with the said Carbonel and the aforesaid men. And 138<sup>v</sup> he ordered the said Carbonel, in the same witness's hearing, to tell the said Molinier to go to the mill and mill; for what he does here<sup>16</sup> ... he; which the said Carbonel did. Whereupon the said Molinier immediately went his way to the mill, while the said William Matfred and Carbonel remained in the wood with the aforesaid men.

He also said, questioned, that he firmly believes that the said men were heretics who came from Padier, knight, who was then lying ill with the illness of which he died: and he believes this, and then believed it, because as soon as he could the said Carbonel hid himself in the wood with those men, and it displeased him that he had met the same witness.

These things he attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: brothers Ranulph William | and Arnold Gervase of the Order of Preachers, Constantine of L'Estelle, and master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote these things. 139<sup>r</sup>

Afterwards, in the same year as above, on the ides of June,<sup>17</sup> he added to his confession, saying that on the morrow of that day, on which he had seen the aforesaid Raymond Carbonel and William Matfred entering the said wood with the said heretics, he also went to the mill at *Sescout*,<sup>18</sup> and there he found the said Bernard Molinier, the said Padier's miller of the same mill, and he recounted to him all the aforesaid, that is, how he had

<sup>15</sup> Not identified. There are several places in Languedoc called Malrieu; *DTF*.

<sup>16</sup> The gap in the text makes the translation problematic: it could equally well read 'for what this ... does' or 'for what this man does'.

<sup>17</sup> June 13 [1274].

<sup>18</sup> Probably mistake for Lescout, Tarn, cant. Puylaurens, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.



Carbonelli et dictum Guillelmum Matfredi, militem, ut supradictum est, intrantes prædictum nemus, et alia quæ audiverat a fratre Guillelmo, monacho superius memorato, et dictus *Bernardus* respondit ipsi testi:  
 139<sup>v</sup> ‘Bene scimus hoc malaventura lor ven|dria,<sup>1</sup> vel propter hoc vel propter aliud.’

Et fuit coram inquisitoribus quorum nomina nescit apud Podium Laurentium, coram quibus abiuravit hæresim in generali abiuratione. Et postmodum vidit prædicta, et recognovit quod malefecit quia prædicta non revelavit statim prædicto inquisitori;<sup>2</sup> sed hoc obmisit timore dicti Guillelmi Matfredi, militis.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore. Testes: frater Elias, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, Sicardus Lunelli, et Constantinus, et magister *Bernardus* Boneti, notarius,<sup>3</sup> et *Petrus*, capellanus Druliæ,<sup>4</sup> qui hanc ultimam additionem scripsit. Et iuravit<sup>5</sup> et abiuravit,<sup>6</sup> et fuit reconciliatus, et obligavit omnia bona sua.

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<sup>1</sup> *ms* lorvendia.

<sup>2</sup> -i *perhaps added*.

<sup>3</sup> -ius *perhaps added*.

<sup>4</sup> -æ *perhaps altered*.

<sup>5</sup> -avit *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -avit *added*.

seen the said Raymond Carbonel and the said William Matfred, knight, as has been said above, entering the aforesaid wood, and the other things which he had heard from brother William, monk, mentioned above, and the said Bernard replied to the same witness: 'We know well that this misfortune would come to | them, either on account of this or on account 139<sup>v</sup> of something else.'

And he has appeared before inquisitors whose names he does not know at Puylaurens, before whom he abjured heresy in the general abjuration.<sup>19</sup> And afterwards he saw the aforesaid, and acknowledged that he had done wrong because he did not immediately reveal the aforesaid to the aforesaid inquisitor; but he omitted to do this for fear of the said William Matfred, knight.

These things he attested before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Elias,<sup>20</sup> of the Order of Brothers Preacher, Sicard Lunel, and Constantine, and master Bernard Bonet, notary, and Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, who wrote this last addition. And he took an oath and abjured, and was reconciled, and pledged all his goods.

<sup>19</sup> See above, 87<sup>r</sup> n. 14.

<sup>20</sup> A very common name; twenty-four are listed in the index to *ACP*, p. 737.

- 140<sup>r</sup> *Deposition de Raymond Baussan | de la Garde, de Laurac, qui se presenta aux inquisiteurs, estant de retour de Lombardie, ou il s'estoit refugié du temps que les heretiques furent prins a la Garde; et declara qu'il avoit trouvé dans Plaisance plusieurs heretiques fugitifs, et entre autres Estiene Donati de Montgaillard, Raymond Boneti de Podio Buscano; que dans une forteresse apelee Lagarde Lombart dans l'Apouille, il vit l'eveque des heretiques*
- 140<sup>v</sup> *de Tholouse, Guiraud Unaudi, chevalier, Mathieu de | Cerveria, chevalier; d'où ils se retirerent du mandement de Matfredus Prince d'Apouille, qui avoit receu des lettres des inquisiteurs, et du roy d'Aragon pour les prendre, et s'en retournerent en Lombardie.*

9° kalendas Iunii audit an.

- Anno quo supra, nono kalendas Iunii, Raymundus Baussani de Garda, Lauriacensis, diocesis Tholosanensis, sponte reversus de Lombardia et se inquisitoribus representans, testis iuratus et requisitus ut supra, dixit
- 141<sup>r</sup> *quod olim ipse testis recessit de Garda, | diocesis supradictæ, et ivit in Lombardiam sequens Petrum Iohannis de Garda, postea<sup>1</sup> defunctum, cui ipse testis comendaverat viginti libras<sup>2</sup> Turonenses,<sup>3</sup> et fugerat idem Petrus Iohannis in Lombardiam propter hæresim, tempore quo hæretici fuerunt capti apud Gardam. Et invenit ipse testis apud Placentiam, civitatem Lombardiæ, Guillelmum Iohannis, qui fuit de Garda, Raymundum Boneti qui fuit de Podio Buscano, et Raymundum Iohannis de Sancto Martino de Landa, hæreticos, in quadam domo quam tenebant conductam in<sup>4</sup> dicta civitate, in quadam carreria quæ vocatur Strata Levata. Et invenit ibi cum dictis hæreticis prædictum Petrum Iohannis, filium dicti Guillelmi Iohannis, hæretici. Et ibi ipse testis repetiit dictam peccuniam*

<sup>1</sup> *ms* post ea.

<sup>2</sup> -as added.

<sup>3</sup> -es added.

<sup>4</sup> added in margin.

<sup>4</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Castanet-Tolosan, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1009.

<sup>5</sup> Currently via Taverna, it was once called Strada Levata because it was markedly higher than nearby streets.

*The deposition of Raymond Baussan | of Lagarde, of Laurac, who presented himself to the inquisitors, having returned from Lombardy, where he had taken refuge since the time when the heretics were seized at Lagarde; and he stated that he had found in Piacenza several fugitive heretics, and among others Stephen Donat of Montgaillard, Raymond Bonet of Pechbusque; and that in a stronghold called Guardia Lombardi in Apulia he saw the bishop of the heretics of Toulouse, Gerald Unaud, knight, and Matthew of Cervera, knight; from where they withdrew at the command of Manfred Prince of Apulia, who had received letters from the inquisitors and from the King of Aragon, to seize them, and they returned from there into Lombardy.*

*9 days before the kalends of June in the said year.*

In the same year as above, nine days before the kalends of June,<sup>1</sup> Raymond Baussan of Lagarde<sup>2</sup> in the Lauragais<sup>3</sup> in the diocese of Toulouse, having returned spontaneously from Lombardy and presenting himself to the inquisitors, sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that once, the same witness left Lagarde, | in the aforesaid diocese, and went into Lombardy, following Peter John of Lagarde, later deceased, to whom the same witness had entrusted twenty pounds Tournois; and the same Peter John had fled into Lombardy for heresy, at the time when the heretics were captured at Lagarde. And the same witness found at Piacenza, a city of Lombardy, William John, who was from Lagarde, Raymond Bonet who was from Pechbusque,<sup>4</sup> and Raymond John from Saint-Martin-Lalande, heretics, in a certain house which they were renting in the said city, in a certain street which was called 'Raised Street'.<sup>5</sup> And he found there with the said heretics the aforesaid Peter John, the son of the said William John, heretic. And there the same witness

<sup>1</sup> May 24 [1274].

<sup>2</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; *Saisimentum*, p. 417.

<sup>3</sup> Large area stretching ESE of Toulouse towards the Montagne Noire and Carcassonne, and taking its name from Laurac, Aude, cant. Fanjeaux, arrond. Carcassonne.

a dicto Petro Iohannis, cuius pater, hæreticus prædictus, respondit ipsi  
 141<sup>v</sup> testi quod non concedebat, | sed solveret quando posset.

Interrogatus,<sup>1</sup> ipse testis dixit quod ipse non adoravit ibi tunc prædic-  
 tos hæreticos, nec aliud fecit ibi cum eis.

Item dixit quod in alia domo quam tenebat conductam in eadem  
 civitate Stephanus Donati, hæreticus, qui fuit de Monte Galhardo, vidit  
 ipsum Stephanum Donati et Iohannes del Azeraul de Monte Esquivo,  
 socium eius, similiter hæreticum; et vidit ibi cum eis Petrum de Bouvilla  
 et Guillelmam, uxorem eius, qui fuerunt de Avinione, diocesis Tholosa-  
 nensis, cum quibus ipse testis semel comedit, invitatus a dicto Stephano  
 Donati, hæretico.

Dixit tamen interrogatus<sup>2</sup> quod ipse testis non adoravit ibi dictos  
 hæreticos quod recolat, nec alii, ipso teste vidente: comederunt tamen  
 ad eandem mensam cum dictis hæreticis ipse testis et dicti Petrus de  
 142<sup>r</sup> Bouvilla, et Guillelma, | uxor eius. Et fuit ipse testis in dicta civitate per  
 octo dies vel circa, in domo Petri Pictavini, qui fuit de Tholosa.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> utrum in ipsa domo vidit aliquos hæreticos, dixit quod  
 non.

Requisitus<sup>4</sup> de tempore, dixit quod sunt decem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod de Placencia recedens, ivit in Apuliam cum Raymundo  
 Iohannis et Petro Iohannis supradictis,<sup>5</sup> et Guillelmo Terreni qui fuit  
 de Rocavidal, diocesis Tholosanensis. Et fuit ibi ipse testis<sup>6</sup> in quadam  
 bastida quæ vocabatur La Garda Lombart, de Carniprivo usque ad  
 sequentem mensem Augusti. Et ibi stetit ipse testis<sup>7</sup> per octo dies in  
 domo Pontii Boerii, qui fuit de Sancto Romano, diocesis Tholosanensis,  
 et Raymundi de Andorra, hæreticorum. Et ibi multotiens ipse testis,  
 142<sup>v</sup> inductus et instructus a dicto Pontio | Boerii, hæretico, adoravit ipsos  
 hæreticos, ter flexis genibus, dicendo 'Benedicite' etcetera; et multotiens  
 audivit ibi verba et monitiones eorum, et multotiens comedit ibi cum eis,

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> -tus added.

<sup>3</sup> -tus added.

<sup>4</sup> -situs added.

<sup>5</sup> -is probably added.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>7</sup> -is added.

requested the return of the said money from the said Peter John, whose father, the aforesaid heretic, answered the same witness that he did not allow it, | but would pay as soon as he could.

141<sup>v</sup>

Questioned, the same witness said that he did not adore the aforesaid heretics there at that time, nor did he do anything else there with them.

Item, he said that in another house which Stephen Donat, heretic, who was from Montgaillard, was renting in the same city, he saw the same Stephen Donat and John of Lauzeral of Montesquieu, his companion, likewise a heretic; and he saw there with them Peter of Beauville and Guillelma, his wife, who were from Avignonet, in the diocese of Toulouse, with whom the same witness ate once, invited by the said Stephen Donat, heretic.

He said however, questioned, that the same witness did not adore the said heretics there that he recalls, nor did any others, in the sight of the same witness: however, the same witness and the said Peter of Beauville and Guillelma, his wife, ate at the same table with the said heretics. | And the same witness was in the said city for eight days or thereabouts, in the house of Peter Pictavin, who was from Toulouse.<sup>6</sup>

142<sup>r</sup>

Asked whether he saw any heretics in that house, he said no.

Asked about the time, he said that it was ten years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that, leaving Piacenza, he went into Apulia with the above mentioned Raymond John and Peter John, and with William Terren who was from Roquevidal, in the diocese of Toulouse. And there the same witness was in a certain *bastide*, which was called Guardia Lombardi,<sup>7</sup> from Lent until the following August. And there the same witness stayed for eight days in the house of Pons Boer, who was from Saint-Rome, in the diocese of Toulouse, and of Raymond of Andorra,<sup>8</sup> heretics. And there the same witness, encouraged and instructed by the said Pons | Boer, heretic, often adored the same heretics, genuflecting three times, saying 'Bless me' etc; and he often heard there their words and admonitions, and

142<sup>v</sup>

<sup>6</sup> A Peter Pictavin (Pictavinus) was among the men of Toulouse who swore to uphold the peace of Meaux-Paris, February 1243 (Mundy, *Society*, p. 382), and a Pictavin (Pictavinus) was among the citizens of Toulouse whose goods had been confiscated for heresy who were granted an amnesty in August 1279 (Mundy, *Royal Diploma*, p. 84 no. 34). See 197<sup>r</sup> n. 8 below.

<sup>7</sup> Town in the province of Avellino, Campania.

<sup>8</sup> Probably the region of Andorra between the eastern Pyrenees and Spain ruled usually by the counts of Foix and bishops of Urgell. Note that *DTF* lists some places called Andorre in the Ariège, and also Andorra in the Pyrénées-Orientales, comm. Formiguères, cant. Mont-Louis, arrond. Prades.

et de pane benedicto ab eis, dicendo ‘Benedicite’ in quolibet genere cibi et potus noviter sumpto.

Item dixit quod vidit in dicta bastida Viventem<sup>1</sup> hæreticorum<sup>2</sup> episcopum Tholosæ, qui invitavit ibi ipsum testem<sup>3</sup> et prædictos Guillelmum Terreni et Raymundum Iohannis et *Petrum* Iohannis, et alios quam plures, videlicet Guiraldum Unaudi, militem, et Mathæum de Cerveria, militem, et alios de quibus non recolit, et quos non novit; qui omnes, et ipse testis, comederunt ibi cum dicto episcopo hæreticorum, et post comestionem audierunt prædicationem ipsius. De tempore: ut supra.

143<sup>r</sup> Post hæc vero, emanavit mandatum a Mat|fredo, tunc principe Apuliæ, quod omnes hæretici recederent de dicta bastida. Venerant enim tunc ad dictum Matfredum Sicardus Lunelli, Pestlhacus et Petrus Bertrandi, cum litteris inquisitoris<sup>4</sup> et regis Aragonum, ad capiendos hæreticos:<sup>5</sup> et propter hoc omnes, *tam* hæretici quam eorum credentes qui erant ibi, recesserunt de dicta bastida. Et tunc ipse testis, et cum eo Stephanus Novelli de Sancto Paulo de Corpore Sancto, qui similiter venerant ad dictam bastidam, redierunt in Lombardiam. Et ipsis Stephano et Bernardo remanentibus apud Montem Cogosso, ipse testis venit in Alexandriam, et stetit ibi ipse testis septem annis vel circa, non in certis<sup>6</sup> hospitiiis, sed per tabernas, et ubi melius inveniebat. Et ibi non vidit aliquem hæreticum vestitum, sed audivit dici quod erant ibi aliqui—et speciali-  
143<sup>v</sup> ter audivit hoc dici de Petro | Gasc de Savartesio et Raymundo de Aspa de Vauro. Sed vidit ibi morantes multos credentes hæreticorum, videlicet Aymericum Sirverit et Petronam uxorem eius, qui fuerunt de Fanoiovis,

<sup>1</sup> *ms* viventer.

<sup>2</sup> *-orum added, -o- over deletion.*

<sup>3</sup> *-em probably added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-is perhaps added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-os added.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms* incertis.

<sup>13</sup> A name has been omitted here: the verb is plural, and a ‘Bernard’ is mentioned below. Saint-Paulet: Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1045.

<sup>14</sup> This Bernard is referred to here as if he has already been mentioned, and at 144<sup>v</sup> Bernard Oliba is referred to as ‘aforesaid’. It is likely that they are one Bernard, and that the Doat scribe missed an earlier reference to Bernard Oliba.

<sup>15</sup> Not identified.

<sup>16</sup> Area of the river Sabart in the Ariège *département*.

often ate there with them, and of bread blessed by them, saying 'Bless me' at each type of food and drink newly tasted.

Item, he said that he saw in the said *bastide*, Vivent, the bishop of the heretics of Toulouse,<sup>9</sup> who invited the same witness and the aforesaid William Terren and Raymond John and Peter John there, and very many others, namely Gerald Unaud, knight, and Matthew of Cervera,<sup>10</sup> knight, and others whom he does not recall and whom he did not know; all of whom, and the same witness, ate there with the said bishop of the heretics, and after eating heard his preaching. About the time: as above.

After this indeed, there came a command from Manfred, | then Prince 143<sup>r</sup>  
of Apulia,<sup>11</sup> that all heretics were to leave the said *bastide*. For there had come then to the said Manfred Sicard Lunel, Pestilhac and Peter Bertrand, with letters from the inquisitor and from the King of the Aragonese,<sup>12</sup> to capture heretics: and on account of this all, both the heretics and their believers who were there, left the said *bastide*. And then the same witness, and with him Stephen Novel of Saint-Paulet,<sup>13</sup> who had likewise come to the said *bastide*, returned to Lombardy. And while the same Stephen and Bernard<sup>14</sup> remained at Mount Cogosso,<sup>15</sup> the same witness came into Alessandria, and the same witness stayed there for seven years or thereabouts, not in specific lodgings, but in taverns, and wherever he found best. And there he did not see any robed heretic, but he heard it said that there were some there—and he especially heard this said of Peter | Gasc of the Sabarthès<sup>16</sup> and of Raymond 143<sup>v</sup>  
of Aspa of Lavaur. But he saw living there many believers of heretics, namely Aimery Sirverit and Petrona his wife, who were from Fanjeaux,

<sup>9</sup> Bishop c. 1250–1270 according to Borst, *Katharer*, p. 233, (1253)–1264 according to Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 349; see 300<sup>v</sup> below. In his *Tractatus*, Anselm of Alessandria named a Viventius of Verona who was bishop of the heretics of *Francia* (northern France); A. Dondaine, 'La hiérarchie cathare en Italie II: Le tractatus de hereticis d'Anselme d'Alexandrie O.P.', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 19 (1949), 310. Borst argues against the identity of this Viventius with Viventius, bishop of the heretics of Toulouse, pointing out that Anselm distinguished between men from northern France (*illi de Francia*) and southern France (*provinciales*); *Katharer*, p. 233 n. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Capital of Segarra, province of Lleida, Catalonia, Spain.

<sup>11</sup> Illegitimate son of the emperor Frederick II, regent for the kingdom of Sicily after the death of his brother Conradin in May 1254, crowned king August 1258, he was killed at the battle of Benevento, February 1266.

<sup>12</sup> James I the Conqueror (1213–1276)



Guillelmum Sedacerii, et Guiraldum, et Iohannem den Arnauda, in ponerium, et Thomasiam uxorem eius, de Lauraco, Petrum Massa de Monte Aurioli, textorem, Bernardum Prim de Casali, de Podio prope Gardam, textorem, Arnaldum Lombardi, feneratorem, et Sebiliam uxorem eius, et Gualhardam sororem dictæ Sebilix, textricem de Savartesio, Guillelmum de Parelha, fossorem, Ermengardam uxorem eius, textricem de Ravato, Guillelmum Corona et Petrum filium eius, Guillelmam uxorem dicti *Guillelmi* Corona de Ravato, Iohannem Guarrigua Rodesio, Bernardum Monerii, fratrem *Petri* de Lassus quondam hæretici, postea con-

144<sup>r</sup> versi, | Raymundum Isarni de Sancto Martino de Landa, fossorem, Guillelmum Ferrandi de Lauraguesio, feneratorem: omnes istos de partibus Tholosanis, fugitivos propter hæresim, sicut ipse testis<sup>1</sup> credit.

Item dixit quod fuit ipse testis<sup>2</sup> in civitate Papiense per tres menses, et stetit in hospitio<sup>3</sup> Petri de Bouvilla supradicti. Et ibi ad instantiam Pontii Boerii, hæretici, fecit ipse testis abstinentiam quam hæretici faciunt ieiunando, et abstinendo ab esu carnum et ovorum et caseorum. Et associavit dictum hæreticum commorando cum eo, et multotiens adoravit<sup>4</sup> eum, multotiens audivit verba et monitiones ipsius, et multotiens comedit cum eo ad eandem mensam, et de pane benedicto ab eo. Sed nunquam ipse testis<sup>5</sup> habuit manuum impositionem, nec fuit hæreticus vestitus.

144<sup>v</sup> Dixit etiam ipse testis<sup>6</sup> quod vidit com|morantes in civitate Papiense dictum *Petrum* de Boeu Vila, et cum eo Raymundum Paperii.

Item vidit morantes in ipsa civitate Petrum Oliba et Bertrandum Oliba, fratres supradicti *Bernardi* Oliba hæretici, et Raymundam uxorem dicti *Petri* Oliba, quæ fuit de Fanoiovis, Guillelmum Belissen, Raymundum filium eius, de Fanoiovis, Petrum Escola, *Bernardum* filium eius, de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, Petrum de Paholhaco, militem, scriptorem,

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> -is added.

<sup>3</sup> h- added.

<sup>4</sup> -it added.

<sup>5</sup> -is added.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>23</sup> Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 87, adds to names from the Ariège by reading Lassus as Lassur.

<sup>24</sup> Bishop of the heretics of Toulouse, mentioned 1271 and 1273 (Borst, *Die Katharer*, p. 233), (1264)-78 (Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 349).

<sup>25</sup> See his deposition below, 243<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Montastruc-la-Conseillère, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réalx, p. 1002. See *Saisimentum*, p. 190 n. 3, on the lordship of Paulhac.

William Sedacer, and Gerald, and John de Na Arnauda *inponerius*,<sup>17</sup> and Thomasia, his wife, from Laurac, Peter Massa from Montauriol,<sup>18</sup> weaver, Bernard Prim of *Casal[s]*,<sup>19</sup> from Puy near Lagarde, weaver, Arnold Lombard, money-lender, and Sybil his wife, and Galharda, the sister of the said Sybil, a weaver from the Sabarthès, William of Péreille,<sup>20</sup> digger, Ermengardis his wife, a weaver from Rabat,<sup>21</sup> William Corona and Peter his son, Guillelma the wife of the said William Corona of Rabat, John Garrigue from Rodès,<sup>22</sup> Bernard Monier, the brother of Peter of Lassus<sup>23</sup> formerly a heretic, later converted, | Raymond Isarn of Saint-Martin- 144<sup>r</sup>  
Lalande, digger, William Ferrand of the Lauragais, money-lender: all these from the Toulouse region, fugitives for heresy, as the same witness believes.

Item he said that the same witness was in the city of Pavia for three months, and he stayed in the lodging of the aforesaid Peter of Beauville. And there, at the request of Pons Boer, heretic, the same witness underwent the abstinence which the heretics undergo in fasting, and abstaining from the eating of flesh and eggs and cheeses. And he accompanied the said heretic, living with him, and he often adored him, often heard his words and admonitions, and often ate with him at the same table, and of bread blessed by him. But the same witness never had the laying on of hands, nor was he a robed heretic.

The same witness also said that he saw living | in the city of Pavia the 144<sup>v</sup>  
said Peter of Beauville, and with him Raymond Papier.

Item, he saw staying in the same city Peter Oliba and Bertrand Oliba, brothers of the aforesaid Bernard Oliba, heretic,<sup>24</sup> and Raymonda the wife of the said Peter Oliba, who was from Fanjeaux, William Belissen, Raymond his son, from Fanjeaux, Peter Escola, Bernard his son,<sup>25</sup> from Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, Peter of Paulhac,<sup>26</sup> knight, scribe,

<sup>17</sup> Unidentified profession. The Latin (*impono*, *imponere* = impose, declare etc.) may suggest a craft involving pressing or impressing.

<sup>18</sup> The possibilities include Haute-Garonne, cant. Toulouse-Sud (Font-Réaulx, p. 987), Aude, cant. Salles-sur-l'Hers, arrond. Carcassonne (*Saisimentum*, p. 429), and Tarn, cant. Pampelonne, arrond. Albi. But *DTF* lists many places of this name.

<sup>19</sup> See 101<sup>v</sup> n. 24 above; 'of a hut/cottage' seems less likely than 'of' a place-name. See various place-names listed above, 27<sup>v</sup> n. 5, for *de Casali[bus]*.

<sup>20</sup> Several in Ariège, Aude and Haute-Garonne; *DTF*.

<sup>21</sup> Ariège, Rabat-les-Trois-Seigneurs, cant. Tarascon-sur-Ariège, arrond. Foix.

<sup>22</sup> See the listing of Rodès, Rodès, Roudès and Roudès in *DTF*. Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 87, prefers a location in the Ariège.

feneratorem et factorem archarum, qui pro parte dicitur fuisse dominus de Paholhaco, diocesis Tholosanensis, Arnaldum Monerii, fratrem dicti Petri de Lassus, quondam hæretici, postea conversi; sed nullum istorum omnium vidit ipse testis<sup>1</sup> cum hæreticis, præter prædictos Petrum de  
 145<sup>r</sup> Bouvilla et Raymundum Paperii, in quorum hospitio<sup>2</sup> vidit prædictum Pontium Boerii, hæreticum; quod ipsi duo et ipse testis<sup>3</sup> multotiens adoravit, et multotiens audivit verba et monitiones ipsius. Et decessit<sup>4</sup> idem hæreticus in ipsa domo, quem<sup>5</sup> ipse testis<sup>6</sup> et dictus Raymundus Paperii sepelierunt in eadem domo. Et postea quæsitus ibi de mandato inquisitoris<sup>7</sup> non fuit repertus.

Post decessum vero ipsius hæretici ipse testis ivit versus castrum Serimonis prope Veronam,<sup>8</sup> ubi fuit per unum mensem cum Bertrando Oliba, prædicto episcopo hæreticorum<sup>9</sup> Tholosæ—in expensis tamen propriis ipsius testis—et vidit ipsum episcopum, et cum eo Guiraldum Unaudi, Bernardum Ciron de Rochavidal, Bernardum de Scampont, Guillelmum de Savartesio, Vitalem nepotem eius, Guillelmum Ricardi de Avinione, et Guillelmum Columbi, et Arnaldum de Covisano, omnes  
 145<sup>v</sup> hæreticos, et Andricum | de Rues, episcopum hæreticorum<sup>10</sup> Lombardiæ. Quibus omnibus, et ipso teste, præsentibus et videntibus, fuerunt ibi recepti in sectam hæreticorum per dictum Bernardum Oliba, episcopum hæreticorum Tholosæ, Bernardus de Podio, Raymundus de Podio et Guillelmus de Podio, fratres de Sancto Martino de Landa.

Dixit autem quod vidit ibi ipse testis<sup>11</sup> fratrem Bernardum, Ordinis Sanctæ Crucis, qui similiter interfuit prædictæ hæreticationi; et ibi ipse

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> h- added.

<sup>3</sup> -is added.

<sup>4</sup> altered from recessit, perhaps by reader.

<sup>5</sup> q- altered from or to Q-.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>7</sup> -is added.

<sup>8</sup> V- altered from N-.

<sup>9</sup> -orum added.

<sup>10</sup> -orum added.

<sup>11</sup> -is added.

<sup>33</sup> William was among parishioners of Saint-Martin-Lalande questioned by Bernard of Caux on December 1 1245, having previously appeared before Ferrier and William Arnold. He had been present at a heretication and had adored heretics at Laurac around 1229, and had believed in heretics from that date until 1238; Toulouse 609, f. 40<sup>v</sup>. See below, 301<sup>v</sup>.

money-lender and maker of chests, who is said by some to have been the lord of Paulhac, in the diocese of Toulouse, Arnold Monier, the brother of the said Peter of Lassus, formerly a heretic, afterwards converted; but the same witness saw none of all those people with heretics, apart from the aforesaid Peter of Beauville and Raymond Papier, in whose lodging | he 145<sup>r</sup> saw the aforesaid Pons Boer, heretic; and these two and the same witness often adored [him] and often heard his words and admontions. And the same heretic died in the same house, and the same witness and the said Raymond Papier buried him in the same house. And afterwards, sought there at the command of the inquisitor, he was not found.

After the death of the same heretic the same witness went to the castle of Sirmione<sup>27</sup> near Verona,<sup>28</sup> where he was for a month with Bertrand Oliba, the aforesaid bishop of the heretics of Toulouse—however, at the same witness's personal expense—and he saw the same bishop, and with him Gerald Unaud, Bernard Ciron of Roquevidal, Bernard of Scopont,<sup>29</sup> William of the Sabarthès, Vital his nephew, William Richard of Avignonet, and William Colomb, and Arnold of Couiza,<sup>30</sup> all heretics, and Andricus<sup>31</sup> | of Arosio,<sup>32</sup> bishop of the heretics of Lombardy. In the pres- 145<sup>v</sup> ence and sight of all of these, and of the same witness, Bernard of Puy, Raymond of Puy and William of Puy,<sup>33</sup> brothers from Saint-Martin-Lalande, were there received into the sect of the heretics by the said Bernard Oliba, bishop of the heretics of Toulouse.

He said moreover that the same witness saw there brother Bernard, of the Order of the Holy Cross, who was likewise present at the aforesaid

<sup>27</sup> Town on Lake Garda, province of Brescia, Lombardy.

<sup>28</sup> City in the Veneto, and one of the provincial capitals of this region.

<sup>29</sup> Maurens-Scopont: Tarn, cant. Cuq-Toulza, arrond. Castres; *Saisimentum*, p. 425. Bernardus d'Escarpon, among parishioners of Scopont questioned May 2 1245, admitted considerable contact with heretics between 1239 and 1243. He had been in Montségur for half a year, and during the siege in 1243; Toulouse 609, f. 246<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Aude, ch.-lieu. cant, arrond. Limoux; Font-Réaulx, pp. 505, 534, 539.

<sup>31</sup> Andricus de Rues: this is Henry of Arosio, bishop of the church of Desenzano from c. 1265/70 to c. 1275, probably the same as the Henry of Lombardy mentioned by William of Raffard, 15<sup>v</sup> below. He is mentioned by the inquisitor Anselm of Alessandria in his *Tractatus* as currently bishop, 'Henricus de Arusio', Dondaine, 'Hiérarchie cathare en Italie II', 288, 324. See Borst, *Katharer*, p. 237, and the table in R. Bertuzzi, *Ecclesiarum forma: Tematiche di ecclesiologia Catara e Valdese* (Rome, 1998), p. 83.

<sup>32</sup> Town in the province of Como, Lombardy.

testis<sup>1</sup> et omnes alii, tam hæretici simplices quam eorum credentes, adoravit prædictos episcopos hæreticorum.

Item dixit quod vidit apud Sermionem duas mulieres vestitas supertunicalibus<sup>2</sup> rotundis, quas frater *Bernardus* adduxerat ibi de partibus Tholosanis, et vidit eas ibi cum multis hæreticabus. Audivit etiam ibi dicentem prædictum | fratrem *Bernardum* quod erat venturus ibi ad hæreticos quidam capellanus bene litteratus et bonus scriptor, de partibus Tholosæ. De tempore: dixit quod est annus vel circa.

Post hæc ipse testis<sup>3</sup> exivit castrum Simonis, et rediit Papiam, ubi fuit per quinque septimanas vel circa. Et ibi ipse testis<sup>4</sup> venit ad fratrem Guillelmum de Berga[mo], inquisitorem<sup>5</sup> hæresis, qui recepit confessionem ipsius testis,<sup>6</sup> et reconciliavit eum, et absolvit, et sibi pœnitentiam iniunxit, et, ipso teste<sup>7</sup> procurante, idem inquisitor cepit ibi Raymundum Paperii et Petrum de Bou Villa prædictos, et cum litteris et licentia dicti inquisitoris ipse rediit ad partes Tholosæ. Et in veniendo<sup>8</sup> vidit ipse testis<sup>9</sup> apud Cuneum Iohannem Radulphi, campsorem, Arnaldum Carpentarium, Raymundum Audron de Mascartvilla, Stephanum Gros de terra Sancti | Fœlicis, *Guillelmum* de Sancto Laurentio de terra Vauri; audivit insuper<sup>10</sup> dici quod erant ibi plures alii de partibus Tholosæ.

Item dixit quod vidit apud Ianuam<sup>11</sup> Arnaldum Copa, fabrum de Tholosa, qui fecerat se de humiliatis.

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* super tunicibus.

<sup>3</sup> -is added.

<sup>4</sup> -is added.

<sup>5</sup> -em added.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>7</sup> -e added.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* inveniando.

<sup>9</sup> -is added.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* in super.

<sup>11</sup> *ms* Iaunam.

heretication; and there the same witness and all the others, both simple heretics and their believers, adored the aforesaid bishops of the heretics.

Item, he said that he saw at Sirmione two women dressed in round surcoats, whom brother Bernard had brought there from the Toulouse area, and he saw them there with many female heretics. He also heard the aforesaid | brother Bernard saying there that there was going to come there to the heretics a certain chaplain, very literate and a good scribe, from the Toulouse area. About the time: he said that it was a year ago or thereabouts. 146<sup>r</sup>

After this the same witness left the stronghold of Sirmione, and returned to Pavia, where he was for five weeks or thereabouts. And there the same witness came to brother William of Berga[mo],<sup>34</sup> inquisitor of heresy, who received the same witness's confession, and reconciled him, and absolved him, and imposed a penance upon him, and, with the same witness procuring this, the same inquisitor captured there the aforesaid Raymond Papier and Peter of Beauville, and with letters and permission from the said inquisitor he returned to the Toulouse area. And in coming there the same witness saw at Cuneo John Radulph, money-changer, Arnold Charpentier (*or* Arnold, carpenter), Raymond Audron of Mascarville,<sup>35</sup> Stephen Gros of the land of Saint-Félix, | William of Saint-Laurent of the land of Lavaur; he heard it said moreover that there were many others there from the Toulouse area. 146<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that he saw at Genoa<sup>36</sup> Arnold Copa, a smith from Toulouse, who proclaimed himself one of the Humiliati.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> City, province of Bergamo, Lombardy. See 306<sup>v</sup> below for William Corrighia of *Biga*, a Dominican inquisitor active in Pavia one or two years later. If we conjecture a high rate of error with Italian place-names, the two inquisitors called William who were active in Pavia in the mid-1270s could be one person. On the (poorly documented) inquisition in Pavia, see Benedetti, *Inquisitori Lombardi del duecento*, p. 112 n. 39.

<sup>35</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 974.

<sup>36</sup> City, NW Italy, capital of province of Genoa.

<sup>37</sup> The Humiliati were a religious movement that appeared in Italian towns, first around Milan, in the second half of the twelfth century. They were divided into three groups, the first of priests, the second of people who took a vow and lived in common, the third of lay people who might be and remain married but followed certain observances. They engaged in manual work, especially with wool. See in general F. Andrews, *The Early Humiliati* (Cambridge, 1999), and on the Humiliati in Genoa, S. Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill and London, 1991), pp. 94–97.

Item dixit quod vidit apud Papiam supradictum fratrem *Bernardum* cum prædictis duabus mulieribus, quæ dicebant se esse de ordine dicti fratris.

Item dixit quod vidit apud Veronam Bartholomæum Fogacerii et Pontium Fogacerii, fratres de Tholosa, fugitivos propter hæresim.

Item dixit quod vidit ipse testis apud Cuneum quendam fratrem dels Fogacers.

Item vidit apud Papiam Iohannem filium Guillelmi Astre de Fanoiovis, 147<sup>r</sup> qui duxerat | ibi uxorem.<sup>1</sup>

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ in domo Fratrum Prædicatorum, coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore. Testes: frater *Bernardus* de Trillia, lector, et frater Guillelmus de Sancto Genesio, eiusdem ordinis, Guillelmus de Concoutz, *Bernardus* Boneti, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -em added.

Item, he said that he saw at Pavia the aforementioned brother Bernard with the aforesaid two women, who said that they were of the same order as the said brother.

Item, he said that he saw at Verona Bartholomew Fogacier and Pons Fogacier, brothers from Toulouse, fugitives for heresy.

Item, he said that the same witness saw at Cuneo a certain brother of the Fogacers.

Item, he saw at Pavia John the son of William Astre of Fanjeaux, who had married | there.

147<sup>r</sup>

These things he attested at Toulouse in the house of the Brothers Preacher, before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Bernard of La Treille, lector,<sup>38</sup> and brother William of Saint-Geniès,<sup>39</sup> of the same order, William of Concots, Bernard Bonet, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

<sup>38</sup> Known in modern scholarship as Bernard of Trilia, of Nîmes. See the account of this famous theologian in the introduction above, p. 107. *DTF* lists many places called La Treille, five in the *département* of Gard.

<sup>39</sup> William was assigned to study in Bordeaux (1265) and Paris (1278), to lecture in Toulouse (1271, 1272) and Cahors (1283), to lecture in theology at Figeac (1274), Cahors (1281, 1283, 1289), Limoges (1282) and to the white monks at Grandselve in Toulouse (1285), to lecture on the bible in the convent in Toulouse, and as preacher-general (1281). He was diffinitor at the provincial chapter in Pamiers (1290), and prior of Bordeaux (1290–1291). Gui described him as ‘a good man, clear of mind and extremely learned, and a serious and famous lecturer’ (*vir bonus, clari ingenii, optime litteratus, lector sollempnis et famosus*); Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 86; *ACP*, pp. 107, 156, 163, 183, 207, 220, 258, 265, 286, 311, 324, 333; ‘Mort des prieurs’, no. 84, p. 175. *Sanctus Genesius* is the Latin form of many Languedoc place-names, Saint-Geniès, Saint-Génies, Saint-Genès and Saint-Génis; Font-Réaulx, pp. 1060–1061; *DTF*.



*Deposition de R. Gombert de la Cassanha par devant Pons de Parnach, inquisiteur, de Tholouse, contenant, entre autres choses, qu'il avoit ouy dire que R. Barta, chevalier, de Laurac, avoit esté prins pour avoir assisté a la*  
 147<sup>v</sup> *mort des freres<sup>1</sup> | qui furent tués a Avignonet, et que plusieurs de Faniaux et des environs assemblés avoient iuré devant un religieux de l'ordre des Freres Precheurs de poursuivre les heretiques.*

*De l'année 1274.*

Anno et die quo supra, Raymundus Gomberti de la Cassanha, testis iuratus et requisitus ut [supra], dixit quod ipse testis, et Guillelmus Ugonis de Cassanha quondam, invenerunt quadam nocte tres hæreticas in quadam barta prope Castanham, quæ erat Guillelmi Gauzii quondam.  
 148<sup>r</sup> Et cum præsentissent<sup>2</sup> eos venientes, fuge|runt<sup>3</sup> inde; et quia statim non potuerunt eas consequi et capere, habuerunt consilium inter se quod non sequerentur eas, quia damnum possent incurrere dispendium corporis. Et credit ipse testis quod dictus Guillelmus Gauzii, et fratres eius, Iohannes et Bernardus et Arnaldus Gauzii de la Cassanha quondam, tenebant eas ibi: et hoc credit ipse testis<sup>4</sup> quia dictus Bernardus recessit de terra, et credit ipse testis<sup>5</sup> quod ivit ad hæreticos.

Dixit etiam ipse testis<sup>6</sup> quod quædam hæretica fuit tunc capta post duas dies apud Morterium, et adducta Tholosæ, et combusta; et credit ipse testis quod fuit una de illis.

Interrogatus<sup>7</sup> si ipse testis<sup>8</sup> et dictus Guillelmus Ugonis possent eas capere si amplius fuissent eas insequi, dixit se nescire.

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<sup>1</sup> precheurs deleted at top of verso.

<sup>2</sup> probably added.

<sup>3</sup> ms fugerunt; catchword correctly gives -runt.

<sup>4</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>5</sup> -is added.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>7</sup> -tus added.

<sup>8</sup> -is added.

*The deposition of Raymond Gombert of La Cassaigne before Pons of Parnac, inquisitor, of Toulouse, containing, amongst other things, that he had heard it said that Raymond Barta, knight, of Laurac, had been captured for having been present at the death of the brothers | who were killed at 147<sup>v</sup> Avignonet, and that many people from Fanjeaux and the surrounding area had assembled and sworn before a brother of the order of the Brothers Preacher to pursue the heretics.*

*From the year 1274.*

In the same year and on the same day as above,<sup>1</sup> Raymond Gombert of La Cassaigne,<sup>2</sup> sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that the same witness and the late William Hugh of La Cassaigne found one night three female heretics in a certain piece of scrubland near La Cassaigne, which belonged to the late William Gauz. And when they heard them coming, they fled | from there; and because they could not 148<sup>r</sup> immediately take and capture them, they agreed among themselves that they would not follow them, because they could incur harm and injury to their bodies. And the same witness believes that the said William Gauz, and his brothers, the late John and Bernard and Arnold Gauz of La Cassaigne, kept them there: and the same witness believes this because the said Bernard went away from the land, and the same witness believes that he went to the heretics.

The same witness also said that a certain female heretic was then captured two days later at Mortier,<sup>3</sup> and brought to Toulouse, and burned; and the same witness believes that she was one of them.

Asked if the same witness and the said William Hugh could have captured them if they had followed them further, he said that he does not know.

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<sup>1</sup> The point of reference is unclear, but a conjectural date of May 24 1274 seems reasonable: especially since Elias Manha[n] appears three times as a witness during June of this year.

<sup>2</sup> Aude, cant. Fanjeaux, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 800.

<sup>3</sup> Aude, comm. La Cassaigne, cant. Fanjeaux, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 991.

De tempore requisitus,<sup>1</sup> dixit quod sunt triginta anni vel circa.

148<sup>v</sup> Interrogatus<sup>2</sup> specialiter utrum ipse testis scivit quod dicti Guillelmus | Gausii et fratres eius, vel ex eis aliquis vel aliqua, sustinerent vel foverent ibi dictas hæreticas, dando eis vel mittendo aliqua victualia<sup>3</sup> vel aliquod subsidium, dixit quod non: sed credit.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> si ipse testis<sup>5</sup> vidit unquam prædictum Guillelmum Gausii, vel fratres eius, vel ex eis aliquem, cum hæreticis,<sup>6</sup> dixit quod non.

Interrogatus<sup>7</sup> si ipse testis scivit unquam quod aliquis ex ipsis committeret in hæresi, dixit quod non: sed credit quod commiserunt propter prædicta.

Interrogatus<sup>8</sup> si unquam prædicta confessus fuit aliis inquisitoribus,<sup>9</sup> dixit quod non.

Interrogatus<sup>10</sup> quare tanto tempore prædicta distulit confiteri, dixit quod propter timorem mortis.

Interrogatus<sup>11</sup> utrum plura sciret de hæresi, dixit quod non.

De *Valdensibus* dixit se nihil scire.

Adiecit etiam quod audivit quod Raymundus Barta, miles de Lauraco, 149<sup>r</sup> fuit captus olim dum vive|ret, quia, sicut dicebatur, interfuerat neci fratrum apud Avinionem, et quod postea evasit et fugit.

Item dixit quod ipse testis<sup>12</sup> et quam plurimi de Fanoiovis et vicinia, apud Fanumiovis congregati, iuraverunt persequi hæreticos<sup>13</sup> et Valdenses, ad requisitionem cuiusdam fratris Prædicatorum: nescit tamen utrum ille erat hæresis inquisitor. De tempore iuramenti, dixit quod sunt septem anni et amplius.

<sup>1</sup> -us *added*.

<sup>2</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* victu alia.

<sup>4</sup> -tus *perhaps added*.

<sup>5</sup> -is *perhaps added*.

<sup>6</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>7</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>8</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>9</sup> -ibus *perhaps added*.

<sup>10</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>11</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>12</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>13</sup> -os *added*.

Asked about the time, he said that it was thirty years ago or thereabouts.

Asked especially whether the same witness knew that the said William | Gauz and his siblings, or any of them, male or female, kept or cared 148<sup>v</sup> for the said female heretics there, giving or sending them any victuals or any sustenance, he said no: but he believes it.

Asked if the same witness ever saw the aforesaid William Gauz, or his siblings, or any of them, with the heretics, he said no.

Asked if the same witness ever knew that any of them had committed any act of heresy, he said no: but he believes that they had because of the aforesaid.

Asked if he had ever confessed the aforesaid to other inquisitors, he said no.

Asked why he put off confessing the aforesaid for so long, he said because of the fear of death.

Asked whether he knew any more about heresy, he said no.

About Waldensians he said that he knew nothing.

He added also that he had heard that Raymond Barta, knight, of Laurac, was once captured during his | lifetime, because, as was said, he 149<sup>r</sup> had been present at the killing of the brothers at Avignonet,<sup>4</sup> and that he afterwards escaped and fled.

Item, he said that the same witness and a great number of people from Fanjeaux and the surrounding area, gathered at Fanjeaux, swore to pursue heretics and Waldensians, at the request of a certain brother of the Preachers: he does not know however whether he was an inquisitor of heresy.<sup>5</sup> About the time of the oath: he said that it was seven years ago and more.

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<sup>4</sup> See below, 298<sup>v</sup> n. 5. Many of the parishioners of Laurac questioned July 13 1245 testified about the knight Raymond's connections with heresy, with actions dated back to 1238; Toulouse 609, f. 74<sup>r</sup>–76<sup>r</sup>. His mother had been a heretic, and a local priest attested that Raymond had hanged two officials who had captured her (marginal note, 75<sup>v</sup>). He loved (*dilexit*) heresy, was a familiar (*familiaris*) of heretics, and he had been heard denying the value of baptism, marriage and the eucharist, and saying that he only believed in the New Testament. He had been every day in the leperhouse at Laurac (see 22<sup>r</sup> below) while his lover lay ill there; she was hereticated. She also received the eucharist.

<sup>5</sup> No other evidence has been found about this action in Fanjeaux.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore.  
Testes: frater Helias Manha, Ordinis Prædicatorum, *Bernardus* Boneti,  
Sicardus Lunelli, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui  
hæc scripsi.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Elias Manha,<sup>6</sup> of the Order of Preachers, Bernard Bonet, Sicard Lunel, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>6</sup> Elias Manha of Limoges. The convent at Limoges got £ 120 from the will of his mother, Valeria Manhana. He was assigned to the study of logic and the Arts at Figeac (1266), assigned to lecture in theology at Périgueux (1284) and at Rodez (1285), was appointed a visitor of convents (1292), and was assigned to lecture on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard at Le Puy (1293). *ACP*, pp. 116, 275, 285, 365, 374; Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 66.

149<sup>v</sup> *Deposition de Jordain, domicellus, fils de Jordain | de Saixac, chevalier, contenant q'èstant alé a l'Empeut pour prier Philippe, femme de Guillaume Matfredus<sup>1</sup> Paderius, chevalier, d'aler voir Sibilie sa mere, ledit Paderius luy dit qu'il ne le permetroit pas, parce que ledit Jordain ne s'atachoit point a ses amis, et qu'il n'aymoit que les françois et les clerks et religieux.*

*Du jour de St Pierre et St Paul 1274.*

150<sup>r</sup> Item, anno quo supra, in festo Petri et Pauli, Iordanus do[micellus, filius domini Iordani de Saixiaco, militis, testis iuratus, dixit quod quadam die ipse testis<sup>2</sup> ivit apud Empeutum ad domum domini Paderii, militis, pro domina Philippa, uxore Guillelmi Matfredi Paderii, ut adduceret ipsam dominam Philippam apud Gardiolam ad domum paternam ipsius testis.<sup>3</sup> Et hoc faciebat ipse testis<sup>4</sup> de mandato dominæ Sebilix, matris ipsius testis, qui volebat videre dictam dominam Philippam, ut teneret festum Natalis Domini cum dicta domina<sup>5</sup> Sibilia, matre ipsius testis, et cum ipso<sup>6</sup> teste.<sup>7</sup> [...] <sup>8</sup> dicto domino Paderio, qui respondit ipsi testi quod nullo modo mittent<sup>9</sup> dictam dominam Philippam per ipsum testem<sup>10</sup> ad dominam Sebeliam, imo si haberet voluntatem mittendi non mitteret, et hoc quia ipse testis<sup>11</sup> venerat pro domina Philippa. Et ipse testis<sup>12</sup> dixit

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<sup>1</sup> comma mistakenly inserted between names.

<sup>2</sup> -is added.

<sup>3</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>4</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>5</sup> ms domina dicta.

<sup>6</sup> ms ipsa.

<sup>7</sup> -e perhaps added.

<sup>8</sup> There is clearly a mistake in the manuscript at this point, and some part of the original is missing.

<sup>9</sup> This third-person plural future is interesting: it perhaps represents a survival of something quoted in direct speech by the witness, where lord Paderius is speaking on behalf of himself and the lady's husband, or of the entire household, and put into Latin in semi-direct speech; on the other hand, it may simply be a miscopying of 'mitteret'.

<sup>10</sup> -em added.

<sup>11</sup> -is added.

<sup>12</sup> -is added.

*The deposition of Jordan, squire, son of Jordan | of Saissac, knight, contain- 149<sup>v</sup>  
ing that, when he had gone to Lempaut to ask Philippa, the wife of William  
Matfred<sup>1</sup> Padier, knight, to go to see Sybil his mother, the said Padier said  
to him that he would not permit it, because the said Jordan had no loyalty  
at all to his friends, and because he only liked the French and the clerics  
and religious.*

*From the day of St Peter and Saint-Paul 1274.*

Item, in the same year as above, on the feast of Peter and Paul,<sup>2</sup> Jordan, | 150<sup>r</sup>  
squire, the son of lord Jordan of Saissac,<sup>3</sup> knight, sworn in as a witness,  
said that on a certain day the same witness went to Lempaut to the house  
of lord Padier, knight, for lady Philippa, the wife of William Matfred  
Padier, in order to bring the same lady Philippa to Lagardiolle<sup>4</sup> to the  
same witness's paternal home. And the same witness did this at the  
command of lady Sybil, the same witness's mother, who wished to see the  
said lady Philippa, in order that she might spend the feast of Christmas  
with the said lady Sybil, the same witness's mother, and with the same  
witness. [...] <sup>5</sup> to the said lord Padier, who replied to the same witness  
that they will most certainly not send the said lady Philippa by the same  
witness to lady Sybil, rather, if he had a wish to send her he would not, and  
this because the same witness had come for lady Philippa. And the same

<sup>1</sup> A comma has mistakenly been inserted between the names.

<sup>2</sup> June 29 [1274].

<sup>3</sup> Aude, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1050. See Jordan's deposition below, 50<sup>r</sup>, and 50<sup>r</sup> n. 2 on the family.

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, cant. Dourgne, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 953.

<sup>5</sup> There is clearly a mistake in the manuscript at this point, and some part of the original is missing.



150<sup>v</sup> quare dicebat hoc de ipso teste?<sup>1</sup> Et dic|tus Paderius respondit quod ideo, quia ipse testis diligebat Gallicos et clericos religiosos, et Prædicatores, et recedebat ab amore amicorum suorum, et quod nihil amabat ex corde. Et ipse testis<sup>2</sup> ex his verbis intellexit quod dictus Paderius vellet dicere quod ipse testis<sup>3</sup> amaret hæreticos, et dimitteret amare Gallicos et Prædicatores. Et his dictis ipse testis rediit ad propria sine domina Philippa prædicta. Et incontinenti ipse testis<sup>4</sup> retulit ista dominæ Sebeliæ, matri ipsius testis, quæ dixit ipsi testi quod diceret ista Prædicatoribus; quod et fecit, scilicet cuidam fratri Prædicatorum cuius nomen ignorat, qui erat de conventu de Castris. De tempore istorum verborum habitorum cum dicto domino Paderio: sex anni sunt vel circa.

Dixit etiam ipse Paderius ipsi testi<sup>5</sup> quod ipse erat raptor corporum<sup>6</sup> 151<sup>r</sup> et animarum, et ipse testis<sup>7</sup> respondit quod non erat, et dictus | Paderius dixit ipsi testi, 'Tace, tace, ego dabo tibi bonum consilium, et valebo plus tibi, et possum valere plus, quam aliquis homo<sup>8</sup> de mundo.' Et ipse testis respondit, 'Nolo quod mihi valeatis, diabolo valeatis vel vobis ipsi!' et dictus<sup>9</sup> Paderius dixit, 'Ego bene sum munitus, ita quod diabolus nunquam ponet pedem in gula<sup>10</sup> mea, quia bene habeo<sup>11</sup> quidquid necesse est mihi super hoc.' Et credebat ipse testis<sup>12</sup> quod de hæreticis loqueretur dictus Paderius.

Hæc deposuit apud Podium Laurentium coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore. Testes: frater Helias, Ordinis Prædicatorum, frater Daurde, frater Arnaldus Pica, Ordinis Prædicatorum, magister Berengarius de Verneto, et Petrus, capellanus Druliæ,<sup>13</sup> notarius,<sup>14</sup> qui hæc scripsit.

<sup>1</sup> -e added.

<sup>2</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>3</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>4</sup> -is added.

<sup>5</sup> -i perhaps added.

<sup>6</sup> -um perhaps added.

<sup>7</sup> -is added.

<sup>8</sup> -omo perhaps added, or possibly the whole word.

<sup>9</sup> -u- written over deletion.

<sup>10</sup> ms ingula.

<sup>11</sup> -abeo probably added. d and perhaps e or o, deleted.

<sup>12</sup> -is added.

<sup>13</sup> -æ probably altered.

<sup>14</sup> -ius added.

witness said, why did he say this about the same witness? And the said | 150<sup>v</sup>  
 Padier answered that for this reason, because the same witness loved the French and the religious clerics, and the Preachers, and abandoned the love of his friends, and that he did not love anything from the heart. And the same witness understood from these words that the said Padier meant that the same witness should love the heretics, and should stop loving the French and the Preachers. And when these things had been said, the same witness returned to his own affairs without the aforesaid lady Philippa. And the same witness immediately related these things to lady Sybil, the same witness's mother, who told the same witness to tell these things to the Preachers; which he did, that is to a certain brother of the Preachers whose name he does not know, who was from the convent of Castres.<sup>6</sup> About the time when these words were exchanged with the said lord Padier: it was six years ago or thereabouts.

The same Padier also told the same witness that he was a robber of bodies and of souls, and the same witness answered that he was not, and the said | Padier said to the same witness, 'Quiet, quiet, I will give you 151<sup>r</sup>  
 good advice, and I will help you more, and I can help you more, than any man in the world.' And the same witness answered, 'I don't want you to help me, help the devil, or yourself?'; and the said Padier said, 'I am well-protected, so that the devil will never put his foot on my throat: because I certainly have whatever I need for this.' And the same witness believed that the said Padier was talking about the heretics.

These things he attested at Puylaurens before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witness: brother Elias, of the Order of Preachers, brother Daurde,<sup>7</sup> brother Arnold Pica, of the Order of Preachers, master Berengar of Vernet, and Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary, who wrote these things.

<sup>6</sup> Tarn, ch.-lieu arrond; Font-Réaulx, p. 905. On the Dominican convent at Castres, founded in 1258, see Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 135–155, and *CaF* 36 (2001), index entry on p. 500.

<sup>7</sup> The index to *ACP*, p. 720, lists eight brothers called Deodatus.

151<sup>v</sup> *Deposition de B. | Furnerius de St Paul de Cadaiovis, contenant entre autres choses que dame Fays, femme de Reginal de Palasac, chevalier, ayant fait prier Guillaume Prunelli et B. Tilhols<sup>1</sup> de l'aller voir en sa maladie, il croit qu'ils la rendirent heretique.*

*17 kalendas Madii 1274.*

Anno et die quibus supra *Bernardus* Furnerius de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, adductus captus, testis iuratus et interrogatus super facto hæresis et  
 152<sup>r</sup> Valdesiæ<sup>2</sup> ut supra, dixit quod Arnalda, uxor Raymundi Ugonis, et ipse Raymundus Ugo, et *Bernardus* Hugonis, frater eius, comendaverunt sibi<sup>3</sup> hæreticos,<sup>4</sup> et fidem et sectam eorum, non simul sed divisim; et significaverunt ipsi testi quod hæretici erant in terra, scilicet Guillelmus Prunelli, et *Bernardus* Tilhols<sup>5</sup> eius socius, et quod si vellet eos videre quod<sup>6</sup> ostenderet eos sibi: quod sibi multum placuit, et concessit. Et tunc dixit sibi dicta Arnalda quod prædicti hæretici erant in domo de Napoiola. Ad quam domum ipse testis<sup>7</sup> accedens, vidit eos ibi, et salutavit eos, et dixit eis quod Aymengardis de Graishenx de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis volebat eos videre, et loqui cum eis. Et dicti hæretici responderunt dicto testi quod recederet, et eos expectaret ubi vocatur Acauda Fogassa, prope Sanctum Paulum de Cadaiovis; quod et fecit. Et cum diu expectasset eos ibi, venerunt dicti hæretici circa mediam noctem, et ipse | testis  
 152<sup>v</sup> eos duxit usque ad portam domus dictæ Ermengardis, et dimissis ibi dictis hæreticis circa mediam noctem, recessit ipse testis<sup>8</sup> et rediit ad propria.

Interrogatus de tempore, dixit quod annus est vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> -s added.

<sup>2</sup> -æ probably altered; -siæ probably added.

<sup>3</sup> ms ibi.

<sup>4</sup> -os added.

<sup>5</sup> -s added.

<sup>6</sup> -d written over deletion.

<sup>7</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>8</sup> -is perhaps added.

*The deposition of Bernard | Fournier of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, containing among other things that when lady Fays, the wife of Reginald of Palajac, knight, sent to request that William Prunel and Bernard Tilhol come to see her in her illness, he believes that they made her a heretic.* 151<sup>v</sup>

*17 days before the kalends of May 1274.*

In the same year and on the same day as above,<sup>1</sup> Bernard Fournier of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, brought out as a captive, sworn in as a witness and questioned on the matter of heresy and Waldensianism as above, said that Arnalda, the wife of Raymond | Hugh, and the same Raymond 152<sup>r</sup> Hugh, and Bernard Hugh, his brother, commended the heretics to him and their faith and sect, not together but separately; and they informed the same witness that the heretics were in the land, that is William Prunel, and Bernard Tilhol his companion, and that if he wished to see them she<sup>2</sup> would show them to him: which pleased him greatly, and he agreed to it. And then the said Arnalda said to him that the aforesaid heretics were in the house of Na Poiola. The same witness, going to that house, saw them there, and greeted them, and told them that Aimengarda of Graissens of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux wanted to see them and speak with them. And the said heretics answered the same witness that he should go away, and wait for them in the place called 'At the hot focaccia', near Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux; which he did. And when he had waited for them there for a long time, the said heretics came there around midnight, and the | same witness took them to the door of the house 152<sup>v</sup> of the said Aimengarda, and when he had left the said heretics there around midnight, the same witness went away and returned to his own affairs.

Asked about the time, he said that it was a year ago or thereabouts.

<sup>1</sup> From the information given at the beginning of this witness's second deposition, this one can be dated to April 15 1274 with some confidence: but the point of reference is extremely unclear.

<sup>2</sup> From what follows, this clearly refers to Arnalda.

Interrogatus si adoravit eos vel audivit verba et monitionem eorum, dixit quod non: dixit tamen quod tunc dedit eis<sup>1</sup> sex denarios<sup>2</sup> Tholosanos<sup>3</sup> quos portabat.

Item dixit quod alia vice ivit apud Rochavidal ad domum Raymundi Hugonis, ad videndum<sup>4</sup> hæreticos, et quæsivit a Bernardo Hugoni, fratre dicti Raymundi, si posset videre eos: qui dixit ipsi testi quod bene posset eos videre. Et tunc idem Bernardus Hugonis dixit ipsi testi quod iret ad aream<sup>5</sup> dels Bicocs, et ibi videret eos. Et expectavit eos ibi, et ibi vidit eos, et ibi eos, semel flexis genibus, adoravit.

153<sup>r</sup> Dixit etiam quod tunc | quæsivit ab ipsis hæreticis quando recederent in Lombardiam: et ipsi responderunt quod in vere<sup>6</sup> iverunt in Lombardiam. De tempore: dixit quod in eodem tempore.

Credidit dictos hæreticos esse bonos homines, et veraces, et habere bonam fidem; et fuit in illa credentia bene per tres septimanas.<sup>7</sup>

Dixit etiam quod alias non comiserat in hæresi, nisi ut superius est expressum. Non monuit aliquem ad diligendum ipsos hæreticos.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Ramnulphe de Placiaco, inquisitore. Testes: frater Arnaldus Autardi, Ordinis Prædicatorum,<sup>8</sup> et Sicardus Lunelli, et Constantinus, et ego, *Bernardus* Boneti, publicus Tholosæ notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, decimo sexto kalendas Maii, prædictus testis<sup>9</sup> in crastinum correxuit se, dicens quod Raymundus de Laba|tut de Thaishode, et Pontius Raginaldi de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, credentes hæreticorum,<sup>10</sup> nunc fugitivi propter hæresim, comendaverunt sibi primo hæreticos,<sup>11</sup> et fidem et sectam hæreticorum.<sup>12</sup> Et dixerunt sibi quod si vellet videre Guillelmum Prunelli et *Bernardum* Tilhols,<sup>13</sup> socium suum,

<sup>1</sup> *deletion, probably vi.*

<sup>2</sup> *-ios added.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms Tholosanonos; -onos added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-um perhaps added.*

<sup>5</sup> *ms archam.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms invernī: written over deletion.*

<sup>7</sup> *second -a- written over deletion.*

<sup>8</sup> *originally prædicti.*

<sup>9</sup> *-is perhaps added.*

<sup>10</sup> *-orum added.*

<sup>11</sup> *ms hæreticis; -is perhaps added.*

<sup>12</sup> *-orum added.*

<sup>13</sup> *-s added.*

Asked if he adored them or heard their words and admonition, he said no: he said however that at that time he gave them six Toulouse pennies which he was carrying.

Item, he said that on another occasion he went to Roquevidal to the house of Raymond Hugh, to see the heretics, and he asked Bernard Hugh, the brother of the said Raymond, if he could see them; who said to the same witness that he could certainly see them. And then the same Bernard Hugh said to the same witness to go to the plot<sup>3</sup> of the Bicocs, and that he would see them there. And he waited for them there, and saw them there, and there he adored them, genuflecting once.

He also said that he then | asked the same heretics when they were going away into Lombardy: and they answered that they went into Lombardy in spring.<sup>4</sup> About the time: he said that this was at the same time. 153<sup>r</sup>

He believed that the said heretics were good men, and truthful, and that they had a good faith; and he was in that belief for a full three weeks.

He also said that he had not otherwise committed any act of heresy, except as is described above. He did not instruct anyone to love the same heretics.

These things he attested before brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Arnold Aucard, of the Order of Preachers, and Sicard Lunel, and Constantine, and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, sixteen days before the kalends of May,<sup>5</sup> the aforesaid witness on the following day corrected himself, saying that Raymond of | Labatut of Teyssode,<sup>6</sup> and Pons Reynold of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, believers of the heretics, now fugitives for heresy, first commended the heretics to him, and the faith and sect of the heretics. And they said to him that if he wished to see William Prunel and Bernard 153<sup>v</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See 6<sup>v</sup> n. 4 above.

<sup>4</sup> The manuscript reading is the ambiguous *inverni*. We have amended to *in vere*—in spring—but it is not impossible that the original was some form of *hibernum*—winter.

<sup>5</sup> April 16 [1274].

<sup>6</sup> Tarn, cant. Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1091.

hæreticos,<sup>1</sup> quod ipsi ostenderent eos sibi: quod sibi placuit, et concessit. Et iuit idem testis<sup>2</sup> ad quandam cabanam den Brossas de Falgairac, quæ<sup>3</sup> erat in vinerio de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis; et ibi vidit eos, et loqutus fuit cum eis, et audivit verba et monitiones eorum, et ibi, ter flexis genibus, adoravit eos secundum ritum hæreticorum.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> de tempore, dixit quod duo anni sunt vel circa.

Interrogatus<sup>5</sup> de astantibus, dixit quod nullo, quia hæretici prohibebant omnibus amicis suis ut non venirent cum societate, sed soli, ut non revelarentur venientes.

154<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod domina Fays, uxor Reginaldi de Palaiaco, militis, rogavit eum ut adduceret sibi bonos homines, scilicet hæreticos. Et adduxit ipse testis<sup>6</sup> de nocte dictæ dominæ Phays, uxori Reginaldi de Palaiaco, militis, Guillelmum Prunelli et Bernardum Tilhols,<sup>7</sup> eius<sup>8</sup> socium,<sup>9</sup> hæreticos, ad domum eiusdem dominæ, tunc infirmæ, et ibi loquta fuit cum ipsis hæreticis. Et credit idem testis<sup>10</sup> quod hæreticaverunt eam, quia ipsi hæretici dixerunt sibi; tamen ipse testis<sup>11</sup> non vidit prædictam hæreticationem, quia erat iuxta ignem loquens cum Becsende de Bonaria de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, nutrice dictæ dominæ.

Interrogatus de tempore: duo anni sunt vel circa.<sup>12</sup>

154<sup>v</sup> Item dixit dictus testis quod Raymundus Ymberti, sabaterius, de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, dixit sibi quod si vellet videre bonos homines, scilicet hæreticos, quod iret apud Sanctum Martinum Darengat, et ibi inveniret eos; tamen ipse testis<sup>13</sup> non iuit.

Dixit etiam quod credit quod dictus Raymundus Ymberti esset credens et amicus hæreticorum. De tempore: quod in Quadragesima proximo præterita.

<sup>1</sup> -os added.

<sup>2</sup> -is added.

<sup>3</sup> -æ probably altered.

<sup>4</sup> -tus added.

<sup>5</sup> -tus probably added.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>7</sup> -s of this word added.

<sup>8</sup> eius written twice in error, once at the end of a line, and once at the beginning of the following one.

<sup>9</sup> -ium added.

<sup>10</sup> -is added.

<sup>11</sup> -is added.

<sup>12</sup> -ca written over a hyphen at the end of a line.

<sup>13</sup> -is added.

Tilhol, his companion, heretics, they would show them to him: which pleased him, and he agreed to it. And the same witness went to a certain hut belonging to En Brossas of Falgayrac,<sup>7</sup> which was in the vineyard of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux; and there he saw them, and spoke with them, and heard their words and admonitions, and there, genuflecting three times, he adored them according to the rite of the heretics.

Asked about the time, he said that it was two years ago or thereabouts.

Asked about bystanders, he said that there were none, because the heretics instructed all their friends not to come with companions, but alone, so that when they came they would not be given away.

Item, he said that lady Fays, the wife of Reginald of Palajac, knight,<sup>8</sup> 154<sup>r</sup> asked him to bring the good men, that is the heretics, to her. And the same witness brought by night to the said lady Fays, the wife of Reginald of Palajac, knight, William Prunel and Bernard Tilhol, his companion, heretics, to the house of the same lady, who was then ill, and there she spoke with the same heretics. And the same witness believes that they hereticated her, because the same heretics told him; however, the same witness did not see the aforesaid heretication, because he was by the fire talking with Becsendis<sup>9</sup> of *Bonaria*<sup>10</sup> of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, the said lady's nurse.

Asked about the time: it was two years ago or thereabouts.

Item, the said witness said that Raymond Imbert, shoemaker, of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, said to him that if he wished to see the | good men, 154<sup>v</sup> that is the heretics, he should go to Saint-Martin d'Auragne,<sup>11</sup> and he would find them there; however the same witness did not go.

He also said that he believes that the said Raymond Imbert was a believer and friend of the heretics. About the time: during last Lent.

<sup>7</sup> Tarn, comm. Saint-Paul-Cap-Joux, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>8</sup> He was denounced by Sicard Lunel in his confession of around 1254; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 492. See 30<sup>v</sup> n. 22 above.

<sup>9</sup> Called Ricsendis below.

<sup>10</sup> A probable identification for *Bonaria* is Haute-Garonne, cant. Nailloux, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 869. But given the high level of error displayed here (Becsendis for Rixendis), Bonaria might be a mistake for *Laboria* = La Borie; see below, 173<sup>v</sup> n. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Nailloux, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 869.



Hæc deposuit coram prædicto inquisitore. Testes: fratres<sup>1</sup> Ordinis Prædicatorum Arnaldus Autardi et Petrus Ferrandi, et ego, *Bernardus Boneti*, publicus Tholosæ notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, in festo Sancti Laurentii, Bernardus Fornerii, declarando dictum suum, dixit quod ipse non introduxit prænominatos hæreticos in domum dictæ dominæ Fays apud Palaiaacum, sed dimisit eos  
 155<sup>r</sup> extra, iuxta domum, et prædicta domina Phays exivit ad eos, ipso teste<sup>2</sup> | remanente infra domum iuxta ignem cum Rixenda de Laborta, quousque prædicta domina rediit in domum. Et ipse testis<sup>3</sup> exiens inde, rediit cum dictis hæreticis,<sup>4</sup> associans<sup>5</sup> eos, et reducens in viam quæ tendit versus Rocavidal, unde ipse testis adduxerat eos, et assumpserat eos ad calcem palearii in area dels Bicocs; ad quem locum fecerat eos venire *Bernardus Ugoni de Rupevitalis*, quia sic condixerat<sup>6</sup> cum ipso teste.<sup>7</sup>

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore.<sup>8</sup> Testes: frater Petrus *Raymundi Baranhonis*, Guillelmus de Concoutz, et ego Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Item, anno quo supra, octavo kalendas Madii, dictus Bernardus Fornier adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod ipse testis vidit Guillelmum Prunelli et socium suum, hæ|reticos, in domo *Bernardi Hugonis*<sup>9</sup> de Rupe Vitalis, et inde ipse testis duxit dictos hæreticos usque ad quandam cabanam Guillelmi Baile, quæ est extra villam de Sancto Paulo. Quo facto, ipse testis<sup>10</sup> dixit Raymundo Ymberti de Sancto Paulo, ex parte dictorum hæreticorum, quod ipse Raymundus Ymberti veniret ibi ad dictos hæreticos; quod et fecit, sicut idem Raymundus Imberti dixit postmodum<sup>11</sup> ipsi testi.

<sup>1</sup> *originally* frater.

<sup>2</sup> -s- *perhaps* added.

<sup>3</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>4</sup> *deletion, probably* exi.

<sup>5</sup> -ss- *perhaps* written over *deletion*.

<sup>6</sup> *originally* conduxerat.

<sup>7</sup> -s- *added*.

<sup>8</sup> -s- *added*.

<sup>9</sup> -is *perhaps* added.

<sup>10</sup> -is *perhaps* added.

<sup>11</sup> *ms* post modum.

These things he attested before the aforesaid inquisitor. Witnesses: the brothers of the Order of Preachers Arnold Aucard and Peter Ferrand, and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, on the feast of St Lawrence,<sup>12</sup> Bernard Fournier, clarifying what he had said, said that he did not bring the abovenamed heretics into the house of the said lady Fays at Palajac, but left them outside, next to the house, and the aforesaid lady Fays came out to them, while the same witness | remained within the house, by the fire with 155<sup>r</sup> Rixendis of *Laborta*,<sup>13</sup> until the aforesaid lady came back into the house. And the same witness, going out of there, returned with the said heretics, accompanying them, and taking them back onto the road which leads towards Roquevidal, from where the same witness had brought them, and had collected them at the foot of the hay-loft, in the plot<sup>14</sup> of the Bicocs; to which place Bernard Hugh of Roquevidal had had them come, because he had agreed this with the same witness.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, William of Concots, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

Item, in the same year as above, eight days before the kalends of May,<sup>15</sup> the said Bernard Fournier added to his confession, saying that the same witness saw William Prunel and his companion, | heretics, in the house of 155<sup>v</sup> Bernard Hugh of Roquevidal, and from there the same witness took the said heretics to a certain hut belonging to William Baile, which is outside the village of Saint-Paul. When this had been done, the same witness said to Raymond Imbert of Saint-Paul, on behalf of the said heretics, that the same Raymond Imbert should come there to the said heretics; which he did, as the same Raymond Imbert said afterwards to the same witness.

<sup>12</sup> August 10 [1274].

<sup>13</sup> La Borie: see below, 173<sup>v</sup> n. 4.

<sup>14</sup> See above, 6<sup>v</sup> n. 4.

<sup>15</sup> April 24 [1275].

Interrogatus,<sup>1</sup> dixit quod ipse testis non adoravit ibi dictos hæreticos. De tempore: inter festum Natalis Domini et Carniprivium proximo transactum.

Item dixit quod ipse testis et Raymundus Guiraldi de Rupe Vitalis associaverunt sex homines et unam mulierem, quorum nomina nescit, de quadam area de Rupe Vitalis usque post vadum de Sancto Paulo, et cum  
156<sup>r</sup> essent extra vadum ipse testis rediit | ad propria, et dictus Raymundus Guiraldi tenuit viam suam cum dictis hominibus et una muliere prædictis in Lombardiam.

Item dixit quod Fays, mulier de Palaiaco, antequam hæreticaretur, dedit ipsi testi duos solidos Tholosanos, quod daret illos Guillelmo Prunelli et socio suo, hæreticis;<sup>2</sup> quod et fecit, in quadam cabana de Falgaraco, de qua loquutus est supra. De tempore: duo anni sunt vel circa.

Item dixit quod dedit dictis hæreticis unam cannam et sex palmos panni linei. De tempore: annus est vel plus.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Ramnulphe, inquisitore. Testes:<sup>3</sup> frater Petrus Ferrandi et frater Arnaldus, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et Petrus capellanus Drulie, notarius, qui hæc scripsit.

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<sup>1</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* hæreticos.

<sup>3</sup> *superscript*.

Questioned, he said that the same witness did not adore the said heretics there. About the time: between the feast of Christmas and Lent immediately past.

Item, he said that the same witness and Raymond Guiraud of Roquevidal accompanied six men and one woman, whose names he does not know, from a certain plot<sup>16</sup> in Roquevidal until after the ford of Saint-Paul, and when they were beyond the ford the same witness returned | 156<sup>r</sup> to his own affairs, and the said Raymond Guiraud continued on his way with the said men and one woman aforesaid into Lombardy.

Item, he said that Fays, the woman of Palajac, before she was hereticated, gave the same witness two Toulouse shillings, for him to give them to William Prunel and his companion, heretics; which he did, in a certain hut at Falgayrac, of which he spoke above. About the time: it was two years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he gave the said heretics a *canna*<sup>17</sup> and six palms of linen cloth. About the time: it was a year ago or more.

These things he attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Peter Ferrand and brother Arnold, of the Order of Preachers, and Peter, chaplain of Dreuilhe, notary, who wrote these things.

<sup>16</sup> See above, 6<sup>v</sup> n. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Cane or rod, a linear measure of cloth, given as 8 palms by *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources: C* (London, 1981), p. 259, 'Canna: 4'.

156<sup>v</sup> *Deposition de Raymond de Astano|va, marchand de Puy Laurens, contenant que Bernard de Podio de Pradis luy dit de la part de Guillaume Prunelli de St Paul et de ses compagnons, heretiques, de demander a Arnaud del Ga, domicellus, fils de Padier de Puy Laurens, chevalier, ce qu'il tenoit desdits heretiques.*

5<sup>o</sup> kalendas Maii audit an.

Anno quo supra, quinto kalendas Maii, Raymundus<sup>1</sup> de Astanova, mercator de Podio Laurentio, testis iuratus et requisitus ut supra, dixit quod  
 157<sup>r</sup> nunquam | vidit hæreticos<sup>2</sup> postquam publice morabantur, et ipse testis erat puer; nec unquam adoravit eos, nec eorum prædicationem audivit, nec dedit eis aliquid nec misit, nec spem nec fidem in illis habuit, nec aliquid scit de hæresi, de se vel de aliis. Hoc excepto, quod hoc anno inter festum Natalis<sup>3</sup> Domini et Carniprivium proximo præterita,<sup>4</sup> Bernardus<sup>5</sup> de Podio de Pradis venit ad ipsum testem<sup>6</sup> apud Podium Laurentium et dixit ipsi testi quod duo probi homines mandabant sibi salutem.<sup>7</sup> Ipse vero testis respondit ei, dicens, 'Nescio qui sunt'. Dictus vero Bernardus dixit ipsi testi, 'Rogant vos<sup>8</sup> quod petatis pro eis ab Arnaldo del Ga, domicello, filio quondam Paderii de Podio Laurentio, militis, illud quod dictus Paderius habebat ab eis': et hæc verba dixit bis ipsi testi. Prædictus Bernardus de Podio diversis temporibus, et ipse testis bis, retulit ipsa  
 157<sup>v</sup> verba Arnaldo del Ga, domicello prædicto, sicut | ea receperat ipse testis a prædicto Bernardo de Podio.

Interrogatus cuiusmodi probi homines credit, et tunc credidit, quod essent illi, dixit quod ipse testis intellexit quod hæretici, et specialiter quod essent Guillelmus Prunelli de Sancto Paulo, et socius eius.

<sup>1</sup> -us added, perhaps over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> -os added.

<sup>3</sup> -is written over deletion, possibly -e.

<sup>4</sup> -a perhaps altered.

<sup>5</sup> -us added.

<sup>6</sup> -em perhaps added.

<sup>7</sup> letter deleted.

<sup>8</sup> originally nos.

*The deposition of Raymond of Estanove, | merchant of Puylaurens, containing that Bernard of Puy of Prades told him on behalf of William Prunel of Saint-Paul and his companions, heretics, to demand from Arnold of Le Gua, squire, son of Padier of Puylaurens, knight, what he had from the said heretics.* 156<sup>v</sup>

*5 days before the kalends of May in the said year.*

In the same year as above, five days before the kalends of May,<sup>1</sup> Raymond of Estanove,<sup>2</sup> merchant of Puylaurens, sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that he never saw | heretics after they were living 157<sup>r</sup> openly, and the same witness was a boy; nor did he ever adore them, nor hear their preaching, nor did he give or send them anything, nor did he have any hope or faith in them, nor does he know anything about heresy, with regard to himself or others. With this exception, that this year between the feast of Christmas and Lent immediately past, Bernard of Puy of Prades came to the same witness at Puylaurens and said to the same witness that two worthy men sent their greetings to him. The same witness, however, answered him, saying, 'I do not know who they are.' The said Bernard, however, said to the same witness, 'They are asking you to ask on their behalf, from Arnold of Le Gua,<sup>3</sup> squire, son of the late Padier of Puylaurens, knight, for that which the said Padier had from them': and he said these words twice to the same witness. The aforesaid Bernard of Puy on various occasions, and the same witness twice, related the same words to Arnold of Le Gua, the aforesaid squire, as | the same witness 157<sup>v</sup> had received them from the aforesaid Bernard of Puy.

Asked what kind of worthy men he believes, and then believed, that those were, he said that the same witness understood that they were heretics, and especially that they were William Prunel of Saint-Paul, and his companion.

<sup>1</sup> April 27 [1274].

<sup>2</sup> Hérault, cant. Montpellier, ch.-lieu région; *DTF*. See 76<sup>v</sup> n. 2 above.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn, comm. Lescout, cant. Puylaurens, arrond. Castres; *Saisimentum*, p. 401; Guà in *DTF*. Arnold of Le Gua, of Padiès, was listed among nobles of Puylaurens who took an oath of loyalty to the king of France, December 20–24 1271, *Saisimentum*, p. 217.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> qualiter prædictus Arnaldus del Ga respondit ipsi testi ad verba prædicta, dixit quod prima vice respondit se nescire quid erat; secunda vice respondit quod loqueretur de his cum Guillelmo, fratre suo.

Dixit etiam, interrogatus, quod ipse fuit coram fratre Guillelmo Arnaldi et eius socio,<sup>2</sup> inquisitoribus,<sup>3</sup> primo, apud Podium Laurentium, et secundo coram fratre *Bernardo* de Cautio et eius socio, similiter inquisitoribus,<sup>4</sup> Tholosæ, apud Sanctum Saturninum, coram quibus nihil confessus fuit, nisi quod viderat hæreticos publice morantes apud Podium  
158<sup>r</sup> Laurentium, et salutabat eos in via sicut alii | de populo.

Item dixit se non recordari utrum iuravit coram dictis inquisitoribus.

Interrogatus<sup>5</sup> in qua ætate erat ipse testis<sup>6</sup> quando hæretici morabantur publice apud Podium Laurentium, dixit quod erat sexdecim vel octodecim annorum.

Hæc deposuit<sup>7</sup> Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore. Testes: frater Arnaldus Autardi et frater *Petrus* Ferrandi, Ordinis Prædicatorum, magister Berengarius de Verneto, magister Petrus de Baure, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>8</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, idus Iunii, prædictus *Raymundus* addidit confessioni suæ, recognoscens quod male fecerat, quia prædicta verba receperat et portaverat, et quia ipsa non revelaverat statim cum sibi dicta fuerunt per prædictum Bernardum de Podio.

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> originally socium.

<sup>3</sup> -ibus added.

<sup>4</sup> -ibus added.

<sup>5</sup> -tus added.

<sup>6</sup> -is added.

<sup>7</sup> -suit written over deletion.

<sup>8</sup> originally inquisitor.

<sup>6</sup> Basilica, in the Bourg at Toulouse; Mundy, *Society*, map opposite p. 7, no. 5.

<sup>7</sup> June 13 [1274].

Asked how the aforesaid Arnold of Le Gua answered the same witness, in response to the aforesaid words, he said that the first time he answered that he did not know what this was; the second time he answered that he would speak about these things<sup>4</sup> with William, his brother.

He also said, questioned, that he had been before brother William Arnold and his companion, inquisitors, firstly, at Puylaurens,<sup>5</sup> and secondly before brother Bernard of Caux and his companion, likewise inquisitors, at Toulouse, at Saint-Sernin,<sup>6</sup> before whom he confessed nothing, except that he had seen heretics living openly at Puylaurens, and used to greet them in the street as others | of the people did.

158<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that he does not remember whether he took an oath before the said inquisitors.

Asked what age the same witness was when the heretics were living openly at Puylaurens, he said that he was sixteen or eighteen years old.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Arnold Aucard and brother Peter Ferrand, of the Order of Preachers, master Berengar of Vernet, master Tolsan, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the Inquisition, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, on the ides of June,<sup>7</sup> the aforesaid Raymond added to his confession, acknowledging that he had done wrong, because he had received and conveyed the aforesaid words, and because he had not reported them immediately when they were said to him by the aforesaid Bernard of Puy.

<sup>4</sup> Or possibly—but less probably—‘about them’—viz. the heretics.

<sup>5</sup> This is the first of a several recollections of this inquisitor. A jurist (*iurisperitus*) from Montpellier, he was one of the first three Dominicans designated near the beginning of 1234 as inquisitors for the dioceses of Toulouse and Cahors. Thereafter and until he was killed in May 20 1242 (on this, see below, 298<sup>v</sup> n. 5) he was one of the most active of the early inquisitors. He featured prominently in William Pelhisson's and William of Puylaurens's chronicle, and in Bernard Gui's account of the convents of the southern province, and there are many modern accounts of him. He was prior for 'a while' (*aliquanto tempore*) of Toulouse, according to Gui. Gui placed him between a priorate that ended June 1237 and one that began in 1242, writing that he could not find the exact dates; Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 50. His career is most reliably described in Dossat, *Crises*; see index-entry, p. 371. His activity in Puylaurens, mentioned by William of Puylaurens, is dated to April or May 1237 by Dossat, *Crises*, p. 138, but 1239 by Duvernoy, Puylaurens, *Chronique*, p. 153 n. 7.



158<sup>v</sup> Hæc deposuit<sup>1</sup> Tholosæ | coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore. Testes: magister Berengarius de Verneto et magister *Petrus* de Baure, *Bernardus* Boneti, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, septimo idus Augusti, Raymundus de Astanova prædictus addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod dictus Bernardus de Podio quæsivit ab ipso teste<sup>2</sup> si vellet aliquid mandare probis hominibus, scilicet hæreticis supradictis; et ipse testis respondit ei,<sup>3</sup> dicens, 'Habetis vos eos?'. Qui respondit ipsi testi,<sup>4</sup> 'Non, sed apud Vaurum sunt'. Et ipse testis dixit, 'Nolo eis aliquid mandare.'

Hæc deposuit<sup>5</sup> Tholosæ, coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore. Testes: frater Petrus Raymundi Baranhonis, Ordinis Prædicatorum, 159<sup>r</sup> magister Iohannes de Esseio, notarius | Inquisitionis,<sup>6</sup> et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi. Et iuravit et abiuravit *etcetera*, et fuit absolutus.

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<sup>1</sup> *originally* de Posuit; -suit written over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> -s- *perhaps* added.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* et.

<sup>4</sup> -s- *perhaps* added.

<sup>5</sup> *originally* de Posuit; -suit written over deletion.

<sup>6</sup> *originally* inquisitor.

These things he attested at Toulouse | before brother Pons of Parnac, 158<sup>v</sup>  
inquisitor. Witnesses: master Berengar of Vernet and master Peter of  
Vaure, Bernard Bonet, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who  
wrote these things.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four,  
seven days before the ides of August,<sup>8</sup> the aforesaid Raymond of Esta-  
nove added to his confession, saying that the said Bernard of Puy asked  
the same witness if he wanted to send anything to the worthy men, that  
is to the aforementioned heretics; and the same witness answered him,  
saying, 'Do you have them?' And he answered the same witness, 'No, but  
they are at Lavaur'. And the same witness said, 'I don't want to send them  
anything.'

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac,  
inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, of the Order  
of Preachers, master John of Essey,<sup>9</sup> notary | of the Inquisition,<sup>10</sup> and I, 159<sup>r</sup>  
Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things. And he took  
an oath and abjured etc., and he was absolved.

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<sup>8</sup> August 7 1274.

<sup>9</sup> There are various places of this name, one of them in Burgundy to the  
north-west of Beaune.

<sup>10</sup> On John, see the discussion of notaries above, p. 86.

*Deposition de Bernard de Montesquieu, fils de Saxius, Chevalier, de Puy Laurens, qui declara avoir adoré Guillaume Prunelli et Bernard Tilhols<sup>1</sup> de Rocavidal, heretiques, et que, leur ayant demandé s'ils croyoient que le Diable fut le Createur des Corps des hommes, ils respondirent que non, mais que leurs enemis leur imposoient cela.*

159<sup>v</sup> *Du Lendemain de | St Jean porte Latine 1274.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, in crastino Sancti Iohannis ante portam Latinam, Bernardus de Monte Esquivo, filius domini Saxii, militis, de Podio Laurentio, iuratus dicere<sup>2</sup> veritatem de se et aliis vivis et mortuis: item, omnibus in quibus deliquerat super<sup>3</sup> hæretica pravitare. Et dixit quod in septimana præcedente Natale Domini proxime transactum vel circa, accidit quod ipse erat in domo Bernardi de Podio apud Pradas, ubi habebat nuces, de quibus mandavit solvi quædam debita apud Sanctum Paulum. Et dictus Bernardus sollicitavit eum  
 160<sup>r</sup> primo an vellet videre amicos Dei—quod dicebat de hæreticis—cui | ipse consensit, et in ipsa domo ipsa die ostendit ei hæreticos Guillelmum Prunelli et socium eius, quem vocabant Bernardum Tilhols<sup>4</sup> de Rupe Vitali, cum quibus sederunt.<sup>5</sup> Et ceperunt comendare se ipsos super abstinentia sua, et puritate vitæ,<sup>6</sup> et scandalo persecutionis quam paciebantur propter Deum.<sup>7</sup> Et multa alia dicebant habentia speciem boni, quæ placuerunt ei. Et interrogati ab ipso an ipsi dicerent diabolus creasse corpora hominum, dixerunt quod non<sup>8</sup> ita dicebant ipsi, sed imponebatur<sup>9</sup> eis a malvolis. Nec amplius processerunt in illa materia, sed rogaverunt eum quod esset amicus eorum; quod ipse promisit eis. Et petierunt ab eo quod daret eis pisces;<sup>10</sup> et promisit, et ita recessit ab eis—requisitus tamen ab

<sup>1</sup> -s added.

<sup>2</sup> ms dicens.

<sup>3</sup> ms sunt.

<sup>4</sup> -s added.

<sup>5</sup> -runt written over deletion.

<sup>6</sup> -æ perhaps altered.

<sup>7</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>8</sup> comma mistakenly placed here.

<sup>9</sup> -tur written over longer deletion.

<sup>10</sup> first -s- perhaps written over deletion.

*The deposition of Bernard of Montesquieu, son of Saix, knight, of Puylaurens, who stated that he had adored William Prunel and Bernard Tilhol of Roquevidal, heretics, and that, when he asked them if they believed that the devil was the creator of men's bodies, they answered no, but that their enemies imputed that to them.*

*From the morrow of | St John outside the Latin Gate 1274.*

159<sup>v</sup>

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, on the morrow of St John outside the Latin Gate,<sup>1</sup> Bernard of Montesquieu,<sup>2</sup> the son of lord Saix, knight, of Puylaurens, sworn to tell the truth about himself and about others, living and dead: that is to say, about all things in which he had transgressed in the matter of heretical depravity. And he said that in the week before last Christmas or thereabouts, it happened that he was in the house of Bernard of Puy at Prades, where he had nuts, from which he ordered certain debts to be paid at Saint-Paul. And the said Bernard asked him first if he wished to see the friends of God—which he said meaning the heretics—to which | 160<sup>r</sup> he agreed, and in the same house on the same day he showed him the heretics William Prunel and his colleague, whom they called Bernard Tilhol of Roquevidal, with whom they sat. And they began to praise themselves for their abstinence, and purity of life, and for the scandal of the persecution which they suffered for God. And they said many other things having the appearance of good, which pleased him. And asked by him if they said that the devil had created the bodies of men, they said that they did not say this, but it was imputed to them by malevolent people. They did not proceed further on that matter, but asked him to be their friend; which he promised them. And they asked him to give them fish; and he promised, and thus he left them—asked however by

<sup>1</sup> May 7 1274.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard of Montesquieu took an oath of loyalty to Alphonse of Poitiers, December 1 1249 (*Layettes du Trésor*, iii.87 no 3829), and he was again listed among the nobles from the *baillie* of Puylaurens taking an oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 1271, *Saisimentum*, pp. 96–97.

160<sup>v</sup> eis quod rediret ad eos; quod et fecit secunda vel tertia die. Et invenit eos in eadem domo, et ipsi dixerunt ei quod non fecerat præcedenti die quod bonus credens eorum facere deberet. Et tum dicerent quod inclinaret se coram eis, et quæ verba diceret; quod et fecit, et hæc postea<sup>1</sup> fecit pluries.

Credebat etiam eos esse bonos homines, et sperabat posse salvari si contingeret ipsum mori in manibus eorum.

Confitetur etiam quod bis aut ter portavit eis pisces—sed nunquam comedit aut bibit cum eis.

Item dixit<sup>2</sup> quod<sup>3</sup> etiam vidit eos in Quadragesima proxime transacta, circa octo dies in principio Quadragesimæ, ibidem.

Item dixit quod quotiens veniebat ad eos adorabat eos.

Item dicit quod Bernardus de Podio et Bona uxor eius videbant omnia hæc et sciebant. Et ipsa bene adorabat eos, sed non vidit quod Bernardus vir eius adoraverit eos: sed bene credit quod hæc faceret alias.

161<sup>r</sup> Item dicit quod erat ibi quidam<sup>4</sup> | garcio, Bernardus de Cantapola, filius ut credit Bernardi de Cantapola, qui<sup>5</sup> bene videbat quando ipse qui loquitur ingrediebatur et egrediebatur, et credit quod totum sciebat—tamen non vidit [eum] cum eis.

Item dicit quod vidit quod multos libros habebant ibi, de quibus interrogavit eos—quid facerent de libris cum ipsi nescirent legere? Cui<sup>6</sup> responderunt quod bene habebant qui eis eos legeret quando volebant, etiam capellanus—non tamen nominaverunt quis esset ille, nec ipse interrogavit.

Interrogatus an alium quemlibet ibi viderit, aut audiverit ab eis quod haberent amicos in terra ista, dixit quod non.

161<sup>v</sup> Item dicit quod dictus garcio, filius Bernardi de Cantapola, postquam fugerat, audita captione patris sui, venit ad ipsum testem qui loquitur, consulens | eum quid faceret de se ipso; qui ei consuluit quod absentaret se. Fugerat enim, ut dicit, quia adduxerat quandam equam quæ erat patris sui, quam curia requirebat, et ipse timebat capi.

Interrogatus super pluribus, dixit se nihil scire amplius.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* post ea.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* die; *deletion*, *perhaps* -m.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* quo; -d *deleted*.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* qui dam.

<sup>5</sup> -i *written over deletion*.

<sup>6</sup> *originally* Qui.

them to return to them; which he did, on the second or third day. And he found them in the same house, and they said to him that he had not done on the previous | day what a good believer of theirs ought to do. 160<sup>v</sup> And then they told him to bow down before them, and what words to say; which he did, and afterwards he did these things often.

He also believed that they were good men, and he hoped that he would be able to be saved if it should happen to him to die in their hands.

He also confesses that he carried fish to them two or three times—but he never ate or drank with them.

Item, he said that he also saw them during last Lent, about eight days from the beginning of Lent, in the same place.

Item, he said that whenever he came to them he adored them.

Item, he says that Bernard of Puy and Bona his wife saw all these things and knew of them. And she certainly adored them, but he did not see Bernard her husband adore them: but he certainly believes that he did these things elsewhere.

Item, he says that there was there a certain | boy, Bernard of Can- 161<sup>r</sup> tepoule, the son as he believes of Bernard of Cantepoule, who certainly saw when he who is speaking went in and out, and he believes that he knew everything—however he did not see [him] with them.

Item, he says that he saw that they had many books there, about which he questioned them—what did they do with the books when they could not read? They answered him that they certainly had someone to read them to them when they wanted, a chaplain even—they did not however name who he was, nor did he ask.<sup>3</sup>

Asked whether he saw anyone else at all there, or heard from them that they had friends in that land, he said no.

Item, he says that the said boy, the son of Bernard of Cantepoule, after he had fled, when he heard of the capture of his father, came to the same witness who is speaking, asking for advice | about what he should do 161<sup>v</sup> with himself; and he advised him to absent himself. For he had fled, as he says, because he had brought a certain mare which belonged to his father, which the court required,<sup>4</sup> and he himself feared to be captured.

Asked about many things, he said that he knew nothing more.

<sup>3</sup> An obvious possibility is Alegre, chaplain of Roquevidal.

<sup>4</sup> Officials sequestered the property of heresy suspects when they were arrested.

Huius confessionis, receptæ mandato inquisitorum,<sup>1</sup> testes:<sup>2</sup> magister<sup>3</sup> Guillelmus<sup>4</sup> de Podio Laurentio,<sup>5</sup> et dominus Guillelmus,<sup>6</sup> capellanus<sup>7</sup> de Guitalo<sup>x</sup>, et Aymericus sacerdos,<sup>8</sup> socius<sup>9</sup> eiusdem. Et abiurat hæresi *etcetera*, et obligavit se et sua ipsis inquisitoribus perpetuo, quod pro his quæ confessus est parebit voluntati eorum in omnibus ei<sup>10</sup> mandatis.

Postea, anno Domini quod supra, idus Iulii, prædicta confessio fuit recitata prædicto Bernardo de Monte Esquivo apud Tholosam<sup>11</sup> per me, 162<sup>r</sup> magistrum Belrengarium de Verneto, coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore:<sup>12</sup> quam concessit se fecisse, et veram esse. Et addidit quod ipse testis<sup>13</sup> visitavit, quandoque de die, quandoque de nocte, supradictos hæreticos in prædicta domo quinquies vel sexies; et qualibet vice, prima excepta, adoravit ipsos hæreticos ter qualibet vice, flexis genibus ante ipsos hæreticos,<sup>14</sup> dicendo 'Benedicite'<sup>15</sup> qualibet genuflexione, secundum morem hæreticorum;<sup>16</sup> et audivit monitiones eorum.

Interrogatus<sup>17</sup> si fuit hæreticatus vel fecit pactum de hæreticando se cum prædictis vel aliis<sup>18</sup> hæreticis, dixit quod non.

Interrogatus,<sup>19</sup> dixit etiam quod nunquam alibi, nec cum aliis personis vel persona, vidit unquam hæreticos, nec scivit quod aliæ personæ 162<sup>v</sup> viderunt vel sciverunt eos, nec fuit | coram inquisitore usque modo.

<sup>1</sup> -um written over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> superscript, added in place of a deletion, perhaps per.

<sup>3</sup> -er altered; m deleted: perhaps originally per magistrum.

<sup>4</sup> -s altered, probably from -m.

<sup>5</sup> -o altered from -i.

<sup>6</sup> ms Guillelmus; -us perhaps intended to replace -i.

<sup>7</sup> ms capellani.

<sup>8</sup> ms sacerdos.

<sup>9</sup> -us written over deletion.

<sup>10</sup> ms et.

<sup>11</sup> -m written over deletion; two letters deleted: perhaps originally Tholosanum or Tholosanam.

<sup>12</sup> -s perhaps added.

<sup>13</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>14</sup> ter qualibet vice, flexis genibus ante ipsos hereticos repeated here, then deleted.

<sup>15</sup> superfluous quæ added here.

<sup>16</sup> -orum perhaps added.

<sup>17</sup> -tus added.

<sup>18</sup> second -i- written over -s; -s added.

<sup>19</sup> -tus added.

Of this confession, received at the command of the inquisitors, there are witnesses: master William of Puylaurens,<sup>5</sup> and lord William chaplain of Guitalens, and Aimery, priest, his colleague. And he abjures heresy etc., and has pledged himself and his goods to the same inquisitors in perpetuity, that on account of what he has confessed he will obey their will in everything he is commanded.

Afterwards, in the same year of Our Lord as above, on the ides of July,<sup>6</sup> the aforesaid confession was read out to the aforesaid Bernard of Montesquieu at Toulouse by me, master Berengar | of Vernet, before brother 162<sup>r</sup>  
Pons of Parnac, inquisitor: which he acknowledged that he had made, and that it was true. And he added that the same witness visited, sometimes by day, sometimes by night, the aforementioned heretics in the aforesaid house five or six times; and each time, except for the first, he adored the same heretics, three times on each occasion, genuflecting before the same heretics, saying 'Bless me' at each genuflection, according to the custom of the heretics; and he heard their admonitions.

Asked if he was hereticated, or made an agreement to have himself hereticated with the aforesaid or other heretics, he said no.

Questioned, he also said that nowhere else, nor with any other persons or person, did he ever see heretics, nor did he know that other people saw or knew of them, nor did he appear | before an inquisitor until now. 162<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The editors accept the identity of master William of Puylaurens here (i) with each of those also called master William of Puylaurens who was (ii) rector of the church of Puylaurens in the 1230s and 1240s, (iii) notary to depositions in Toulouse 609, f. (1245–1246), (iv) chaplain to count Raymond VII of Toulouse and (v) author of a chronicle written in the mid-1270s. The most recent arguments against seeing these as one person are stated by E. Graham-Leigh, *The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensian Crusade* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 36–39. William is discussed further in the introduction above, pp. 52, 56, 86 and 108–110.

<sup>6</sup> July 15 [1274].



Addidit etiam quod fuit in credentia hæreticorum eorumdem, qua dixit superius, ab illo die quo primo vidit ipsos hæreticos usque ad octo dies ante confessionem prædictam quam fecit magistro Guillelmo de Podio Laurentio,<sup>1</sup> viceinquisitori.<sup>2</sup> Testes: frater Helias Monhau de Ordine Prædicatorum, magister Atho de Sancto Victore, *Bernardus Boneti*,<sup>3</sup> notarius Inquisitionis,<sup>4</sup> et magister Berengarius de Vernetto, qui hæc scripsit; et fuit etiam testis de omnibus prædictis Guillelmus de Contour, procurator Domini Regis super incursibus hæresum.<sup>5</sup> Et abiuravit et iuravit,<sup>6</sup> *etcetera*, et fuit reconciliatus. Testes: prædicti.

Item dixit quod quadam die cum ipse testis<sup>7</sup> et Bernardus de Podio prædictus exirent de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, idem Ber[nardus] de Podio rediit retro, dicens se velle loqui cum quodam probo homine, ipso teste expectante ipsum *Bernardum* ante ecclesiam Sancti Amancii. Et post aliquam moram venit dictus *Bernardus* de Podio, aportans secum quendam parvum librum coopertum corio nigro, et unum saccum parvum, ubi erant denarii aurei, dicens quod illa tradiderat sibi Petrus de Vilela, senex de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, ut ea daret prædicto Guillelmo Prunelli, hæretico. Et exinde, ipso teste et dicto *Bernardo* de Podio euntibus viam suam versus Pradas, ad instantiam ipsius testis, qui nunquam viderat denarios aureos, idem *Bernardus* recognovit, præsentem ipso teste, numerando, quod denarii aurei erant in sacco illo, et erant ibi sexaginta quinque morabatini vel alii denarii aurei, quorum ipse testis tenuit unum.

163<sup>v</sup> Et inde iverunt recte<sup>8</sup> ad mansum dicti | *Bernardi* de Podio, ubi tunc erant dicti hæretici. Et statim dictus *Bernardus* de Podio ascendit ad eosdem hæreticos,<sup>9</sup> et ipse testis<sup>10</sup> post modicam moram, equo suo stabilato,<sup>11</sup> et cum ascenderet, audivit<sup>12</sup> dictum Guillelmum Prunelli loquentem,

<sup>1</sup> -o altered, probably from -i.

<sup>2</sup> originally vice inquisitore.

<sup>3</sup> ms Bonus.

<sup>4</sup> originally inquisitor.

<sup>5</sup> -m altered.

<sup>6</sup> -avit added.

<sup>7</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>8</sup> ms rocte.

<sup>9</sup> -os probably added.

<sup>10</sup> -is probably added.

<sup>11</sup> ascen deleted.

<sup>12</sup> a- altered from d-.

He also added that he was in the belief of the same heretics, as he said above, from that day when he first saw the same heretics, until eight days before the aforesaid confession which he made to master William of Puylaurens, vice-inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Elias Manhan of the Order of Preachers, master Atho of Saint-Victor, Bernard Bonet, notary of the Inquisition, and master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote these things; and William of *Contour*, the Lord King's procurator for forfeitures for heresy,<sup>7</sup> was also a witness of all the aforesaid. And he abjured and took an oath, etc. and was reconciled. Witnesses: the aforesaid.

Item,<sup>8</sup> he said that on a certain day when the same witness and the aforesaid Bernard of Puy were going out of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, the same Bernard | of Puy went back, saying that he wanted to speak 163<sup>r</sup> with a certain worthy man, and the same witness waited for the same Bernard in front of the church of Saint-Amans.<sup>9</sup> And after some delay the said Bernard of Puy came, bringing with him a certain small book covered with black leather, and a small sack, in which were golden coins, saying that Peter of Villèle, an old man of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux,<sup>10</sup> had handed them over to him for him to give them to the aforesaid William Prunel, heretic. And from there, while the same witness and the said Bernard of Puy went on their way towards Prades, at the request of the same witness, who had never seen golden coins, the same Bernard acknowledged, in the presence of the same witness, by counting them, that the golden coins were in that sack, and there were sixty-five maravedis or other golden coins there, of which the same witness kept one. And from there they went straight to the *mas* of the said | 163<sup>v</sup> Bernard of Puy, where the said heretics then were. And immediately the said Bernard of Puy went up to the same heretics, and the same witness, after a short delay, when his horse had been stabled, and when he had come up, heard the said William Prunel speaking, and saying

<sup>7</sup> William of *Contour* may be identifiable with William of Concots, 14<sup>r</sup> above. For the confiscation of goods of convicted heretics and the royal officials who administered these goods, see above, pp. 53–55 and 115.

<sup>8</sup> [July 15 1274]. An addendum to the previous deposition.

<sup>9</sup> One of the places called Saint-Amans is 2 km from Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux; DTF.

<sup>10</sup> The knight Bartac said that he had seen Peter of Villèle (Petrus de Villela) at a sermon and in the company of the heretics Bertrand Martin and Guilabert of Castres in a garden near Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux around 1237; D24, f. 111<sup>r-v</sup>.

et dicentem ipsi *Bernardo* de Podio, ‘Be a faig mas ben a restanta<sup>1</sup> quatre trins,’—intelligens ipse testis quod diceret de Petro Vilela prædicto, qui miserat eis dictos aureos, quos [receperat] ab eisdem hæreticis in deposito<sup>2</sup> vel debebat eis.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis<sup>3</sup> vidit tunc dictum librum super quamdam archam coram ipsis hæreticis.

Interrogatus,<sup>4</sup> dixit quod dictus *Bernardus* de Podio non dedit prædicta hæreticis ipso teste præsentē, nec alia de hoc vidit, nec vidit unquam ipsum *Petrum* de Vilela cum hæreticis, nec locutus fuit unquam cum<sup>5</sup> ipso teste<sup>6</sup> de hoc vel facto hæreticorum, nec ipse testis ipso.<sup>7</sup>

164<sup>r</sup> Dixit etiam quod cum ipse testis<sup>8</sup> ascen|disset ad dictos hæreticos, loquentes prædicta cum *Bernardo* de Podio, et interrogaret de quo loquerentur, respondit Guillelmus Prunelli, dicens ‘Loquimur de amicis nostris.’

Hæc deposuit coram inquisitore<sup>9</sup> et testibus supradictis.

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<sup>1</sup> *ms* bena restanta.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* inde posito; -s- *perhaps* added.

<sup>3</sup> -is *perhaps* added.

<sup>4</sup> -tus *probably* added.

<sup>5</sup> *added, in margin.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms* testo.

<sup>7</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>8</sup> -is *perhaps* added.

<sup>9</sup> -s- *added.*

to the same Bernard of Puy, 'He's done well, but he's certainly kept four crumbs back,'—the same witness understanding that he was saying this about the aforesaid Peter of Villèle, who had sent him the said golden coins, which [he had received] from the same heretics for safe-keeping, or which he owed them.

He also said that at that time the same witness saw the said book on a certain chest in front of the same heretics.

Questioned, he said that the said Bernard of Puy did not give the aforesaid to the heretics in the presence of the same witness, nor did he see other things of this kind, nor did he ever see the same Peter of Villèle with the heretics, nor did he ever speak with the same witness about this, or about the matter of the heretics, nor the same witness to him.

He also said that when the same witness had gone | up to the said 164<sup>r</sup> heretics, who were speaking of the aforesaid things with Bernard of Puy, and asked what they were speaking about, William Prunel answered, saying, 'We are speaking about our friends.'

These things he attested before the aforesaid inquisitor and witnesses.

*Audition de Bezersa, femme de Pierre Isarn de Sestairol, Chevalier, qui declara qu'elle n'avoit jamais veu aucun heretique ny Vaudois, et qu'elle n'avoit point dit<sup>1</sup> que Dieu ne se fut point incarné, et que la Ste Vierge ne fut mere de Dieu, ny que les esprits qui estoient tombés du Ciel a cause de leur su|perbe deussent estre sauvez, ny que la Ste Vierge ne pouvoit point avoir esté conceve en peché. Et dit qu'elle gardoit les jeunes commandés.*

*14<sup>o</sup> kalendas Iunii audit an.*

Anno quo proximo, decimo quarto kalendas Iunii, domina Bezersa, uxor Petri Isarni de Sestarlo, militis, vocata ut suspecta de hæresi, testis iurata<sup>2</sup> et interrogata,<sup>3</sup> dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos nec adoravit, nec duxit nec associavit, nec comedit nec bibit cum hæreticis, nec aliquid de suo eis dedit nec misit, vel recepit ab eis, nec eos credidit, nec aliquam fa|miliaritatem nec participationem cum ipsis habuit. Hoc idem dixit de Valdensibus.

Interrogata<sup>4</sup> si recepit ab aliqua persona quod non revelaret quæ diceret, dixit quod non.

Interrogata si dixit ista verba, quod Deus non venit in Beatam Virginem carnaliter, nec in aliquam mulierem, nec quod Beata Virgo esset mater Dei, dixit quod non.

Item interrogata<sup>5</sup> si dixit quod tantum peccatum<sup>6</sup> facit homo cum una muliere quod cum alia, et mulier tantum peccatum facit iacendo cum uno homine quam cum alio, dixit quod non.

Item interrogata<sup>7</sup> si dixit quod omnes spiritus qui propter superbiam suam ceciderunt de cælo ad huc salvabuntur, dixit quod non.

Item interrogata<sup>8</sup> si quando laborat in partu clamet 'Sancte Spiritus valme!' et non 'Beatam | Virginem' nec 'Iesum Christum!' dixit quod non.

<sup>1</sup> *superscript.*

<sup>2</sup> *originally* iuratus.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* interrogatus.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* Interea.

<sup>5</sup> *originally* interrogatus.

<sup>6</sup> *altered, possibly from* prædictum.

<sup>7</sup> *originally* interrogatus.

<sup>8</sup> *originally* interrogatus.

*The hearing of Bezersa, the wife of Peter Isarn of Cestayrols, knight, who stated that she had never seen any heretic or Waldensian, and that she had certainly not said that God had never become incarnate, and that the Holy Virgin was not the mother of God, or that the spirits who had fallen from heaven because of their | pride must be saved, nor that the Holy Virgin could certainly not have been conceived in sin. And she said that she kept the decreed fasts.* 164<sup>v</sup>

*14 days before the kalends of June in the said year.*

In the same year as above, fourteen days before the kalends of June,<sup>1</sup> lady Bezersa, the wife of Peter Isarn of Cestayrols, knight, summoned as a suspect of heresy, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said that she never saw heretics or adored them, or led or accompanied them, or ate or drank with heretics, or gave or sent anything of hers to them, or received anything from them, or believed in them, or had any | close association or dealings with them. She said the same about Waldensians. 165<sup>r</sup>

Asked if she received from any person a promise that they would not reveal what she said, she said no.

Asked if she said these words, that God did not come into the Blessed Virgin carnally, nor into any woman, or that the Blessed Virgin was not the mother of God, she said no.

Item, asked if she said that a man sins as greatly with one woman as with another, and a woman sins as greatly lying with one man as with another, she said no.

Item, asked if she said that all the spirits who fell from heaven because of their pride will yet be saved, she said no.

Item, asked if when she is in labour in childbirth she cries 'Holy Spirit help me!' and not 'Blessed | Virgin' or 'Jesus Christ!' she said no. 165<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> May 19 [1274].

Item interrogata<sup>1</sup> si dixit quod panis benedictus est peccatum gentium, dixit quod non.

Item interrogata<sup>2</sup> si dixit quando clerici prædicant<sup>3</sup> verbum Dei, 'Credatis eis, quia ipsi bene sciunt quæ volunt dicere', dixit quod non.

Interrogata si servat ieiunia statuta ab Ecclesia in vigiliis sanctorum, et in aliis temporibus, dixit quod sic.

Interrogata<sup>4</sup> si dixit quod non credebat quod Beata Virgo esset concepta ex viro et muliere, nec fieri poterat quod concepta esset in peccato, dixit quod non.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre<sup>5</sup> Ramnulphe de Placiaco, inquisitore. Testes: frater Arnaldus Girvasii, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et Constantinus de Stella,<sup>6</sup> et ego, Bernardus Boneti, notarius publicus, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> *originally* interrogatus.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* interrogatus.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* prædicat.

<sup>4</sup> *originally* interrogatus.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* fratribus.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* Scella.

Item, asked if she said that blessed bread is a sin of the heathens, she said no.

Item, asked if she said when the clerics preach the word of God, 'You believe them, because they know well what they want to say,' she said no.

Asked if she observes the fasts ordained by the Church on the eves of saints' feasts, and at other times, she said yes.

Asked if she said that she did not believe that the Blessed Virgin had been conceived of a man and woman, or that it was possible that she had been conceived in sin, she said no.

These things she attested before brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Arnold Gervase, of the Order of Preachers, and Constantine of L'Estelle, and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary, who wrote these things.



- 166<sup>r</sup> *Deposition de Bernard Molinier de Trebes, contenant qu'il avoit veu deux heretiques qui visiterent Paderius, Chevalier, Seigneur del Peut, et creut qu'ils le rendirent heretique pendant sa maladie, en prononçant certaines paroles qu'il n'entendoit pas, et ayant une chandele allumée en presence de Guillaume Matfredi, fils dudit Chevalier, et qu'il disoit en sa maladie que*  
 166<sup>v</sup> *s'il mouroit le vendredy il estoit perdu et que s'il passoit | ce iour il estoit sauvé.*

3<sup>o</sup> idus Iunii audit an.

- Anno et die quibus proximo, Bernardus Molinerii, oriundus de Tribus Bonis, diocesis Carcassonensis, qui nunc moratur apud Lescout, diocesis Tholosanensis, adductus captus tanquam suspectus de hæresi, testis<sup>1</sup> iuratus<sup>2</sup> et interrogatus<sup>3</sup> super facto hæresis et Valdensiæ, de veritate dicenda tam de se quam de aliis, vivis et mortuis, dixit quod cum ipse moraretur cum Paderio, milite, domino del Peut, tenens et regens molendinum ipsius militis quod habebat apud Lescout, quadam nocte  
 167<sup>r</sup> cum esset in domo dicti militis apud Empeut, et ipse Paderius iaceret infirmus in camera dictæ domus, infirmitate qua decessit, et ipse testis esset in eadem camera ante dictum infirmum, Guillelmus Matfredi, filius dicti militis, mandavit per Raymundum Carbonelli, cum morabatur tunc cum dicto Paderio milite, ut ipse testis<sup>4</sup> exiret cameram supradictam; quod et fecit idem testis.<sup>5</sup> Et cum esset in aula, et parum post, respiceret per quoddam foramen infra dictam cameram: vidit ibi duos homines ante dictum<sup>6</sup> infirmum, tenentes quandam candelam accensam coram eodem infirmo, qui iacebat in lecto infirmus,<sup>7</sup> et loquebantur quædam verba quæ ipse testis minime intellexit. Et erant ibi

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> ms interrogatus; -tus added.

<sup>3</sup> ms interrogatur; -tur added.

<sup>4</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>5</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>6</sup> ms antedictum.

<sup>7</sup> -us written over deletion: it is hard to tell if infirmus is what the scribe finally intended.

*The deposition of Bernard, miller of Trèbes, containing that he had seen two heretics who visited Padier, knight, lord of Lempaut, and he believed that they made him a heretic during his illness, by pronouncing certain words which he did not hear, and having a candle lit in the presence of William Matfred, the son of the said knight, and that he said in his illness that if he died on a Friday he was lost, and if he lived through | that day he was saved.* 166<sup>r</sup> 166<sup>v</sup>

*3 days before the ides of June in the said year.*

In the same year and on the same day as immediately above,<sup>1</sup> Bernard, miller (or Bernard Molinier), a native of Trèbes,<sup>2</sup> in the diocese of Carcassonne, who now lives at Lescout,<sup>3</sup> in the diocese of Toulouse, brought out, having been captured as a suspect of heresy, sworn in as a witness and questioned on the matter of heresy and Waldensianism, to tell the truth both about himself and about others, living and dead, said that when he was living with Padier, knight, lord of Lempaut, holding and running the mill of the same knight which he had at Lescout, one night when he was in the house of the said | knight at Lempaut, and the same Padier was lying sick in the chamber of the said house, with the illness of which he died, and the same witness was in the same chamber before the said sick man, William Matfred,<sup>4</sup> the son of the said knight, gave orders through Raymond Carbonel, since he was then living with the said Padier, knight, that the same witness was to leave the aforesaid chamber; which the same witness did. And when he was in the hall, and shortly after, he looked through a certain hole below the said chamber: he saw there two men in front of the said sick man, holding a certain lit candle before the same sick man, who was lying ill in bed; and they spoke certain words which the same witness did not understand. And there were there the aforesaid 167<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to be sure what the point of reference is here, but the previous deposition seems reasonable: so a provisional date of May 19 1274 is suggested.

<sup>2</sup> Aude, cant. Capendu, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1094.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn, cant. Puylaurens, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>4</sup> See 30<sup>v</sup> n. 12 and 137<sup>r</sup> n. 7 above.

Guillelmus Matfredi et Raymundus Carbonelli prædicti, et Guillelma  
 167<sup>v</sup> Valsora, quæ alias cognominatur Guilaberta, ancilla dicti infirmi, | quæ  
 intrabat tunc dictam cameram, et exhibat post modum. Cum prædicti  
 homines aliquam moram coram dicto infirmo in dicta camera contra-  
 xissent, dictus infirmus fecit vocari ipsum testem<sup>1</sup> per Raymundum Car-  
 bonelli prædictum, rogans eum quod una cum dicto Raymundo Car-  
 bonelli educeret inde dictos homines, et eos associaret usque ad locum  
 aliquam ubi iacerent. Et tunc dictus testis et dictus Raymundus Carbo-  
 nelli duxerunt dictos homines extra villam de Lempeut ad domum Ber-  
 nardini Bordas quæ est in quodam capinasio prope Frontorgue, et in  
 eadem domo audivit ipse testis uxorem Bernardini prædicti dicentem  
 quod Deus<sup>2</sup> non fecit mundum istum, imo habuit alium factorem, quia  
 dictus est ita: 'Deus,<sup>3</sup> quod non est dignatus facere istum mundum'. Et  
 168<sup>r</sup> tunc dictus testis, | auditis istis verbis ita dictis, cogitavit in corde suo,  
 et credidit quod dicti homines essent hæretici. Et cum dictus testis, et  
 ipse Raymundus Carbonelli ibi stetissent aliquantulum, recesserunt, et ad  
 domum dicti Paderii eadem nocte sunt reversi, dictis hominibus dimisis  
 in domo Bernardi superius nominati.

Crastina die, cum dictus testis et Raymundus Carbonelli irent apud  
 Lescout, voluit dictus [Raymundus] quod diverterent ad domum Ray-  
 mundi Carteriæ quæ est ibi iuxta stratam, et invenerunt ibi homines  
 quos dimiserant in domo dicti Bernardini. Et tunc ipse Raymundus Car-  
 teria et Raymundus Carbonelli, et ipse testis<sup>4</sup> cum eis, duxerunt ipsos  
 homines usque Advedunde<sup>5</sup> Tinhozet, et tunc recessit dictus Raymun-  
 dus Carteria ab eis, ipso teste et dicto Raymundo Carbonelli remanenti-  
 168<sup>v</sup> bus cum eisdem hominibus. Et | dictus Raymundus Carbonelli postea  
 duxit dictos homines ad nemus de Sormorta in capite pontis de Mel-  
 ric, in quadam barta quæ est ibi. Et dictus testis sequebatur eos discal-  
 ciatus, lento gressu, et vidit ibi iuxta nemus, in quodam prato, Iohan-  
 nem de Hugone pascentem animalia sua, et parum post idem testis  
 vidit Guillelmum Matfredi prædictum venientem in equo suo, et intra-  
 verunt bartam<sup>6</sup> prædictam, ubi erant homines supradicti. Et tunc dictus

<sup>1</sup> -em *perhaps* added.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* dictus; corrected to Deus in margin, apparently by reader.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* Dives.

<sup>4</sup> -is *perhaps* added.

<sup>5</sup> (possibly) superfluous abbreviation mark over -u-.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* barram.

William Matfred and Raymond Carbonel, and Guillelma Valsora, who is otherwise known as Guilaberta, the said sick man's maidservant, | who 167<sup>v</sup> was then entering the said chamber, and afterwards went out. When the aforesaid men had spent some time before the said sick man in the said chamber, the said sick man had the same witness called by the aforesaid Raymond Carbonel, asking him, together with the said Raymond Carbonel, to show the said men out of there, and to accompany them as far as some place where they were staying. And then the said witness and the said Raymond Carbonel led the said men outside the village of Lempaut to the house of Bernardin Bordas, which is in a certain head-manor near *Frontorge*, and in the same house the same witness heard the wife of the aforesaid Bernardin saying that God did not make this world, but that it had another maker, because it is said: 'God, who did not deign to make this world'. And then the said witness, | hearing these 168<sup>r</sup> words said in this way, thought in his heart, and believed that the said men were heretics. And when the said witness and the same Raymond Carbonel had been there a little time, they left and went back to the house of the said Padier the same night, having left the said men in the house of the Bernard named above.

On the following day, when the same witness and Raymond Carbonel were going to Lescout, the said [Raymond] wanted them to turn aside to the house of Raymond Cartière which is there, next to the highway, and they found there the men whom they had left in the house of the said Bernardin. And then the same Raymond Cartière, and Raymond Carbonel, and the same witness with them, took the same men, to the *Adciedun*<sup>5</sup> of *Tinhozet*,<sup>6</sup> and then the said Raymond Cartière left them, while the same witness and the said Raymond Carbonel remained with the same men. And | the said Raymond Carbonel afterwards took the 168<sup>v</sup> said men to the wood of 'Sormorta', at the head of the bridge of *Melric*, in a certain piece of scrubland which is there. And the said witness followed them barefoot, at a slow pace, and saw there next to the wood, in a certain meadow, John of Hugh feeding his animals, and shortly after the same witness saw the aforesaid William Matfred coming on his horse, and they entered the aforesaid scrubland, where the aforesaid men were. And

<sup>5</sup> Unidentified word, perhaps form of 'access'. Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 102, translates as ford ('gué').

<sup>6</sup> Not identified.

Guillelmus Matfredi fecit dici eidem testi<sup>1</sup> per prædictum Raymundum Carbonelli quod rediret, et iret apud molendinum apud Lescout; quod et fecit ipse testis.

Et in crastinum dictus Raymundus Carbonelli venit ad ipsum testem<sup>2</sup> apud Lescout petens si haberet pisces, et dum ipse testis<sup>3</sup> quæreretur ab eodem Raymundo Carbonelli si prædicti homi|nes essent hæretici, 'Et<sup>4</sup> 169<sup>r</sup> quid ad vos? Si petissetis ab eis non negassent vobis.' Dixit etiam ipsi testi, quærenti an essent hæretici, quod bene erant hæretici—et etiam dixit ei quod alter illorum vocabatur Bernardus Faber de Cabardes, et alterius nomen sibi non expressit. Dixit etiam dictus Raymundus Carbonelli quod dicti homines magnam pecuniam secum deferebant.

Et eadem die dictus Iohannes de Hugone dixit ipsi testi quod ipse vidit quod Guillelmus Matfredi et Raymundus Carbonelli prædicti tenebant duos hæreticos in nemore de Sormorta, et quod de hoc posset cum<sup>5</sup> eis procurare magnum damnum.

Dixit etiam dictus testis quod bene credit quod dicti homines essent hæretici de quibus fuit loquutus eidem testi<sup>6</sup> Iohannes de Hugone.

169<sup>v</sup> Interrogatus de tempore, dixit quod quin|que anni vel circa, sed non est bene certus; dixit tamen quod in illa septimana decessit Paderius superius memoratus.

Interrogatus<sup>7</sup> si dicti homines quos credit esse hæreticos hæreticaverunt dictum Paderium in ægritudine<sup>8</sup> qua decessit, tunc quando vidit eos in camera ipsius, aut [...] ipsum dixit quod credit.

Interrogatus<sup>9</sup> si adoravit prædictos hæreticos<sup>10</sup> vel comedit vel bibit cum eis, vel aliquid de suo eis dedit vel misit, vel recepit ab eis, vel verba vel monitiones audivit, dixit quod non.

Interrogatus<sup>11</sup> si unquam vidit alios hæreticos vel aliquid comisit in hæresi, dixit quod non.

<sup>1</sup> -s- *perhaps added*.

<sup>2</sup> -em *probably added*.

<sup>3</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>4</sup> *ms Ei.*

<sup>5</sup> *perhaps added*.

<sup>6</sup> -s- *added*.

<sup>7</sup> -us *added*.

<sup>8</sup> æ- *altered from e-*.

<sup>9</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>10</sup> -t- *altered from -d-; -icos perhaps added*.

<sup>11</sup> -tus *added*.

then the said William Matfred had the same witness told by the aforesaid Raymond Carbonel to go back, and to go to the mill at Lescout; which the same witness did.

And on the following day the said Raymond Carbonel came to the same witness at Lescout, asking if he had any fish, and, when the same witness asked the same Raymond Carbonel if the aforesaid men | were 169<sup>r</sup> heretics, 'And what is it to you? If you had asked them they would not have refused to tell you.' He also said to the same witness, when he asked if they were heretics, that they were indeed heretics—and he also told him that one of them was called Bernard Faure (*or* Bernard, smith) of the Cabardès,<sup>7</sup> and the other's name he did not mention to him. The said Raymond Carbonel also said that the said men were carrying a great deal of money with them.

And on the same day the said John of Hugh said to the same witness that he saw that the aforesaid William Matfred and Raymond Carbonel had two heretics in the wood of 'Sormorta', and that from this he could bring about great harm with them.

The said witness also said that he fully believes that the said men were the heretics about whom John of Hugh spoke to the same witness.

Asked about the time, he said that five | years ago or thereabouts, but he 169<sup>v</sup> is not quite sure; he said however that in that week the Padier mentioned above died.

Asked whether the said men whom he believes to be heretics hereticated the said Padier in the illness of which he died, then when he saw them in his chamber, or [...] him,<sup>8</sup> he said that he believes so.

Asked if he adored the aforesaid heretics, or ate or drank with them, or gave or sent them anything of his, or received anything from them, or heard their words or admonitions, he said no.

Asked if he ever saw any other heretics, or committed any act of heresy, he said no.

<sup>7</sup> Area between the Montagne Noire (to the N) and Carcassonne (to the S).

<sup>8</sup> The Doat scribe appears to have left some words out here, although there is no gap in the manuscript.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> si alias fuit coram inquisitore,<sup>2</sup> dixit quod non; nec nunquam abiuravit hæresim, nec unquam fuit super hoc requisitus. Recognovit etiam dictus testis<sup>3</sup> se malefecisse, quia non revelavit prædicta inquisitori.<sup>4</sup> | Iuravit et abiuravit etcetera, fuitque reconciliatus.

Hæc deposuit coram fratribus Ramnulpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitoribus. Testes: Constantinus de Stella<sup>5</sup> et Raymundus de Molinis, et ego, Bernardus Boneti, publicus Tholosæ notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Item, anno quo supra, decimo kalendas Iunii, prædictus Bernardus Molinerii addidit confessioni suæ, quod dum prædicti hæretici erant in domo Bernardini Bordas, ut supra dictum est, prædictus Bernardus dixit, ipso teste<sup>6</sup> audiente, quod dominus Paderius miserat ibi duos bossellos<sup>7</sup> de bono vino de cellario suo de Frontorgue, quos bossellos ipse testis vidit, et cognovit esse dicti Paderii. Et erant ibi præsentibus quando ipse Bernardinus dixit prædicta supradicti | duo hæretici, et Raymundus Carbonelli prædictus, et Stephanus Magistri, et uxor eiusdem Bernardini, et filius dicti Bernardini, qui erat ætatis circiter octo annorum, et filia sua quæ nunc habet virum, quorum nomina nescit, apud Cambonetum den Candra. Ipse testis tamen non bibit de dicto vino, nec scit quis aportavit ibi ipsum vinum.

Dixit etiam quod alter dictorum hæreticorum, scilicet Bernardus Faber, dedit duos denarios infantibus dicti Raymundi Carteriæ: eis<sup>8</sup> prædictus hæreticus proiecit illos denarios in terram.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Ramnulpho, inquisitore. Testes: fratres Ramnulphus Guillelmi et Arnaldus Gervasii, laquetus carcerarius, et magister Berengarius de Verneto, qui hæc scripsit.

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> -s- added.

<sup>3</sup> -is probably added.

<sup>4</sup> -s- added, possibly over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> ms Scella.

<sup>6</sup> originally ipsi testi.

<sup>7</sup> b- written over deletion.

<sup>8</sup> ms eius.

Asked whether he had been before an inquisitor on any other occasion, he said no; nor did he ever abjure heresy, nor was he ever questioned about this. The said witness also acknowledged that he had done wrong, because he did not report the aforesaid to the inquisitor. | And he took 170<sup>r</sup> an oath and abjured etc., and was reconciled.

These things he attested before brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: Constantine of L'Estelle and Raymond of Moulis,<sup>9</sup> and I, Bernard Bonet, public notary of Toulouse, who wrote these things.

Item, in the same year as above, ten days before the kalends of June,<sup>10</sup> the aforesaid Bernard, miller (*or* Bernard Molinier) added to his confession that, while the aforesaid heretics were in the house of Bernardin Bordas, as has been said above, the aforesaid Bernard said, in the hearing of the same witness, that lord Padier had sent there two bushels of good wine from his cellar at *Frontorgue*: which bushels the same witness saw, and recognised as belonging to the said Padier. And there were present there when the same Bernardin said the aforesaid things, the aforementioned | two heretics, and the aforesaid Raymond Carbonel, and Stephen 170<sup>v</sup> Maistre, and the wife of the same Bernardin, and the son of the said Bernardin, who was around eight years old, and his daughter who now has a husband—and he does not know their names—at Cambounet<sup>11</sup> of En Candra. The same witness, however, did not drink of the said wine, nor does he know who brought the same wine there.

He also said that one of the said heretics, that is Bernard Faure (*or* Bernard, smith), gave two pennies to the children of the said Raymond Cartière: the aforesaid heretic threw those pennies on the ground for them.<sup>12</sup>

These things he attested before brother Ranulph, inquisitor. Witnesses: brothers Ranulph William and Arnold Gervase, Jacquet the gaoler, and master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote these things.

<sup>9</sup> Moulis or Moulins, both extremely common place-names; *DTF*. See *Saisimentum*, p. 432, for 'de Molinis' as Moulis (Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Reyniès, cant. Villebrumier, arrond. Montauban).

<sup>10</sup> May 23 [1274].

<sup>11</sup> Probably Cambounet-sur-le-Sor, Tarn, cant. Puylaurens, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 897; *DTF*.

<sup>12</sup> The Good Man was probably avoiding touching the hand of a girl; careful avoiding of such casual physical contact is a commonplace in the later depositions in front of Jacques Fournier.



171<sup>r</sup> Item, anno quo supra, secun|do idus Iunii, prædictus Bernardus Moline-  
rii addidit quod audivit dictum Paderium dicentem, in dicta infirmitate  
qua obiit, ‘Si ego morior in die veneris perduz so, si passa lo divendres eu  
so sals’.

Item dixit quod prædictus Raymundus Carbonelli dixit, ipsi testi inter-  
roganti quis adduxerat prædictos hæreticos, quod dicti hæretici, qui  
erant de Cabardesio, habebant notitiam cum Guillelmo Petri, qui fuit  
de Rayxiaco,<sup>1</sup> qui est gener Iuliani, et moratur apud Lescout, et propter  
illam notitiam venerant ad domum ipsius Guillelmi Petri apud Lescout,  
et idem Guillelmus Petri duxit eos ad Empeut ad domum Raymundi Fau-  
res, ubi iacuerunt per duas noctes, et idem Raymundus Faures duxit eos  
171<sup>v</sup> ad domum Paderii infirmi.<sup>2</sup> Qui quidem Raymundus | Faures, ut modo  
recordatur, tenebat candelam accensam.

Dixit etiam quod idem Raymundus Faures est baiulus filiorum dicti  
Paderii, et fuit baiulus eiusdem Paderii dum vivebat.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore. Testes:  
fratres Ordinis Prædicatorum Petrus Ferrandi et Helias Manha, Atho  
de Sancto Victore, notarius Inquisitionis,<sup>3</sup> et magister Berengarius de  
Verneto qui hæc scripsit.

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<sup>1</sup> *ms* Bayxiaco.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* Paderium infirmum.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* inquisitor.

Item, in the same year as above, two | days before the ides of June,<sup>13</sup> the 171<sup>r</sup>  
 aforesaid Bernard, miller (*or* Bernard Molinier) added that he heard the  
 said Padier saying, in the said illness of which he died, 'If I die on a Friday  
 I am lost, if Friday passes I am saved'.

Item, he said that the aforesaid Raymond Carbonel said, when the  
 same witness asked who had brought the aforesaid heretics, that the  
 said heretics, who were from the Cabardès, received information from  
 William Peter, who was from Beyssac,<sup>14</sup> who is the son-in-law of Julian,  
 and lives at Lescout, and because of that information they had come to the  
 same William Peter's house at Lescout, and the same William Peter took  
 them to Lempaut to the house of Raymond Faures, where they stayed  
 for two nights, and the same Raymond Faures took them to the house  
 of Padier the sick man. Which Raymond | Faures indeed, as he now 171<sup>v</sup>  
 remembers, was holding the lit candle.

He also said that the same Raymond Faures is the *bailli* of the sons of  
 the said Padier, and was the *bailli* of the same Padier while he lived.

These things he attested before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor.  
 Witnesses: the brothers of the Order of Preachers Peter Ferrand and  
 Elias Manhan, Atho of Saint-Victor, notary of the Inquisition, and master  
 Berengar of Vernet, who wrote these things.

<sup>13</sup> June 12 [1274].

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps Lot-et-Garonne, comm. and cant. Marmande, ch.-lieu arrond.; Font-Réaulx, p. 454; several listed in *DTF*. If the initial letter in the ms., B, is a mistake for R, the place could be one of various places called Raissac, Rayssac or Reyssac listed in *DTF*. See Raissac d'Aude (Aude, cant. Narbonne-Ouest, arrond. Narbonne) and Raissac-sur-Lampy (Aude, cant. Alzonne, arrond. Carcassonne), Font-Réaulx, p. 1018, and 301<sup>v</sup> n. 23 below.

*Deposition d'Isarn Bonihominis, Chevalier d'Hautpout, qui, s'estant confessé a Guillaume Ar' et a B. de Cauro, Inquisiteurs, et receu sa penitence*  
 172<sup>r</sup> *d'Alguisius, Legat du Pape, declara | qu'il n'avoit point du depuis commis aucun crime d'heresie, et qu'il croioit que Bonafos, vefue d'Ermengaud de Vintro, Chevalier d'Hautpout, estoit morte heretique.*

17<sup>o</sup> kalendas Augusti 1274.

Anno quo supra, decimo septimo kalendas Augusti, Isarnus Boni Homi-  
 nis, miles, de Altopullo, testis iuratus ut supra, dixit quod ipse testis fuit  
 olim confessus fratri Guillelmo Arnaldi et fratri Bernardo de Cautio,  
 172<sup>v</sup> inquisitoribus,<sup>1</sup> et habuit pœnitentiam a fratre Alguisio, legato domini |  
 papæ, et postea non peccavit in hæresi. Prædictas confessiones habet  
 ratas et veras, et dixit se nichil<sup>2</sup> amplius scire de facto hæresis.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> utrum sciret quod domina Bonafos, uxor quondam Er-  
 mengaudi de Vintro, militis, de Altopullo, fuisset hæreticata in ægritu-  
 dine qua decessit, et utrum ipse testis<sup>4</sup> interfuisset ipsi hæreticationi, dixit  
 quod non.

<sup>1</sup> -ibus added.

<sup>2</sup> originally michi or mchi; apparently altered by a reader.

<sup>3</sup> -tus added.

<sup>4</sup> -is perhaps added.

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<sup>4</sup> Isarn Bonhomme, knight (Isarnus Bonus Homo de Alto Pullo, miles), was questioned in detail by Ferrier on August 23 1244. While admitting extensive contacts with heretics going back to 1227 or 1228, he maintained that he had never adored them or believed in them, rather he had thought them 'bad men' (*mali homines*); D23, f. 226<sup>r</sup>–233<sup>r</sup>. His sentence to life imprisonment, by Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre on October 20 1247, states that he had denied the truth to them and other inquisitors, and that he had in fact often seen heretics, adored them, eaten with them and believed in them; Douais, *Documents*, p. 63. Lord Isarn Bonhomme headed the list of nobles from the *bailie* taking an oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 1271; *Saisimentum*, p. 109. Ferrier's questioning on March 3 1244 of Isarn's brother, brother Peter Raymond Bonhomme, knight of Hautpoul, led mainly to denials; D23, f. 224<sup>v</sup>–225<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Tarn, comm. and cant. Mazamet, ch.-lieu, arrond. Castres; *DTF*. When interrogated by Ferrier in 1244, Isarn said that he had seen Ermengaud of Vincio and others eating in the house at Avignonet which was maintained publicly by the heretics Arnold Bos and his companion, around 1227–1228; D23, f. 226<sup>r-v</sup>.

*The deposition of Isarn Bonhomme, knight of Hautpoul, who, having confessed to William Arnold and to Bernard of Caux, inquisitors, and received his penance from Algisio, papal legate, stated | that afterwards he had committed no crime of heresy, and that he believed that Bonafos, the widow of Ermengaud of Vintrou, knight of Hautpoul, died as a heretic.* 172<sup>r</sup>

*17 days before the kalends of August 1274.*

In the same year as above, seventeen days before the kalends of August,<sup>1</sup> Isarn Bonhomme, knight, of Hautpoul,<sup>2</sup> sworn in as a witness as above, said that the same witness previously confessed to brother William Arnold and brother Bernard of Caux, inquisitors, and had a penance from brother Algisio, the lord | pope's legate,<sup>3</sup> and afterwards he did not sin in heresy.<sup>4</sup> He considers the aforesaid confessions to be valid and true, and said that he knows nothing more about the matter of heresy. 172<sup>v</sup>

Asked whether he knew that lady Bonafos, the wife of the late Ermen-gaud of Le Vintrou,<sup>5</sup> knight, of Hautpoul, had been hereticated in the illness from which she died, and whether the same witness had been present at the same heretication, he said no.

<sup>1</sup> July 16 [1274].

<sup>2</sup> Tarn, comm. and cant. Mazamet, ch.-lieu, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 945.

<sup>3</sup> Algisio or Alguisio of Rosciate OP (also Algisio Rosatta) is referred to as a papal penitentiary in a bull of May 3 1248. Through Algisio, Innocent IV ordered the release of seven people who had been condemned to life long imprisonment in Toulouse (December 2 1248), and in 1249 Algisio was instructed to commute penances that had been imposed by inquisitors in the province of Narbonne and the dioceses of Toulouse, Albi, Rodez, Cahors and Agen. He became bishop of Rimini in 1250. Translated to the bishopric of Bergamo, February 11 1251, he resigned in 1259 and died in 1267. E. Berger, *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, 4 vols (Paris, 1884–192), i.587, no. 3876; ii.195, no. 5104; iii.349, no. 7159; Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 174–175; C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, 9 vols (Regensburg, 1898–1922), i.107, 396.

Interrogatus utrum audivit dici quod fuerit hæreticata, et si ipse testis hoc credit, dixit quod sic, aliter nescit.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> si unquam interfuit hæreticationi cuiusquam personæ, dixit quod non.

Prædictæ confessiones suæ fuerunt eidem recitatae; testes frater Helias Manhoni, magister *Petrus* de Vaqueriis, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, 173<sup>r</sup> publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi. Actum fuit coram fratre | Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore.

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<sup>1</sup> -us *added*.

Asked whether he had heard it said that she had been hereticated, and if the same witness believes this, he said yes—otherwise<sup>6</sup> he does not know.

Asked if he was ever present at the heretication of any person, he said no.

His aforesaid confessions were read to him; witnesses brother Elias Manhan, master Peter of Vacquiers,<sup>7</sup> and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things. This was done before brother | Pons of 173<sup>r</sup> Parnac, inquisitor.

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<sup>6</sup> Perhaps 'to the other question'.

<sup>7</sup> On Peter, see the discussion of notaries above, pp. 86–87.

*Deposition de Ricsendis de Miravalle de Graulhet, contenant entre autres choses que Fays, vefue de Raynard de Palaiaco, Chevalier, estant malade, fit apeler de nuit Guillaume Prunelli, heretique, et son compaignon, qui la rendirent heretique.*

*Desdits jour et an.*

Anno et die propredictis, Ricsendis de Miravalle de Graulheto, quæ aliter  
 173<sup>v</sup> cog|nominatur de Laboria, et moratur apud Sanctum Paulum de Cada-  
 iovis, adducta capta, testis iurata<sup>1</sup> et requisita<sup>2</sup> ut supra, dixit quod Guil-  
 lelma del Sot quondam, de Sancto Paulo, comendavit sibi primo hære-  
 ticos, et vitam eorum et sectam; sed nunquam ipsa testis vidit hæreticos  
 cum ea. Et sunt quindecim anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quadam die ipsa testis, cogitans quod Petrus Caercini  
 quondam, de Sancto Paulo, posset ostendere hæreticos ipsi testi, rogavit  
 eum quod ostenderet sibi: qui respondit quod bene faceret. Et post pau-  
 cos dies dictus Petrus Caercini dixit ipsi testi<sup>3</sup> quod exiret ad brugariam  
 de Lapalop, et ibi supra fontem inveniret Guillelmum Prunelli et Bone-  
 174<sup>r</sup> tum de Sanctis, hæreticos. Et ivit de die, et in|venit eos ibi. Et ibi ipsa  
 testis audivit verba et monitiones ipsorum hæreticorum per aliquantam  
 moram, et adoravit eos, inducta et instructa ab eis, ter<sup>4</sup> flexis genibus,  
 dicendo 'Benedicite' et alia verba consueta secundum eos. Et sunt sex  
 anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod [cum] domina Fays, uxor quondam Raynardi de  
 Palaiaco, militis, egrotaret apud Palaiacum in domo sua, ægitudine  
 qua decessit, quadam die rogavit ipsam testem, quæ<sup>5</sup> erat eius familia-  
 ris, quod iret ad Bernardum Caercini de Sancto Paulo, et diceret ei ex  
 parte prædictæ dominæ quod adduceret vel mitteret sibi illud quod ipsa

<sup>1</sup> *ms* iuratus.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* requisitus.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* testis.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* testibus.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* quod.

<sup>5</sup> Not identified.

<sup>6</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Lagrâce-Dieu, comm. Auterive, arrond. Muret; Font-Réaulx, p. 1034.

*The deposition of Rixendis of Mireval of Graulhet, containing among other things that when Fays, widow of Reynard of Palajac, knight, was ill, she sent at night for William Prunel, heretic, and his companion, who made her a heretic.*

*From the same day and year.*

In the same year and on the same day as immediately above,<sup>1</sup> Rixendis of Mireval<sup>2</sup> of Graulhet,<sup>3</sup> who is also | surnamed of La Borie,<sup>4</sup> and lives at 173<sup>v</sup> Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, brought out as a captive, sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that the late Guillelma del Sot of Saint-Paul first commended the heretics to her, and their life and sect; but the same witness never saw heretics with her. And this was fifteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, she said that one day the same witness, thinking that the late Peter the Cahorsin of Saint-Paul could show the heretics to the same witness, asked him to show them to her: and he replied that he certainly would. And a few days later the said Peter the Cahorsin told the same witness to go out to the heath-land of *Lapalop*,<sup>5</sup> and there, beyond the spring, she would find William Prunel and Bonet of Saintes,<sup>6</sup> heretics. And she went by day, and | found them there. And there the same witness 174<sup>r</sup> heard the same heretics' words and admonitions for some time, and adored them, encouraged and instructed by them, genuflecting three times, saying 'Bless me' and the other words which are customary to them. And this was six years ago or thereabouts.

Item, she said that when lady Fays, the wife of the late Reynard of Palajac, knight, was ill at Palajac in her house, with the illness of which she died, one day she asked the same witness, who was one of her household, to go to Bernard the Cahorsin of Saint-Paul, and tell him on behalf of the aforesaid lady to bring or send to her what the same lady had asked for.

<sup>1</sup> July 16 [1274]. That the reference point is the deposition of Isarn Bonhomme is confirmed by the near-identical line-up of inquisitor and witnesses.

<sup>2</sup> See the places called Miraval and Mireval listed in *DTF*.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, comm. and cant. Rabastens, arrond. Albi; *Saisimentum*, p. 369.



domina rogaverat. Ea<sup>1</sup> exposuit etiam ipsa<sup>2</sup> testi<sup>3</sup> quod hoc dicebat de bonis hominibus, scilicet hæreticis. Et ipsa testis ivit ad prædictum Bernardum | Caercini, et dixit ei prædicta verba ex parte prædictæ dominæ: 174<sup>v</sup> qui respondit ipsi testi<sup>4</sup> quod bene faceret posse suum de his quæ ipsa testis<sup>5</sup> nuntiabat ei ex parte prædictæ dominæ. Et post unum vel duos dies venit de nocte profunda, cum iam dormissent, ad portam domus prædictæ<sup>6</sup> domine, Bernardus Furnerii, sororius prædicti Bernardi Caercini, adducens secum Guillelmum Prunelli et socium suum, hæreticos, et, pulsante<sup>7</sup> ad portam domus prædictæ Bernardo Furnerii, ipsa testis aparuit dictam portam, et intravit dictus Bernardus Furnerii. Sed tunc non erant in porta dicti hæretici cum eo, quia dimiserat eos ibi prope in quadam area,<sup>8</sup> sicut dixit postmodum<sup>9</sup> ipsi testi. Et cum introisset fuit locutus cum prædicta domina prædictus Bernardus Furnerii. Et credit 175<sup>r</sup> ipsa testis<sup>10</sup> quod tunc re|tulit ipsi dominæ quod ipse adduxerat prædictos hæreticos. Et statim ipse Bernardus exivit inde, et ivit prædictis hæreticis, ut adduceret eos. Et dicta domina induit se ut exiret ad eos extra domum in carreriam. Et cum dictus Bernardus adduxisset dictos hæreticos ante domum prædictæ dominæ, monuit et insinuavit hoc ipsi dominæ, quæ exivit ad<sup>11</sup> eos, prædicto Bernardo remanente infra domum cum ipsa teste. Et porta existente aperta, ipsa testis<sup>12</sup> vidit Guillelmum Prunelli transeuntem ante portam. Socium tamen eius non vidit, sed dixit ipsi testi prædictus Bernardus Furnerii quod erat ibi socius eius Bernardus de Tilhols. Et post paululum prædicta domina Fays rediit<sup>13</sup> in domum; et, sumpta quadam summa peccuniæ quam habebat in lecto suo, regressa est ad eos, et dedit eis ipsam peccuniam, sicut postea retulit 175<sup>v</sup> ipsi | testi. Quod cum fecisset intravit domum suam, dicto Bernardo de Furnerii recedente cum dictis hæreticis. Et tunc ipsa testis interrogavit

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Eum.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* ipsa; -a *perhaps* added.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* testis; -is *perhaps* added.

<sup>4</sup> -s- added.

<sup>5</sup> -is *probably* added.

<sup>6</sup> -æ altered, *perhaps* from -e.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* pulsantes.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* arca.

<sup>9</sup> *ms* post modum.

<sup>10</sup> -is added.

<sup>11</sup> altered, *probably* from et.

<sup>12</sup> -is *perhaps* added.

<sup>13</sup> *ms* redunt.

She also explained to the same witness that she said this about the good men, that is the heretics. And the same witness went to the aforesaid Bernard | the Cahorsin, and said the aforesaid words to him on behalf 174<sup>v</sup> of the aforesaid lady: and he answered the same witness that he would certainly do what he could in these matters about which the same witness told him on behalf of the aforesaid lady. And one or two days later there came to the door of the aforesaid lady's house, in the middle of the night, when they had already gone to sleep, Bernard Fournier, the brother-in-law of the aforesaid Bernard the Cahorsin, bringing with him William Prunel and his companion, heretics, and, when Bernard Fournier had knocked at the door of the aforesaid house, the same witness opened the said door, and the said Bernard Fournier entered. But the said heretics were not then in the doorway with him, because he had left them near there in a certain plot of land,<sup>7</sup> as he afterwards told the same witness. And when he had entered the aforesaid Bernard Fournier spoke with the aforesaid lady. And the same witness believes that he then | told the same 175<sup>r</sup> lady that he had brought the aforesaid heretics. And immediately the same Bernard went out from there, and went to the aforesaid heretics, to bring them. And the said lady got dressed in order to go out of the house, into the street, to them. And when the said Bernard had brought the said heretics in front of the aforesaid lady's house, he told and reported this to the same lady, who went out to them, while the aforesaid Bernard remained inside the house with the same witness. And, since the door was open, the same witness saw William Prunel passing in front of the door. She did not however see his companion, but the aforesaid Bernard Fournier told the same witness that his companion, Bernard of Tilhol, was there. And after a short time the aforesaid lady Fays came back into the house; and, taking up a certain sum of money which she had in her bed, she returned to them, and gave them the same money, as she afterwards told the | same witness. When she had done 175<sup>v</sup> this she entered her house, while the said Bernard of Fournier went away with the said heretics. And then the same witness asked the aforesaid

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<sup>7</sup> See above, 6<sup>v</sup> n. 4.

prædictam dominam quod fecerant circa eam<sup>1</sup> prædicti hæretici: quæ respondit quod receperant eam.<sup>2</sup> Et iterum ipsa testis interrogavit eam<sup>3</sup> qualiter fecerant, et ipsa respondit quod posuerant librum super caput<sup>4</sup> eius, et legerant.

Interrogata, prædicta testis<sup>5</sup> dixit quod ipsa non interfuit prædictæ hæreticationi, nec prædictus *Bernardus* Furnerii, nec alia persona quod ipsa sciat.

Dixit insuper quod prædicta domina, quando exivit ad hæreticos supradictos ut hæreticaret eam,<sup>6</sup> portavit secum quandam candelam accensam.

Dixit etiam ipsa testis quod prædicta domina vixit<sup>7</sup> postquam fuit hæreticata per quindecim dies vel circa, nihil comedens nec bibens  
176<sup>r</sup> aliquid nisi<sup>8</sup> aquam; et ipsa testis servivit ei<sup>9</sup> continuo usque ad obitum, sciens eam esse hæreticatam. Et fuit annus<sup>10</sup> circa Dominicam Carnipri-vii proxime transactam.

Interrogata quare non comederat post fuit hæreticata, dixit quod quia nec sciebat orationem secundum modum hæreticorum, nec erat<sup>11</sup> qui dicerent ei.

Dixit insuper ipsa testis quod prædicta domina, antequam mitteret ipsam testem<sup>12</sup> ad *Bernardum* Caercini, ut supradictum est, rogavit ipsam testem<sup>13</sup> quod iuaret eam quando posset habere bonos homines, scilicet hæreticos, qui reciperent eam.<sup>14</sup>

Dixit etiam quod postea, quadam die, prædictus *Bernardus* Caercini venit ad dictam dominam, et rogavit eum<sup>15</sup> prædicta domina quod procuraret sibi bonos homines, scilicet<sup>16</sup> hæreticos, qui reciperent eam,

<sup>1</sup> *ms* causa.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* causa.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* causa.

<sup>4</sup> -t *perhaps altered*.

<sup>5</sup> -is *probably added*.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* causa.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* iuxta.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* non.

<sup>9</sup> *ms* et.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* amicus.

<sup>11</sup> nec erat *written over deletion*.

<sup>12</sup> -em *added*.

<sup>13</sup> -em *added*.

<sup>14</sup> *ms* causa.

<sup>15</sup> *ms* cum.

<sup>16</sup> *ms* silicet.

lady what the aforesaid heretics had done with her: and she replied that they had received her. And again the same witness asked her how they had done this, and she replied that they had put a book on her head and had read.

Questioned, the aforesaid witness said that she was not present at the aforesaid heretication, nor was the aforesaid Bernard Fournier, nor any other person, as far as she knows.

She said moreover that the aforesaid lady, when she went out to the aforesaid heretics for them to hereticate her, took with her a certain lit candle.

The same witness also said that the aforesaid lady lived for fifteen days or thereabouts after she was hereticated, eating nothing, nor drinking | 176<sup>r</sup> anything except water; and the same witness served her continually until her death, knowing her to be hereticated. And this was a year ago, around the first Sunday of last Lent.

Asked why she had not eaten after she was hereticated, she said that because she neither knew the prayer according to the manner of the heretics, nor was there anyone who could tell her it.

The same witness said moreover that the aforesaid lady, before she sent the same witness to Bernard the Cahorsin, as has been said above, asked the same witness to help her when she could have the good men, that is the heretics, who would receive her.

She also said that afterwards, one day, the aforesaid Bernard the Cahorsin came to the said lady, and the aforesaid lady asked him to get the good men, that is the heretics, for her, to receive her, in the presence and

ipsa teste<sup>1</sup> præsente et audiente: qui respondit quod inde faceret posse suum.

176<sup>v</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ | coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore. Testes: frater Helias Manhani, magister Berengarius de Verneto, magister Petrus<sup>2</sup> de Vaqueriis, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, octavo idus Augusti, prædicta Ricsendis, interrogata quare fugerat usque Arelatum, ubi capta fuit, respondit quod timore inquisitoris, et quia sciebat ea quæ confessa est de hæreticatione prædictæ dominæ Fays.

Interrogata, etiam dixit quod Petrus, filius ipsius testis, duxit et associavit eam usque ad Arelatum, ad preces et instantiam ipsius testis.

177<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod ante ipsa testis voluit recedere, petiit ipsa testis a Guillelmo de la Solada, do|micello, quem ipsa nutriverat, quod daret sibi aliquid, amore Dei; et ipse Guillelmus dedit ipsi testi sex solidos Tholosanos.

Requisita an statim fugit, recepta peccunia, dixit quod non, imo distulit per unum mensem vel circa.

Requisita an ipsa testis insinuavit ipsi Guillelmo propositum recessus sui, dixit quod non.

Item dixit quod ipsa testis audivit quando prædictus Bernardus Furnerii retulit prædictæ dominæ Fays quod ipse adduxerat ei bonos homines, scilicet hæreticos.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram prædicto fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore. Testes: frater Petrus Raymundi Baranhonis, magister Petrus de Vaqueriis, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

177<sup>v</sup> Anno quo supra, die veneris ante festum apostolorum Simonis et Iudæ, prædicta Ricsendis, interrogata,<sup>3</sup> dixit quod credidit hæreticos esse bonos homines, et veraces, et habere bonam fidem, et esse amicos Dei, et posse salvari per eos. Et fuit in illa credentia per sex annos vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> *originally* testis.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Pontius.

<sup>3</sup> -*ta probably added*.

<sup>10</sup> Tarn, comm. and cant. Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, ch.lieu cant., arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>11</sup> [October 26 1274].

hearing of the same witness: and he answered that he would do what he could about this.

These things she attested at Toulouse | before brother Pons of Parnac, 176<sup>v</sup>  
inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Elias Manhan, master Berengar of Vernet,  
master Peter of Vacquiers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who  
wrote these things.

In the same year as above, eight days before the ides of August,<sup>8</sup> the  
aforesaid Rixendis, asked why she had fled to Arles,<sup>9</sup> where she was cap-  
tured, answered that for fear of the inquisitor, and because she knew those  
things which she has confessed about the heretication of the aforesaid  
lady Fays.

Questioned, she also said that Peter, the same witness's son, led and  
accompanied her to Arles, at the same witness's prayers and request.

Item, she said that before the same witness made plans to go away,  
the same witness asked William of La Soulade,<sup>10</sup> | squire, whom she had 177<sup>r</sup>  
nursed, to give her something, for the love of God; and the same William  
gave the same witness six Toulouse shillings.

Asked whether she fled immediately, when she had received the mon-  
ey, she said no, but rather she put it off for a month or thereabouts.

Asked whether the same witness informed the same William of her  
plan to leave, she said no.

Item, she said that the same witness heard when the aforesaid Bernard  
Fournier informed the aforesaid lady Fays that he had brought her the  
good men, that is the heretics.

These things she attested at Toulouse before the aforesaid brother  
Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Peter Raymond Baranhon,  
master Peter of Vacquiers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, notary, who wrote  
these things.

In the same year as above, on the Friday before the feast of the apos-  
tles | Simon and Jude,<sup>11</sup> the aforesaid Rixendis, questioned, said that she 177<sup>v</sup>  
believed that the heretics were good men, and truthful, and that they had  
a good faith, and that they were friends of God, and that one could be  
saved through them. And she was in that belief for six years or there-  
abouts.

<sup>8</sup> August 6 [1274].

<sup>9</sup> City, diocese; Bouches-du-Rhône.

Hæc deposuit coram fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum Ramnolpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitoribus.<sup>1</sup> Testes: frater Petrus Raymundi Baranhonis, et frater *Petrus* de Ispanis, Ordinis Prædicatorum, Petrus de Vaqueriis, clericus, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, notarius, [qui] hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> hæc deposuit *deleted*.

These things she attested before the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, and brother Peter of the Ispani [Spaniards],<sup>12</sup> of the Order of Preachers, Peter of Vacquiers, cleric, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>12</sup> Peter of the Ispani family, to be identified with Peter Hyspani of Limoges. Peter was the first prior of the convent at Castres (1250–1252) and the designated companion of many provincial priors. He died in Castres in 1279, attracting from Gui an obituary in verse; *ACP*, pp. 57, 82, 91, 233, 240; Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 150; 'Mort des prieurs', no. 144, p. 189, where he is mistakenly called Petrus Hyspanus.



178<sup>r</sup> *Deposition de Guillaume Orseti de l'Espinasse, contenant entre autres choses que Garnier de Cordes, Iuge de Ro|dez, avoit dit qu'il y avoit deux dieux, l'un bon, et l'autre mechant.*

*De Lanee 1274.*

Anno et die propredictis, Guillelmus Orseti de Spinacio, testis iuratus et requisitus ut supra, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos<sup>1</sup> nisi captos, nec adora[vit] etcetera, nec<sup>2</sup> generalia ut supra.

Interrogatus utrum audivit aliquam personam dicentem aliquid contra fidem Catholicam, dixit quod *non*, excepto Durando de Rofiaco de Ulmeria, de quo dixit Raymundo de Liurano quidquid sciebat, qui misit illud scriptum inquisitori.

178<sup>v</sup> Interrogatus specialiter utrum vidit Petrum Raymundi Magreta, hæreticum, dixit [quod] vidit eum, | credentem hæreticum ut dicebatur, comuniter morantem cum Guillelmo Hugonis, nepote suo, apud Spinacium. Et postea audivit dici quod recessit inde, et ivit ad hæreticos apud Naiacum, et quod ibi, factus hæreticus, obiit. Ipse vero testis non vidit eum<sup>3</sup> hæreticum vestitum, quod ipse sciat. De tempore, dixit quod sunt quadraginta anni vel amplius.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> utrum scivit quod prædictus hæreticus fuerit unquam vel comedit in domo Grimaldi de la Olmeria, vel Guiraldi, quondam patris eius, vel quod ipsi dederint ei ad comedendum, dixit quod *non*.

Interrogatus<sup>5</sup> utrum vidit hæreticos, et utrum comedit cum eis apud Pennam Albigensem, in domo Petri de Calm, dixit quod *non*.

Interrogatus<sup>6</sup> utrum fuit in dicta domo, dixit quod *sic*, et bibit ibi sed non comedit.

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<sup>1</sup> *ms* habet.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* non; *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* cum.

<sup>4</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -tus *added*.

*The deposition of William Orset of Espinas, containing among other things that Garnier of Cordes, judge of | Rodez, had said that there were two gods, 178<sup>r</sup> one good and the other wicked.*

*From the year 1274.*

In the same year and on the same day as immediately above,<sup>1</sup> William Orset of Espinas,<sup>2</sup> sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that he never saw heretics except captured, nor did he adore etc., nor—to the general questions as above.

Asked whether he had heard any person saying anything against the Catholic faith, he said no—except for Durand of Rouffiac of Laumière, about whom he told Raymond of Livron everything he knew, who sent it in writing to the inquisitor.

Asked especially whether he saw Peter Raymond Magreta, heretic, he said that he saw him, | a believing heretic as was said, living openly<sup>3</sup> with 178<sup>v</sup> William Hugh, his nephew, at Espinas. And afterwards he heard it said that he had left there, and gone to the heretics at Najac,<sup>4</sup> and that there, made a heretic, he died. The same witness, however, did not see him as a robed heretic, as far as he knows. About the time, he said that it was forty years ago or more.

Asked whether he knew that the aforesaid heretic ever was, or ate, in the house of Grimald of Laumière, or of Guiraud, his late father, or that they gave him food, he said no.

Asked whether he saw heretics, and whether he ate with them at Penne d'Albigeois,<sup>5</sup> in the house of Peter of Lacalm,<sup>6</sup> he said no.

Asked whether he has been in the said house, he said yes, and he drank there but did not eat.

<sup>1</sup> July 16 [1274]. Again, the near-identical list of witnesses confirms that this deposition took place on the same day as those of Isarn Bonhomme and Rixendis of Mireval.

<sup>2</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Caylus, arrond. Montauban; *DTF*.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps simply 'together'.

<sup>4</sup> Aveyron, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Villefranche-de-Rouergue; *Saisimentum*, p. 432.

<sup>5</sup> Tarn, cant. Vaour, arrond. Albi; *Saisimentum*, p. 438.

<sup>6</sup> Disappeared place near Penne.

179<sup>r</sup> Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> utrum dixit cuiquam quod | ibi viderat hæreticos, et comederat cum eis, dixit quod non, quod ipse recolat. Dixit tamen quod fuit etiam apud Pennam Albigensem in domo dicti *Bernardi* de Penna, sed non vidit ibi hæreticos nec hæreticas. Audivit tamen dici ipse testis a Guillelmo Soca de Spinacio quod viderat duas hæreticas apud Pennam vel apud Gardam, quæ erant amittæ<sup>2</sup> dicti *Bernardi* de Penna.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> si unquam ipse testis dixit quod Deus nunquam fecit florire nec granare, nec fecit aliqua visibilia, sed putia terræ hæc faciebat, et homines faciunt fossata et excolunt terras, dixit quod non.

Interrogatus si unquam ipse testis dixit<sup>4</sup> quod duo dii erant, unus bonus et alter malus, dixit quod ipse testis ter vel quater vel pluries dixit in diversis locis quod Garnerius de Cordua, iudex Ruthenæ, dicebat quod duo dii erant, unus benignus et alter malignus.

179<sup>v</sup> Requi|situs utrum ipse testis referebat hæc verba aliquibus audientibus, dixit quod sic, sed non recolit quibus.

Requisitus<sup>5</sup> utrum ipse testis audivit prædictum Garnerium hæc verba dicentem, dixit quod sic.

Interrogatus utrum prædictus Garnerius dicebat hæc verba asserendo vel refferendo quod ita dicebant hæretici, dixit quod non audivit eum<sup>6</sup> facientem mentionem de hæreticis.

Requisitus<sup>7</sup> de loco, dixit quod apud Spinacium, in ecclesia ubi tenebat assiziam suam.

Requisitus de tempore, dixit quod sunt quinque anni vel circa.

Requisitus de circumstantibus, dixit se non recordari. Postea,<sup>8</sup> recordatus, dixit quod Raymundus Hugonis, dominus de Spinacio, *Petrus* Mas-sabeu, capellanus, et Aymericus de Vayresas, miles hospitalis quondam. Et fuit circa horam tertiam.

180<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod quadam die | recognovit<sup>9</sup> prædictus Garnerius coram Aymerico<sup>10</sup> de Mayreras, milite quondam de Ordine Sancti Iohannis

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> -æ altered from -e.

<sup>3</sup> -tus probably added.

<sup>4</sup> added, superscript, probably by reader.

<sup>5</sup> -us added.

<sup>6</sup> ms cum.

<sup>7</sup> -us added.

<sup>8</sup> ms Post ea.

<sup>9</sup> the words ipse testis follow here: evidently copied out of habit by either the thirteenth or the seventeenth century scribe.

<sup>10</sup> -o altered.

Asked whether he said to anyone that | he had seen heretics there, and 179<sup>r</sup>  
 had eaten with them, he said no, as far as he recalls. He said however  
 that he was also at Penne d'Albigeois in the house of the said Bernard of  
 Penne, but he did not see heretics of either sex there. The same witness  
 did however hear it said by William Soca of Espinas that he had seen  
 two female heretics at Penne or at Lagarde, who were aunts of the said  
 Bernard of Penne.

Asked if the same witness had ever said that God never made the  
 earth produce flowers or grain, nor made anything visible, but that the  
 wantonness of the earth made these, and men make ditches and cultivate  
 the lands, he said no.

Asked if the same witness ever said that there were two gods, one good  
 and the other evil, he said that the same witness three or four times, or  
 more, said in various places that Garnier of Cordes, a judge of Rodez,<sup>7</sup>  
 said that there were two gods, one benign and the other malign.

Asked | whether the same witness repeated these words to any hearers, 179<sup>v</sup>  
 he said yes, but he does not recall to which.

Asked whether the same witness heard the aforesaid Garnier saying  
 these words, he said yes.

Asked whether the aforesaid Garnier said these words claiming or  
 reporting that this was what heretics said, he said that he did not hear  
 him making any mention of heretics.

Asked about the place, he said at Espinas, in the church where he was  
 holding his assize.

Asked about the time, he said that it was five years ago or thereabouts.

Asked about bystanders, he said that he did not remember. Afterwards,  
 remembering, he said Raymond Hugh, the lord of Espinas, Peter Mass-  
 abeu, chaplain, and the late Aimery of *Vayresas*,<sup>8</sup> knight Hospitaller. And  
 this was around the third hour.

Item, he said that one day | the aforesaid Garnier acknowledged 180<sup>r</sup>  
 before the late Aimery of *Mayreras*, knight of the Order of St John of

<sup>7</sup> Or 'of the Rouergue', province coinciding with the *département* of Aveyron  
 but also partly located in Tarn-et-Garonne.

<sup>8</sup> The same as Aimery of *Mayreras*, 180<sup>r</sup>. Neither *Vayresas* nor *Mayreras* has  
 been identified. See Vayrières, Lot, comm. Lavercantière, cant. Salviac, arrond.  
 Gourdon; *DTF*.

Iherosolimitani, quod ipse bene dixerat quod erant duo dii, unus benignus et alter malignus. Et hoc recognovit ad requisitionem ipsius testis, cum dictus miles dixerat quod ipse non credebat quod dictus Garnerius, qui tam sapiens homo erat, dixisset talia verba. Et non placuit dicto militi quando hoc audivit a dicto Garnerio, sed caput quatiendo recessit.

Requisitus<sup>1</sup> de loco: quod apud Espinacium, in ecclesia.

Requisitus de tempore, dixit quod quinque anni sunt vel circa.

Requisitus de personis, dixit quod ipse testis,<sup>2</sup> et prædicti Garnerius et Aymericus, et nullus alius quod ipse testis<sup>3</sup>sciat.

180<sup>v</sup> Interrogatus utrum ipse testis credit esse verum illud quod dictus Garnerius dicebat, videlicet quod | essent duo dii, unus benignus et alter malignus, ut prædictum est, dixit quod non.

Item, interrogatus utrum ipse testis dixit alicui personæ, vel aliquibus personis, quod Deus non fecerat evangelia, dixit quod sic, sed non recolit cui vel quibus.

Requisitus quomodo hoc dixit, respondit quod dixit quod Deus non fecerat evangelia, sed quatuor evangelistæ.

Requisitus de loco: quod apud Spinacium in platea.

Requisitus de tempore, dixit quod sunt tres anni vel circa.

Requisitus de personis circumstantibus, dixit se non recordari.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore. Testes: frater Helias Manhani, Ordinis Prædicatorum, magister Berengarius de Verneto, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui

181<sup>r</sup> hæc scrip|si. Et iuravit et abiuravit etcetera.

<sup>1</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>2</sup> -is *probably added*.

<sup>3</sup> -is *added*.

Jerusalem, that he had indeed said that there were two gods, one benign and the other malign. And he acknowledged this at the same witness's request, since the said knight had said that he did not believe that the said Garnier, who was such a wise man, had said such words. And it did not please the said knight when he heard this from the said Garnier, but he went away shaking his head.

Asked about the place: at Espinas, in the church.

Asked about the time, he said that it was five years ago or thereabouts.

Asked about people, he said the same witness, and the aforesaid Garnier and Aimery, and no-one else as far as the same witness knows.

Asked whether the same witness believes that what the said Garnier said was true, that is, that | there were two gods, one benign and the other 180<sup>v</sup> malign, as has been said above, he said no.

Item, asked whether the same witness said to any person, or to any persons, that God had not made the gospels, he said yes, but he does not recall to which person or persons.

Asked how he said this, he answered that he said that God had not made the gospels, but the four evangelists.

Asked about the place: at Espinas in the square.

Asked about the time, he said that it was three years ago or thereabouts.

Asked about the people who were standing round, he said that he does not recall.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Elias Manhan, of the Order of Preachers, master Berengar of Vernet, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these | things. And he took an oath and abjured etc. 181<sup>r</sup>

*Deposition de Guirauode, femme de Durand de Rofiac de Olmiera, contenant quelle avoit ouy dire a Grimald de Olmiera qu'il y avoit deux Dieux, et quelle avoit veu qu'il ne receut point le St Sacrement dans sa maladie, fermant sa bouche quand le Prestre s'aprochoit.*

*12° kalendas Augusti audit an.*

181<sup>v</sup> Anno et die prædictis, Guirauda, uxor Durandi de Ro|fiaco de Olmeria, testis iurata et requisita<sup>1</sup> ut supra, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos, nec adoravit eos, etcetera, generaliter.<sup>2</sup>

Interrogata<sup>3</sup> utrum ipsa testis affuit quando frater Petrus Massabueu, capellanus de Spinacio, voluit comunicare Guiraldum del Olmiera, infirmum ægitudine qua decessit, dixit quod sic.

Interrogata<sup>4</sup> utrum prædictus Guiraldus recepit corpus Christi, dixit quod non.

Interrogata<sup>5</sup> utrum prædictus Guiraudus noluit vel non potuit eum recipere, dixit se nescire, sed quod credit potius quod non potuit, propter nimiam ægitudinem, et non mala intentione; sed vidit ipsa testis quod sedebat, et quando interrogabatur utrum vellet corpus Christi, respondit quod sic. Quando vero capellanus prædictus ponebat corpus Iesu

182<sup>r</sup> Christi infra labia ipsius infirmi, ipse spue|bat illud, et stringebat dentes, et audivit dici quod capellanus dixit quod fere dictus infirmus momordit digitum eius quando immittebat<sup>6</sup> corpus Christi in os eius.

Requisita<sup>7</sup> a quibus audivit, dixit quod a Petro Borderas, qui hoc audivit dici a dicto capellano.

Interrogata<sup>8</sup> utrum audivit Grimaldum de Olmeria dicentem quod erant duo dii, dixit quod sic.

Requisita<sup>9</sup> de loco, dixit quod apud Ulmeriam, extra portale.

<sup>1</sup> originally iuratus et requisitus.

<sup>2</sup> -ter written over deletion; word perhaps originally generalis.

<sup>3</sup> originally Interrogatus.

<sup>4</sup> originally Interrogatus.

<sup>5</sup> originally Interrogatus.

<sup>6</sup> first -m- altered from -n-.

<sup>7</sup> originally Requisitus.

<sup>8</sup> originally Interrogatus.

<sup>9</sup> originally Requisitus.

*The deposition of Guirauda, the wife of Durand of Rouffiac of Laumière, containing that she had heard it said by Grimald of Laumière that there were two gods, and that she had seen that he did not receive the Holy Sacrament in his illness, closing his mouth when the priest approached.*

*Twelve days before the kalends of August in the said year.*

In the aforesaid year and on the aforesaid day,<sup>1</sup> Guirauda, the wife of Durand of | Rouffiac of Laumière, sworn in as a witness and questioned as 181<sup>v</sup> above, said that she never saw heretics, nor adored them, etc., generally.

Asked whether the same witness was present when brother Peter Massabeu, chaplain of Espinas, wished to give communion to Guiraud of Laumière, sick with the illness of which he died, she said yes.

Asked whether the aforesaid Guiraud received the body of Christ, she said no.

Asked whether the aforesaid Guiraud would not, or could not, receive it, she said that she does not know, but that she is more inclined to believe that he could not, because he was too ill, and not from an evil intention; but the same witness saw that he was sitting, and when he was asked whether he wanted the body of Christ, he replied yes. When however the aforesaid chaplain was putting the body of Jesus Christ between the same sick man's lips, he spat | it out, and clenched his teeth, 182<sup>r</sup> and she heard it said that the chaplain said that the said sick man had almost bitten his finger when he was putting the body of Christ into his mouth.

Asked from what people she had heard this, she said that from Peter Borderas, who heard this said by the said chaplain.

Asked whether she heard Grimald of Laumière saying that there were two gods, she said yes.

Asked about the place, she said that at Laumière, outside the gateway.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably July 16 1274.



Requisita<sup>1</sup> de tempore, dixit quod a quinque annis citra.

Requisita<sup>2</sup> de personis,<sup>3</sup> dixit quod idem Grimaldus, et ipsa testis, et Guillelma, filia ipsius testis, uxor Petri Fabri, et idem Petrus Faber, Guiraldus de Olmeria, nepos dicti Grimaldi.

Requisita<sup>4</sup>—quando audivit prædicta verba Grimaldi, scilicet quod erant duo dii—de quibus antea loquebantur, dixit se nescire.

182<sup>v</sup> Requisita<sup>5</sup> si audivit alia verba præcedentia vel subsequencia,<sup>6</sup> dixit quod non: sed ipsa dixit quod non audiverat dici quod esset nisi unus Deus.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram prædicto<sup>7</sup> inquisitore;<sup>8</sup> et testes:<sup>9</sup> qui supra. Et iuravit et abiuravit etcetera.

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<sup>1</sup> *originally* Requisitus.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* Requisitus.

<sup>3</sup> *ms loco; written over longer deletion.*

<sup>4</sup> *-ta perhaps added.*

<sup>5</sup> *ms* Requisia; *-a added.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms* sub sequential.

<sup>7</sup> *-o altered, perhaps from -æ.*

<sup>8</sup> *-s- added.*

<sup>9</sup> *-es added.*

Asked about the time, she said within the last five years.

Asked about people, she said the same Grimald, and the same witness, and Guillelma, the same witness's daughter, the wife of Peter Faure, and the same Peter Faure, and Guiraud of Laumière, the nephew of the said Grimald.

Asked—when she heard Grimald's aforesaid words, that is, that there were two gods—about what things they had previously been talking, she said that she does not know.

Asked if she heard other words preceding or following, she said no: but she herself said that she had not heard it said that there was more than one God. 182<sup>v</sup>

These things she attested at Toulouse before the aforesaid inquisitor; and the witnesses: as above. And she took an oath and abjured etc.

*Deposition d'Emblard Vassal de Rupe Arifat, contenant que Raymond de Montredon, Ermengaud de Roquemaure, et autres faydits et fugitifs a cause d'heresie, avoient esté chés luy atroupés en armes pour y manger; dans*  
 183<sup>r</sup> *laquelle deposition sont nommés plusieurs autres fay|dits et heretiques, et ceux qui les recevoient et les protegeoient.*

*Du mardy apres la St Mathieu 1274.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, die Martis post festum Sancti Mathæi, apostoli et evangelistæ, Emblardus Vassalli de Ruppe Arifat, fugitivus propter hæresim, adductus captus, testis iuratus et requisitus etcetera, dixit quod in manso de Podio, quod erat ipsius testis, vidit primo hæreticos, videlicet Raymundum Gaucerii et quendam  
 183<sup>v</sup> testis, inducti et ins|tructi ab ipsis hæreticis, adoraverunt eos flexis genibus, dicendo 'Benedicite', ipsis hæreticis respondentibus 'Deus vos benedicat'.

Dixit etiam quod prædicti hæretici comederunt ibi de pane et fructibus quos ipsi secum conferebant, et biberunt de aqua quam ibi invenerunt, et cum comedissent recesserunt inde. Et erat nox quando venerunt et quando recesserunt inde. Et sunt sexdecim anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod post hoc elapsis octo diebus vel circa, rediit ad domum ipsius testis idem Raymundus Gauterii, hæreticus, et cum eo novem vel decem personæ inter quas erant Raymundus de Monte Rotundo, Ermengaudus de Roquamaure et Roca fratres de Berlan, et Petrus Aguilho del Agrefol, faiditi et fugitivi propter hæ|resim, et arma portantes, scilicet lanceas, ballistas et arcus, et enses et cultellos serranos. Et paraverunt sibi cibum in domo ipsius testis, sed extra comederunt. Et  
 184<sup>r</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Duvernoy, *ibid.*, 33, suggests this may be Mas-del-Pioch, Tarn, comm. and cant. Montredon-Labessonnié, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres. This is 7 km from Arifat.

<sup>5</sup> Montredon-Labessonnié: Tarn, ch.-lieu., arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>6</sup> Tarn, comm. Montredon-Labessonnié, ch.-lieu., arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>7</sup> Tarn, comm. Montredon-Labessonnié, ch.-lieu., arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>8</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Lauzerville, cant. Lanta, around. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 857.

*The deposition of Amblard Vassal of La Roque d'Arifat, containing that Raymond of Montredon, Ermengaud of Roquemaure, and other exiles and fugitives for heresy, had been gathered in arms at his house to eat there; in which deposition several other exiles and | heretics are named, and the people who received and protected them.* 183<sup>r</sup>

*From the Tuesday after St Matthew 1274.*

In<sup>1</sup> the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, on the Tuesday after the feast of St Matthew, apostle and evangelist,<sup>2</sup> Amblard Vassal of La Roque d'Arifat,<sup>3</sup> a fugitive for heresy, brought out as a captive, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that in the *mas* of Puy,<sup>4</sup> which belonged to the same witness, he first saw heretics, namely Raymond Gautier and a certain companion of his whom he did not know; and there the same witness, and Aicelina, the same witness's wife, encouraged and instructed | by the same heretics, adored them, genuflecting, saying 'Bless us', while the same heretics answered 'May God bless you.' 183<sup>v</sup>

He also said that the aforesaid heretics ate bread and fruit there, which they had brought with them, and drank water which they found there, and when they had eaten they left there. And it was night when they came and when they left. And this was sixteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that eight days or thereabouts after that, the same Raymond Gautier, heretic, returned to the same witness's house, and with him nine or ten people amongst whom were Raymond of Montredon,<sup>5</sup> Ermengaud of Roquemaure,<sup>6</sup> and the Roca brothers of Berlan,<sup>7</sup> and Peter Agulho of Aigrefeuille,<sup>8</sup> exiles and fugitives for | heresy, carrying arms, that is lances, crossbows and longbows, and swords and mountain knives. 184<sup>r</sup> And they prepared food for themselves in the same witness's house, but

<sup>1</sup> Amblard's deposition was edited by J. Duvernoy, 'Cathares et faidits en Albigeois vers 1265-1275', *Heresis* 3 (1984), 25-28.

<sup>2</sup> September 25 1274.

<sup>3</sup> Duvernoy, 'Cathares et faidits', 33, identifies this as La Roque d'Arifat, Tarn, comm. Saint-Antonin-de-Lacalm, cant. Réalmont, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Albi.

tunc nec ipse testis adoravit prædictos hæreticos, nec alii adoraverunt,<sup>1</sup> sed cum comedissent recesserunt inde tam hæretici quam faiditi. Et erat<sup>2</sup> nox similiter quando venerunt et quando recesserunt; et nescit ipse testis quo iverunt.

Et ista fuit ipse testis confessus fratri Guillelmo Bernardi, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et eius socio, olim inquisitoribus apud Castras in Albigesio, sed non habuit pœnitentiam pro prædictis.

Interrogatus an dictus<sup>3</sup> inquisitor reconciliavit ipsum testem, et an fecit eum<sup>4</sup> omnem hæresim abiurare, dixit se non recordari; dixit tamen quod permisit eum redire, et postea non vocavit eum.

184<sup>v</sup> Post hæc vero elapsis septem annis vel circa, ipse | testis fuit gravissime infirmus in domo sua febre continua, et fuit extra mentem, ita quod oportuit ipsum testem teneri ligatum; et postea cum convalesceret prædicta Aycelina, uxor ipsius testis retulit ipsi testi quod ibi venerant Bernardus de Labordaria et socius eius, hæretici, quos adduxerunt ibi Petrus de Romegos et Isarnus Ferrandi, vicini ipsius testis, ut reciperent<sup>5</sup> ipsum testem; sed non receperant eum quia erat extra mentem. Et displicuit ipsi testi quando audivit quod hæretici venerant et fuerant ibi. Et sunt octo anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum ipse testis esset in convalescentia<sup>6</sup> prædictæ infirmitatis, fecit ipsum testem capi in domo ipsius testis, et captum adduci versus Lomberium, frater Stephanus Vastin<sup>7</sup>, tunc inquisitor, coram quo 185<sup>r</sup> ipse testis | fuit confessus illud quod audiverat a prædicta uxore sua de adventu propredictorum hæreticorum ad se in ægritudine<sup>7</sup> prædicta. Et dictus inquisitor dimisit ipsum testem sub cautione quadraginta librarum,<sup>8</sup> et spe quod ipse testis redderet hæreticos.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* alios adoravit.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* erant.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* antedictus.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* cum.

<sup>5</sup> -erent *perhaps* added.

<sup>6</sup> *originally* convalescentiam; *next word started over deleted* -m.

<sup>7</sup> æ- *perhaps* altered from e-.

<sup>8</sup> -arum *probably* added.

<sup>11</sup> *DTF* lists many places of this name. After a period as inquisitor in Carcassonne (designated 'inquisitor in the province of Narbonne', in Clement IV's bull of July 31 1265), Stephen of Gâtine became also inquisitor of Toulouse late in 1268, and he was sentencing in Carcassonne in 1276; Douais, *Documents*, pp. clxix-clxxii; Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 194-195.

<sup>12</sup> Tarn, cant. Réalmont, arrond. Albi; *DTF*.

ate outside. And on that occasion neither did the same witness adore the aforesaid heretics nor did the others adore, but when they had eaten both the heretics and the exiles left there. And it was again night when they came and when they left; and the same witness does not know where they went.

And the same witness confessed these things to brother William Bernard, of the Order of Preachers, and his companion, formerly inquisitors at Castres in the Albigeois, but he did not have a penance for the aforesaid.

Asked whether the said inquisitor reconciled the same witness, and whether he made him abjure all heresy, he said that he does not remember; he said however that he allowed him to go away, and afterwards did not summon him.

Seven years or thereabouts after this, indeed, the same | witness was 184<sup>v</sup> very gravely ill in his house with a continual fever, and he was out of his mind, so that it was necessary for the same witness to be kept bound; and afterwards, when he had recovered, the aforesaid Aicelina, the same witness's wife, told the same witness that there had come there Bernard of La Bourdarié<sup>9</sup> and his companion, heretics, whom Peter of Roumégoux<sup>10</sup> and Isarn Ferrand, the same witness's neighbours, had brought there, to receive the same witness; but they had not received him because he was out of his mind. And it displeased the same witness when he heard that the heretics had come and had been there. And this was eight years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when the same witness was convalescing from the aforesaid illness, brother Stephen of Gâtine, then inquisitor,<sup>11</sup> had the same witness captured in the same witness's house, and brought as a captive to Lombers;<sup>12</sup> before whom the same witness | confessed 185<sup>r</sup> what he had heard from his aforesaid wife about the coming of the abovementioned heretics to him in the aforesaid illness. And the said inquisitor sent the same witness away on a security of forty pounds, and the hope that the same witness would hand over the heretics.

<sup>9</sup> Probably Tarn, cant. Roquecourbe, comm. Burlats, 9 km from Montredon-Labessonnié; *DTF*. In his confession to the inquisitors Stephen of Gâtine and Hugh of Bouniols (March 30, 1276), William Dural of Poulan had confessed seeing the heretic Bernard of La Bourdarié; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, ii.1104.

<sup>10</sup> Tarn, cant. Réalmont, arrond. Albi; *DTF*.

Interrogatus si dictus inquisitor fecit ipsum testem hæresim abiurare, dixit se non recordari.

Item dixit quod tunc ipse testis fuit in proposito capiendi hæreticos et reddendi inquisitoribus si posset,<sup>1</sup> sed non potuit, quia ex tunc cavebant sibi ab eo.

Item dixit quod tunc post paucos dies Petrus de Romegos mandavit ipsi testi, per Bernardum Boerii de Romegos, quod ipse testis veniret ad eum. Et ivit ad eum cum dicto *Bernardo* Boerii, et invenerunt dictum Petrum de Romegos, et Sicardum de Romegos, et Iacobum, faiditos, et  
 185<sup>v</sup> cum eis Bernardum | Bordarias et quendam socium eius, qui habebat alterum oculorum valde eversum et deformem, hæreticos, in nemore de Roca Embert, prope Tabez iuxta Senegaz. Et salutaverunt eos ipse testis et dictus *Bernardus* Boerii; et dictus Petrus de Romegos redarguit ipsum testem quia, sicut intellexerant, ipse testis, et socios<sup>2</sup> eius et hæreticos supradictos, volebat<sup>3</sup> eos tradere. Et ipse testis negavit hoc, dicens quod nolebat nec faceret ullomodo. Et tunc dictus Petrus de Romegos obtulit ipsi testi, dicens quod si vellet recedere ab illo, et ire in Lombardiam, ipse duceret ipsum testem secum, et provideret sibi de expensis quod ipse testis voluit facere. Sed comedit ibi cum dictis fayditis, et postea rediit ad propria.<sup>4</sup>

Interrogatus, dixit quod non adoravit ibi prædictos hæreticos, nec  
 186<sup>r</sup> audivit prædicationes vel monitiones eo|rum.

Interrogatus<sup>5</sup> quis apportavit eis ibi ad comedendum, dixit quod ipse testis non vidit, sed audivit ibi dici quod Ermengaudus de Rocairol de Manso de Cabess.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis habebat tunc licentiam videndi hæreticos et atrahendi eos ut posset eos capere, prout dixerant ipsi testi Pestilhaeus et Guillelmus Textor, servientes inquisitionis; et quia non potuit hæreticos capere et reddere, non fuit ausus redire ad inquisitorem,<sup>6</sup> sed fugiit.

<sup>1</sup> *written over deletion; -t altered from -d.*

<sup>2</sup> *ms* socii.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* hæretici supradicti volebant.

<sup>4</sup> *-ia probably added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-tus probably added.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms* inquisitor.

Asked if the said inquisitor made the same witness abjure heresy, he said that he does not remember.

Item, he said that the same witness then had the intention of capturing the heretics and handing them over to the inquisitors if he could, but he could not, because after that they were wary of him.

Item, he said that then, a few days later, Peter of Roumégoux instructed the same witness, through Bernard Boer of Roumégoux, that the same witness was to come to him. And he went to him with the said Bernard Boer, and they found the said Peter of Roumégoux, and Sicard of Roumégoux, and James, exiles, and with them Bernard | of La Bourdarié and a 185<sup>v</sup> certain companion of his, who had one of his eyes completely twisted and deformed, heretics, in the wood of *Roque Embert*, near Cabès<sup>13</sup> by Séné-gats. And the same witness and the said Bernard Boer greeted them; and the said Peter of Roumégoux accused the same witness that, as they had understood, the same witness wished to hand them over—both his companions and the aforesaid heretics. And the same witness denied this, saying that he in no way wished to do this, nor would he do it. And then the said Peter of Roumégoux made an offer to the same witness, saying that if he wished to go away from there, and go into Lombardy, he would take the same witness with him, and would provide for the expenses which the same witness wished to make. But he ate there with the said exiles, and afterwards returned to his own affairs.

Asked, he said that he did not adore the aforesaid heretics there, nor did he hear their preachings or | admonitions. 186<sup>r</sup>

Asked who brought them food there, he said that the same witness did not see, but he heard it said there that it was Ermengaud of Roucayrols<sup>14</sup> from the *mas* of Cabès.

He also said that the same witness had permission at that time to see heretics and to draw them in so that he could capture them, as Pestilhac and William Tisserand (*or* William, weaver), servants of the inquisition, had told the same witness; and because he could not capture the heretics and hand them over, he did not dare return to the inquisitor, but fled.

<sup>13</sup> Tarn, comm. Saint-Pierre-de-Trivisy, cant. Vabre, arrond. Castres; *DTF*. *Roque Embert*: not identified. Imbert is a common place-name in the Tarn *département*; *DTF*.

<sup>14</sup> There are two hamlets in the vicinity of this name. Duvernoy, 'Cathares et faidits', 33, identifies this as a hamlet of Montredon-Labessonnié, but the hamlet of Saint-Pierre-de-Trivisy is nearer to Cabès; *DTF*.



Et tunc frater Stephanus, inquisitor prædictus, exigit et extorsit prædictam pœnam a fideiussoribus suis. Et extunc ipse testis fuit profugus usque modo.

Item dixit quod ipse testis, fugitivus propter hæresim, venit multotiens in domum Petri de Roseto, et Bernardi, fratrum, in Caercino prope Montem Alsatum, | et vidit ibi multotiens ipsos Petrum et Bernardum et Guillelmum, fratres—qui Guillelmus *non* morabatur cum eis—et matrem eorum, cuius nomen nescit.<sup>1</sup>

Dixit etiam quod prædictus Petrus de Roseto, et Bernardus, fratres, et mater eorum, receptaverunt multotiens ipsum testem, et dederunt sibi et sociis suis, faiditis et fugitivis propter hæresim, multotiens ad comedendum, scientes ipsum testem et eius socios omnes<sup>2</sup> tales.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> qui erant socii qui cum ipso teste fuerunt ibi, dixit quod Petrus Bess, Sicardus de Romegos, Iohannes Barravi, et Iohannes de Romegos, omnes faiditi et fugitivi.

Dixit etiam quod dictus Petrus de Roseto dirigebat et collocabat Astrugam de Labarta de Manso de Restero, et Petronam Rothanda, similiter fugitivas, in locis quibus possent | morari. Et credit quod prædicti fratres de Roseto, et mater eorum, essent credentes et amici hæreticorum, et receptatores eorum.

Item dixit quod Petrus<sup>4</sup> Romegos prædictus docuit ipsum testem venire ad illud ospitium; et sunt septem anni vel circa quod primo venit ad dictum ospitium, et sunt quatuor anni vel circa quod ille<sup>5</sup> fuit ibi. Dixit tamen quod inter festum Omnium Sanctorum et festum Natalitiæ<sup>6</sup> Domini erunt tres anni quod ipse testis et Petrus Bess prædicti venerunt prope [domum] prædictorum fratrum de Roseto. Sed non intraverunt nec comederunt nec biberunt ibi propter quendam valladerium qui operabatur iuxta<sup>7</sup> ipsam domum. Sed tunc recuperaverunt ipse testis viginti solidos Turonenses, et dictus Petrus Bess alios viginti solidos, quos ab eis | receperat in depositum<sup>8</sup> Petrus de Roseto; et reddidit eos sibi Bernardus de Roseto frater eius.

<sup>1</sup> ipsi *deleted*; originally written over longer deletion.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* omne.

<sup>3</sup> -tus *probably added*.

<sup>4</sup> *superfluous* venit here.

<sup>5</sup> *perhaps added*.

<sup>6</sup> -itiæ *added*.

<sup>7</sup> -u- *written over deletion*.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* inde positum.

And then brother Stephen, the aforesaid inquisitor, demanded and extorted the aforesaid penalty from his guarantors. And from that time on the same witness was a fugitive until now.

Item, he said that the same witness, a fugitive for heresy, came often into the house of Peter of Rouzet<sup>15</sup> and Bernard, brothers, in Quercy<sup>16</sup> near Montalzat,<sup>17</sup> | and he often saw there the same Peter and Bernard 186<sup>v</sup> and William, brothers—this William did not live with them—and their mother, whose name he does not know.

He also said that the aforesaid Peter of Rouzet and Bernard, brothers, and their mother, often received the same witness, and often gave food to him and his companions, exiles and fugitives for heresy, knowing that the same witness and his companions were all such.

Asked who were the companions who were there with the same witness, he said Peter Bess, Sicard of Roumégoux, John Barrau, and John of Roumégoux, all exiles and fugitives.

He also said that the said Peter of Rouzet stationed and placed Astruga of La Barthe of the *mas* of *Restero*,<sup>18</sup> and Petrona Rothanda, likewise fugitives, in places where they could | stay. And he believes that the 187<sup>r</sup> aforesaid Rouzet brothers, and their mother, were believers and friends of the heretics, and receivers of them.

Item, he said that the aforesaid Peter Roumégoux instructed the same witness to come to that lodging; and it was seven years ago or thereabouts that he first came to the said lodging, and it is four years or thereabouts since he was there. He said however that between the feast of All Saints and the feast of Christmas it will be three years since the aforesaid same witness and Peter Bess came near the [house] of the aforesaid Rouzet brothers. But they did not enter, or eat or drink there on account of a certain ditcher who was working next to the same house. But the same witness then recovered twenty shillings Tournois, and the said Peter Bess another twenty shillings, which Peter of Rouzet | had received from 187<sup>v</sup> them in deposit; and Bernard of Rouzet his brother returned them to them.

<sup>15</sup> The Pech de Rouzet is 3 km from Montalzat; *DTF*.

<sup>16</sup> Region corresponding with the *département* of Lot and the northern half of Tarn-et-Garonne.

<sup>17</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Montpezat-de-Quercy, arrond. Montauban; *DTF*.

<sup>18</sup> Not identified.

Item dixit quod fuit ibi aliquibus vicibus cum ipso teste<sup>1</sup> Guillelmus de Combelas de Rupe Ariffati, fugitivus et faiditus propter hæresim, tempore supradicto.

Item dixit quod [cum] ipse testis quæreret uxorem suam fugitivam, dictus Bernardus de Roseto dixit ipsi testi quod iret ad Montem Pesatum prope Montem Alsatum, ad Durandum de Furno vel Raymundam uxorem eius, quia ipsi sciebant et dicerent ipsi testi ubi erat uxor eius. Et ivit et invenit prædictam Raymundam, uxorem Durandi prædicti, quæ duxit ipsum testem usque prope villam de Monte Domusque, ubi erat prædicta  
 188<sup>r</sup> uxor<sup>2</sup> ipsius testis cum filiabus suis. Et erant ibi mendi|cantes<sup>3</sup> et panem quærentes.

Item dixit quod audivit Bernardum de Roseto dicentem quod Raymunda Praderia, quæ moratur ad Solerium prope Podium de Larogua, erat credens hæreticorum, et daret ipsi testi libenter ad prandendum si transiret inde. Idem audivit ipsum dicentem de Raymunda de Lacomba, quæ moratur in Bastida de Septem Fontibus; et postea ipse testis et Petrus Bess fuerunt bis in domo ipsius Raymundæ, et biberunt ibi.

Dixit etiam quod dicta Raymunda misit vinum ipsi testi et dicto Petro Bess, ad quoddam aliud hospitium<sup>4</sup> in dicta bastida. Et sunt sex anni vel circa, sicut credit.

Item dixit quod Arnaldus, sororius Iohannis Barravi prædicti—qui Arnaldus morabatur tunc in domo Sibiliæ, viduæ in parrochia de Barra-  
 188<sup>v</sup> quinas—aportavit ipsi testi et dicto Iohanni Barravi, | faiditis, unam placentam et unam cucurbitam plenam vino, et unum frustrum de carnibus salsis, de domo dictæ Sibiliæ, ad caput<sup>5</sup> prati iuxta dictam domum.

Dixit etiam quod dictus Iohannes Barravi intraverat ipsam domum, et credit quod fuerat locutus cum dicta Sibilis. De tempore,<sup>6</sup> dixit ut supra.

<sup>1</sup> -s- written over -i-.

<sup>2</sup> dash after this word, as if space had been left for expansion.

<sup>3</sup> ms medicantes; catchword rantes, rather than cantes.

<sup>4</sup> h- added.

<sup>5</sup> -t written over deletion.

<sup>6</sup> ut deleted.

Item, he said that William of Les Combelles<sup>19</sup> of Arifat, a fugitive and exile for heresy, was there several times with the same witness, at the aforesaid time.

Item, he said when the same witness was looking for his fugitive wife, the said Bernard of Rouzet told the same witness to go to Montpezat<sup>20</sup> near Montalzat, to Durand of *Four* [bakery, oven] or Raymonda his wife, because they knew, and would tell the same witness where his wife was. And he went and found the aforesaid Raymonda, the wife of the aforesaid Durand, who took the same witness as far as near the village of Montdoumerc<sup>21</sup> where the same witness's aforesaid wife was with her daughters. And they were beggars there, | and asking for their bread. 188<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that he heard Bernard of Rouzet saying that Raymonda Pradier, who lives at Le Soulié near Puylaroque,<sup>22</sup> was a believer of the heretics, and would willingly give the same witness a meal if he passed by there. He heard him saying the same about Raymonda of La Combe,<sup>23</sup> who lives in the *bastide* of Septfonds;<sup>24</sup> and afterwards the same witness and Peter Bess were twice in the same Raymonda's house, and drank there.

He also said that the said Raymonda sent wine to the same witness and the said Peter Bess, to a certain other lodging in the said *bastide*. And this was six years ago or thereabouts, as he believes.

Item, he said that Arnold, the brother-in-law of the aforesaid John Barrau—and this Arnold was then living in the house of Sybil, a widow in the parish of Barraquines<sup>25</sup>—brought the same witness and the said John Barrau, | exiles, a cake and a gourd full of wine, and a piece of salt meat, from the house of the said Sybil, to the head of the meadow next to the said house. 188<sup>v</sup>

He also said that the said John Barrau had entered the same house, and he believes that he had spoken with the said Sybil. About the time, he said as above.

<sup>19</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Nègrepelisse, arrond. Montauban; *DTF*.

<sup>20</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Montauban, 3 km from Montalzat; *DTF*.

<sup>21</sup> Lot, comm. and cant Lalbenque, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Cahors; *DTF*.

<sup>22</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Montpezat-de-Quercy, arrond. Montauban. Le Soulié is 3 km from Puylaroque.

<sup>23</sup> *DTF* lists many in Tarn-et-Garonne.

<sup>24</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Caussade, arrond. Montauban; *DTF*.

<sup>25</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Montpezat, cant. Montalzat, arrond. Montauban; *DTF*.

Item dixit quod ipse testis, fugitivus propter hæresim et faiditus, fuit apud Calciatam, in domo Guillelmi Iordani et Guiraldæ uxoris eius; et adduxit ibi ipsum testem Petrus de Roseto vespertinare de pane et vino et caseo, et dicta Guirauda cognovit ipsum testem, sed nescit si dictus Guillelmus Iordani cognovit eum dum erat ibi.

189<sup>r</sup> Dixit etiam quod<sup>1</sup> dicta Guirauda fecerat se commatrem ipsius testis, et, ipso teste absente, levaverat quendam infantem, filium ipsius | testis, de sacro fonte<sup>2</sup>—procurante, sicut credit, Petro de Roseto prædicto. De tempore: ut supra.

Item dixit quod apud Figiacum fuerunt in domo Petri Guiraman, textoris, semel ipse testis, et Iohannes Barravi, et Iohannes de Romegos, faiditi et fugitivi propter hæresim. Et iacuerunt ibi, et comederunt de his quæ dedit eis dictus Petrus Guiraman. Dixit etiam quod adduxit eos ibi Iohannes de Romegos prædictus, qui noverat dictum Petrum Guiraman, et texuerat diu cum eo. De tempore: sex anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod alia vice ipse testis et Petrus Bess, fugitivi, venerunt ad domum dicti Petri Guiraman, et vespertinaverunt ibi. Et vidit eos ibi 189<sup>v</sup> idem Petrus, et Bernardus Vaissera, qui moratur apud Figiacum, | qui dedit eis vinum. Et tunc ipse testis audivit dicentem Petrum Guiraman prædictum quod dictus Bernardus Vaissera erat credens et amicus hæreticorum. Et fuerunt duo anni inter festum Omnium Sanctorum et festum Natalis<sup>3</sup> Domini proxime præterita.

Item apud Villam Francam Ruthenensem fuerunt ipse testis,<sup>4</sup> et Guillelmus de Romegos, et Petrus Bess, et Isarnus del Quier, faiditi et fugitivi propter hæresim, in domo Daide de Brass, per octo dies vel circa. Et adduxit eos ibi prædictus Isarnus del Quier, qui diu fuerat ibi. Et comedebant ibi de suo proprio. Et credit quod Petronilla, uxor dicti Daide, sciebat ipsos esse faiditos, et quales erant, sed non credit quod prædictus Daide cognosceret eos.

190<sup>r</sup> Dixit etiam quod prædictus Daide erat mercator | et quasi quotidie<sup>5</sup> erat extra domum; sed dicta Petronilla erat ibi continue, et faciebat eis aliqua servitia, et dedit eis quatuor pileos. De tempore: ut supra.

<sup>1</sup> q- altered from d-.

<sup>2</sup> de sacro fonte written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> -is added.

<sup>4</sup> -is added.

<sup>5</sup> qu- added, probably altered from c-.

Item, he said that the same witness, a fugitive and exile for heresy, was at Caussade,<sup>26</sup> in the house of William Jordan and Guirauda his wife; and Peter of Rouzet brought the same witness there to eat a supper of bread and wine and cheese, and the said Guirauda recognised the same witness, but he does not know if the said William Jordan recognised him while he was there.

He also said that the said Guirauda had made herself godmother to the same witness, and, in the absence of the same witness, had raised a certain infant, the same witness's son, | from the holy font—and, as he believes, the aforesaid Peter of Rouzet brought this about. About the time: as above. 189<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that at Figeac<sup>27</sup> the same witness, and John Barrau, and John of Roumégoux, exiles and fugitives for heresy, were once in the house of Peter Guiraman, weaver. And they slept there, and ate of what the said Peter Guiraman gave them. He also said that the aforesaid John of Roumégoux brought them there, who had known the said Peter Guiraman, and had woven with him for a long time. About the time: six years or thereabouts.

Item, he said that on another occasion the same witness and Peter Bess, fugitives, came to the house of the said Peter Guiraman, and spent the evening there. And the same Peter saw them there, and Bernard Vaissera, who lives at Figeac, | who gave them wine. And the same witness then heard the aforesaid Peter Guiraman saying that the said Bernard Vaissera was a believer and friend of the heretics. And this was two years ago between the last feast of All Saints and the last feast of Christmas. 189<sup>v</sup>

Item, at Villefranche-de-Rouergue the same witness and William of Roumégoux, and Peter Bess, and Isarn of Quié, exiles and fugitives for heresy, were in the house of Daide of Bras for eight days or thereabouts. And the aforesaid Isarn of Quié, who had been there a long time, brought them there. And they ate there of their own food. And he believes that Petronilla, the wife of the said Daide, knew that they were exiles, and what sort of men they were, but he does not believe that the aforesaid Daide recognised them.

He also said that the aforesaid Daide was a merchant | and was out of the house almost every day; but the said Petronilla was there continually, and performed several services for them, and gave them four caps. About the time: as above. 190<sup>r</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Montauban; *Saisimentum*, p. 378.

<sup>27</sup> Lot, ch.-lieu arrond.; *Saisimentum*, p. 389.

Item dixit quod soror Guiraldi Boneti—qui ivit fugitivus in Lombardiam—quæ moratur apud Villam Francam, et est uxor cuiusdam macellarii, dixit ipsi testi quod libenter sequeretur fratrem suum in Lombardiam, si ipse testis vellet eam illuc ducere. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod quidam faber de Villa Francha, qui habebat parochiam fabricæ extra Villam Francham, volebat recedere, sicut dicebat, et ire in Lombardiam, si collegisset illud quod sibi debebatur pro fabrica sua. De tempore: ut supra.

190<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod Audiardis Barrava de Valle Eugul, et | Bernardus Bar-ravi, frater eius, et Iohanna Capolia, quæ moratur in Manso de Puteo, et Bernardus Taravela, qui moratur in Manso de Camboras, et Guillelma Escafida de la Escafavia et ... Mar ...,<sup>1</sup> fratres Guillelmi et Raymundi, fratrum faiditorum del Eversen, multotiens portaverunt et miserunt victualia prædictis fayditis, et ipsi testi, et aliis sociis eorum, ad nemus de Forestesio iuxta ecclesiam Sancti Sigismundi.

Item dixit quod venit ad ipsos faiditos multotiens in nemus de Revel, Bernardus de Poret, consanguineus dels Eversens, cuius mansum est supra Scuram, ultra Tarnum in Ruthenense.

191<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod Guillelmus et Raymundus del Eversen, fratres faiditi, habebant duas so|rores, alteram apud Albiam, et alteram apud Denat; et credit quod aliquando visitabant eas, et aportabant inde victualia pro se et sociis suis faiditis. Aliter nescit.

Item dixit quod fuerunt in Monte Albano, in quadam albergaria, ipse testis et Sicardus de Romegos, qui aliter cognominabatur de Tresmezinas, et Petrus Bess, faiditi; et inde recedentes ibant in Albigesium. Et tunc audivit in via dictum Sicardum dicentem quod habebat in Monte Albano amicos bonos credentes, qui sciebant facere ballistas; et erant pater et duo

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<sup>1</sup> *two spaces left for names.*

<sup>34</sup> Perhaps not the town of Revel (Haute-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse) but rather one of the places of this name in Tarn. Among these, Duvernoy, 'Cathares et faidits', 34, suggests comm. Teillet, cant. Alban, arrond. Albi.

<sup>35</sup> Not identified.

<sup>36</sup> Aveyron, La Lescure-Jaoul, cant. Salvétat-Peyralès, arrond. Rodez; *DTF* and Duvernoy, 'Cathares et faitits', 34.

<sup>37</sup> Tarn, cant. Réalmont, arrond. Albi; *DTF*.

<sup>38</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, ch.-lieu départ.; *DTF*.

Item, he said that the sister of Guiraud Bonet—who [Guiraud] went as a fugitive to Lombardy—who lives at Villefranche, and is the wife of a certain butcher, told the same witness that she would willingly follow her brother into Lombardy, if the same witness wanted to take her there. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that a certain smith of Villefranche, who had a parish smithy outside Villefranche, wished to go away, as he said, and go into Lombardy, if he could collect what was owed to him for his smithy. About the time: as above.

Item, he said that Audiart Barrau of Orgueil<sup>28</sup> valley and | Bernard Barrau, her brother, and Joanna Capolia, who lives in the *mas* of Pouts, and Bernard Taravel, who lives in the *mas* of Cambourras,<sup>29</sup> and Guillelma Escafida of *La Escafavia*<sup>30</sup> and ... Mar ...,<sup>31</sup> the brothers of William and Raymond, the exiled brothers from Levensenq,<sup>32</sup> often brought and sent provisions to the aforesaid exiles, and to the same witness, and to other companions of theirs, at the wood of Fourestes<sup>33</sup> near the church of St Sigismund. 190<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that there came often to the same exiles in the wood of Revel,<sup>34</sup> Bernard of *Poret*,<sup>35</sup> a kinsman of the Levensenqs, whose *mas* is beyond La Lescure,<sup>36</sup> beyond the Tarn in the Rouergue region.

Item, he said that William and Raymond of Levensenq, the exiled brothers, had two | sisters, one at Albi and the other at Dénat;<sup>37</sup> and he believes that they sometimes used to visit them, and brought provisions from there for themselves and their exiled companions. More than that he does not know. 191<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that the same witness and Sicard of Roumégoux, who is otherwise surnamed 'of Tresmèzes', and Peter Bess, exiles, were in Montauban,<sup>38</sup> in a certain hostel; and going away from there they went into the Albigeois. And at that time he heard the said Sicard saying on the way that he had friends in Montauban who were good believers, who knew how to make crossbows; and they were a father and two sons, and

<sup>28</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Grisolles, arrond. Montauban; Font-Réaulx, p. 998.

<sup>29</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Escalquens, cant. Montgiscard, arrond. Toulouse, or Aude, comm. Villetritouls, cant. Lagrasse, arrond. Carcassonne; *DTF*.

<sup>30</sup> Not identified.

<sup>31</sup> Two spaces have been left here for two (?) names which were obviously illegible to the seventeenth-century scribe.

<sup>32</sup> Tarn, comm. Roumégoux, cant. Réalmont, arrond. Albi; *DTF*.

<sup>33</sup> Saint-Salvy-de-Fourestes, Tarn, comm. Terre-Clapier, arrond. Albi; *DTF*.



fili, et tunc temporis faciebant unum molendinum. Et tunc dictus Sicardus, sicut dixit, deposuit penes illos quandam tunicam suam viridem, et novem denarios aureos. Et sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

191<sup>v</sup> Dixit etiam tunc ipsi testi prædictus Sicardus quod | prædictus ...,<sup>1</sup> pater, habebat magnam fidem in hæreticis.

Item dixit quod supradicta Petronilla, uxor Daide de Brass, fecit prædictos ...,<sup>2</sup> fabrum, et ...,<sup>3</sup> sororem dicti Guiraudi Boneti de Villa Franca, loqui cum ipso test[e].

Item dixit quod audivit dicentem Raymundum Molinerii quod ipse Raymundus, et Petrus de Romegos, Albertus de Tresmezinas,<sup>4</sup> et Bernardus Aliga de Castris, interfecerant Pestilhacum inter Rupem Arifati et Mansum del Salthent.

Item dixit quod Petrus de Roseto prædictus et Iohannes Barravi ostenderunt ipsi testi, de ostio domus prædicti Petri de Roseto, quoddam mansum ibi vicinum,<sup>5</sup> in quo morabantur quatuor vel quinque fratres qui, 192<sup>r</sup> sicut ipsi dicebant, erant amici et credentes hæ|reticorum; et erat illud mansum iuxta ecclesiam de Barraquinas.

Item dixit quod dicti Petrus de Roseto et Iohannes Barravi ostenderunt ipsi testi, de eodem loco, mansum Hugonis, cuius sororem Iohannes Barravi prædictus duxerat in uxorem in Lombardia: cuius ratione petebat a prædicto Hugone et fratribus eius aliquid; et audivit ipse testis prædictum Iohannem Barravi et Petrum de Roseto dicentes quod dictus Hugo, pro se et fratribus suis, promiserat eidem Iohanni dare, ratione prædictæ sororis suæ, quinquaginta solidos.<sup>6</sup>

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum Ramnolpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitoribus. Testes: frater Petrus de Yspanis et frater Petrus Raymundi Baranhonis, Ordinis Prædicatorum, | et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus Inquisitionis<sup>7</sup> notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, sabbato in festo Sancti Michaelis, prædictus Emblardus addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod Guillelmus Pagesii de Falgairaco, qui moratur apud Castras, vidit ipsum testem apud Falgairacum, bis vel

<sup>1</sup> *space left for name.*

<sup>2</sup> *space left for name.*

<sup>3</sup> *space left for name in margin.*

<sup>4</sup> *ms Tresmezivas.*

<sup>5</sup> *ms vienium.*

<sup>6</sup> *-os perhaps added.*

<sup>7</sup> *originally inquisitor.*

at that time they were building a mill. And at that time the said Sicard, as he said, deposited with them a certain green tunic of his, and nine golden pennies. And this was four years ago or thereabouts.

The aforesaid Sicard also said at that time to the same witness that | 191<sup>v</sup>  
the aforesaid ...,<sup>39</sup> the father, had great faith in the heretics.

Item, he said that the aforementioned Petronilla, the wife of Daide of Bras, had the aforesaid ...,<sup>40</sup> smith, and ...,<sup>41</sup> the sister of the said Guiraud Bonet of Villefranche, speak with the same witness.

Item, he said that he heard Raymond Molinier saying that the same Raymond and Peter of Roumégoux, Albert of Tresmèzes, and Bernard Aliga of Castres, had killed Pestilhac between Arifat and the *mas* of Le Saillenc.<sup>42</sup>

Item, he said that the aforesaid Peter of Rouzet and John Barrau showed the same witness, from the door of the house of the aforesaid Peter of Rouzet, a certain neighbouring *mas* there, in which lived four or five brothers who, as they said, were friends and believers of | the heretics; 192<sup>r</sup>  
and that *mas* was next to the church of Barraquines.

Item, he said that the said Peter of Rouzet and John Barrau showed the same witness, from the same place, the *mas* of Hugh, whose sister the aforesaid John Barrau had married in Lombardy: because of which he asked for something from the aforesaid Hugh and his brothers; and the same witness heard the aforesaid John Barrau and Peter of Rouzet saying that the said Hugh, for himself and his brothers, had promised to give the same John fifty shillings, because of his aforesaid sister.

These things he attested at Toulouse before the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Peter of the Ispani and brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, of the Order of Preachers, | and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary of the 192<sup>v</sup>  
Inquisition, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, on the Saturday on the feast of St Michael,<sup>43</sup> the aforesaid Amblard added to his confession, saying that William Pagèse of Falgayrac, who lives at Castres, saw the same witness at Falgayrac, two

<sup>39</sup> A space has been left for the name.

<sup>40</sup> A space has been left for the name.

<sup>41</sup> The three dots that indicate that the name is missing have been added at the end of the line, in the margin.

<sup>42</sup> Tarn, comm. and cant. Castres, ch.-lieu arrond.; *DTF*.

<sup>43</sup> September 29 1274, which was a Saturday in that year.

ter vel pluries, et qualibet vice loquebatur cum ipso teste; et hoc a festo Paschæ proxime transacto, et est mensis vel circa quod ultimo vidit ipsum testem ibi. Et locutus fuit cum eo, et consulebat ipsi testi quod recederet inde.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram prædictis inquisitoribus. Testes qui supra.

or three times or more, and each time he spoke with the same witness; and this was after the last feast of Easter, and it is a month or threereabouts since he last saw the same witness there. And he spoke with him, and advised the same witness to go away from there.

These things he attested at Toulouse before the aforesaid inquisitors. Witnesses as above.

193<sup>r</sup> *Deposition d'Es|tienne Vital de Varanhano, contenant que Brunissen, mere de Pons de Villanova et d'Arnaud de Villanova, Chevaliers de Bordes, fit appeler les heretiques pendant sa maladie dans Pouteville, qui ne peurent pas la rendre heretique par ce qu'elle ne parloit point, et lesdits Chevaliers prirent les armes pour empêcher que le Curé et autres ne fissent du mal auxdits heretiques.*

193<sup>v</sup> *Du Mardy apres la St Luc au|dit an.*

Anno et die quo proximo, Stephanus Vitalis de Varanhano, testis iuratus et requisitus ut supra, dixit quod ipse testis fuit confessus olim, primo apud Caunas fratri Ferr', secundo fratri Bernardi de Cautio Tholosæ, quædam quæ commiserat in crimine hæresis. Et celavit scienter ea quæ sequuntur, videlicet quod cum domina Brunissendis, mater Pontii de Villa Nova et Arnaldi de Villa Nova, militum quondam de Bordis, infirmaretur apud Bautevillam in domo Pontii Raymundi, filii sui quondam, ægritudine qua decessit, prædictus Arnaldus de Villa Nova misit testem<sup>1</sup> ad Guillelmum de Calhavello<sup>2</sup> quondam de Avinione, | mandans ei quod mitteret seu venire faceret bonos homines, videlicet hæreticos, apud Bautevillam ad prædictam dominam infirmam, ut reciperent eam. Qui Guilhelmus de Calhavello<sup>3</sup> respondit ipsi testi quod iret

<sup>1</sup> -em added.

<sup>2</sup> -v- perhaps written as -n-.

<sup>3</sup> quondam deleted.

<sup>7</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; *Saisimentum*, p. 358.

<sup>8</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Saint-Félix-Lauragais, cant. Revel, arrond. Toulouse, or Aude, cant. Alaigne, arrond. Limoux; *DTF*. A heretic of this name (Guillelmus de Calavello), had been seen before he became a heretic in the house of Pons Rigaud in Fanjeaux, adoring heretics and listening to their preaching, in the early 1240s, and later, after he had become a heretic, together with other heretics in Fanjeaux in the early 1250s. The sightings were described by the converted heretic Saurina Rigaud, in her confession of 1254/5; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 260, 266. For sightings of William in or connected to Avignonet, see below, 316<sup>r</sup> n. 79.

*The deposition of | Stephen Vital of Baraigne, containing that Brunissen, 193<sup>r</sup>  
the mother of Pons of Villeneuve and Arnold of Villeneuve, knights of  
Lasbordes, had the heretics summoned during her illness at Beauteville,  
who were unable to make her a heretic because she could not speak, and  
the said knights took up arms to prevent the priest and others from doing  
ill to the said heretics.*

*From the Tuesday after St. Luke in the | said year. 193<sup>v</sup>*

In the same year and on the same day as immediately above,<sup>1</sup> Stephen Vital of Baraigne,<sup>2</sup> sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that the same witness had previously confessed, firstly at Caunes<sup>3</sup> to brother Ferrier, [and] secondly to brother Bernard of Caux at Toulouse,<sup>4</sup> certain acts which he had committed concerning the crime of heresy. And he knowingly hid the things which follow: that is that when lady Brunissen, the mother of Pons of Villeneuve<sup>5</sup> and Arnold of Villeneuve, late knights of Lasbordes,<sup>6</sup> fell ill at Beauteville<sup>7</sup> in the house of Pons Raymond, her late son, with the illness of which she died, the aforesaid Arnold of Villeneuve sent the witness to the late William of Cailhavel<sup>8</sup> of Avignonet, | ordering him to send the good men, that is the heretics, 194<sup>r</sup>  
or have them come, to Beauteville to the aforesaid sick lady, in order to receive her. This William of Cailhavel answered the same witness

<sup>1</sup> The Tuesday after St Luke would be October 23 in 1274, but we do not know how the French introduction arrived at this date. September 25 1274, the same year and date as Amblard Vassal's first depostion, would be a possibility.

<sup>2</sup> Aude, cant. Salles-sur-l'Hers, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, pp. 874.

<sup>3</sup> Caubès-Minervois, Aude, cant. Peyriac-Minervois, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 907.

<sup>4</sup> This confession (November 30 1245) is in Toulouse 609, f. 171<sup>r</sup>. He had adored heretics around 1241, a nephew had been hereticated and burnt at Montségur, and he had seen two female heretics, Ramunda and Saura, living publicly at Baraigne around 1215. He denied believing in heretics or hearing their doctrines, and said that he had confessed to William Arnold at Avignonet; he made no reference to Ferrier.

<sup>5</sup> See 73<sup>r</sup> n. 3 below.

<sup>6</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Sud, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 260.

ad nemus de Las Lacas et expectaret ibi, quia nocte sequenti haberet<sup>1</sup> eos ibi. Et nocte instanti venit ad ipsum testem Bernardus Ademarii de Varanhano quondam, et duxit ipsum testem ad nemus de Las Lacas, ubi invenerunt †qui dicta†<sup>2</sup> et socium eius, hæreticos, quos ipse testis adoravit ibi, ter flexis genibus, dicendo ‘Benedicite’, prout olim confessus fuerat<sup>3</sup> prædictis inquisitoribus. Et exinde prædictus Bernardus Ademarii et ipse testis duxerunt et associaverunt eos usque ad serram de Varanhano, 194<sup>v</sup> euntes versus Varanhanum ut hæreticarent ibi dictam in|firmam. Et in prædicta serra invenerunt prædictos Pontium de Villanova et Arnaldum de Villa Nova, fratres, milites, qui salutaverunt ibi prædictos hæreticos. Et exinde redeunte prædicto Bernardo Ademarii, prædicti milites præcesserunt; et dicti hæretici et ipse testis sequentes eos a longe ingressi<sup>4</sup> fuerunt Bautevillam in domum prædictam, ubi iacebat prædicta infirma. Ipse vero testis<sup>5</sup> non intravit cameram ubi dicta infirma iacebat. Et statim ipse testis exivit dictam domum, et cum exivit audivit ipse testis clamantem dominam Raymundam, uxorem Bernardi Pontii de Bautevilla, et dicentem, ‘Euge, euge, quia hæretici sunt cum ainhata<sup>6</sup> mea!’ Et ad dictum clamorem armaverunt se prædicti milites, et multi alii quos non 195<sup>r</sup> novit, ut defenderent hæreticos; et fuerunt pro|iecti multi lapides et fustes in solarium capellani. Et credit ipse testis quod hoc fiebat ne capellanus et clerici sui et familia auderent exire. Et audivit tunc dici ipse testis quod non fuit hæreticata quia non poterat loqui.

Interrogatus si aliquis alius vel aliqua vidit ibi dictos hæreticos, quod ipse testis sciat, dixit quod non; ipse namque testis,<sup>7</sup> statim introductis hæreticis, exivit inde, et rediit versus Varanhanum ad domum. Et sunt triginta anni vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* hæberet.

<sup>2</sup> *One would expect the name of the heretic here—but no heretic has yet been mentioned. Perhaps the name was mentioned in the earlier confession.*

<sup>3</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>4</sup> *ms* alonge in gressi.

<sup>5</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>6</sup> *Perhaps misreading of cunhata (= cognata).*

<sup>7</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>11</sup> This could simply indicate an area of mountainous terrain; however, as a hiding-place for heretics the translation ‘ravine’ seemed more appropriate.

<sup>12</sup> ‘Euge’ is usually a cry of joy; here, however, the context seems to suggest that it is a warning.

that he should go to the wood of *Las Lacas*,<sup>9</sup> and wait there, because the following night he would have them there. And when the night came the late Bernard Ademar of Baraigne came to the same witness, and took the same witness to the wood of *Las Lacas*, where they found *Qui dicta*<sup>10</sup> and his companion, heretics, whom the same witness adored there, genuflecting three times, saying 'Bless me,' as he had previously confessed to the aforesaid inquisitors. And from there the aforesaid Bernard Ademar and the same witness led and accompanied them as far as the ravine<sup>11</sup> of Baraigne, going towards Baraigne to hereticate the said sick | woman there. And in the aforesaid ravine they found the aforesaid Pons of Villeneuve and Arnold of Villeneuve, brothers, knights, 194<sup>v</sup> who greeted the aforesaid heretics there. And while the aforesaid Bernard Ademar went back from there, the aforesaid knights went on ahead; and the said heretics and the same witness, following them at a distance, went into Beauteville, into the aforesaid house, where the aforesaid sick woman was lying. The same witness, however, did not enter the chamber where the said sick woman was lying. And the same witness immediately left the said house, and when he left the same witness heard lady Raymonda, the wife of Bernard Pons of Beauteville, crying out and saying, 'Look! Look!'<sup>12</sup> The heretics are with my old lady!' And at the said cry the aforesaid knights, and many others whom he did not know, armed themselves to defend the heretics; and many | stones and sticks were thrown into 195<sup>r</sup> the chaplain's solar. And the same witness believes that this was done so that the chaplain and his clerics and household would not dare to come out. And the same witness heard it said then that she was not hereticated because she could not speak.

Asked if any other man or woman saw the said heretics there, that the same witness knows, he said no; for, as soon as the heretics had been brought in, the same witness left there and returned towards Baraigne to his home. And this was thirty years ago or thereabouts.

<sup>9</sup> Not identified. See listings of Lacas in *DTF*.

<sup>10</sup> Scribal error, either an attempt at a name or a circumlocution: 'the one who was mentioned before.' One could conjecture that at one stage the text read a name plus *de Quideriis*, that is, a heretic from Quiriès (Aude, comm. Mas-Saintes-Puelles, cant. Castelnaudary, arrond. Carcassonne; *Saisimentum*, p. 451). Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 117, conjectures along similar lines, translating *Qui dicta* as Quidière, in William of 'Quiders', a heretic attested as active 1225–1242. See 320<sup>v</sup> below.



Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> quare hoc celaverat olim inquisitoribus supradictis, dixit quod propter *timorem* mortis et amittendi capud, quia Pontius Raymundi, frater dictorum militum de Bautevilla, erat dominus ipsius testis.

195<sup>v</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum Ranulpho de Placiaco et Pontio | de Parnaco, inquisitoribus. Testes: frater Ermengaudus, prior Fratrum Prædicatorum Castransium, et frater Bernardus de Bossaigas, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi; coram quibus dictus testis<sup>2</sup> omnem hæresim abiuravit et iuravit *etcetera*.

Item prædictus testis, interrogatus de recessu Pontii Raymundi de Bautevilla, respondit se audivisse dici quod ivit in Apuliam ad querendum filios suos, qui erant cum rege Karolo, et quod obiit apud Lutheriam.

Hæc deposuit anno et die prædictis, coram eisdem inquisitoribus et testibus.

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<sup>1</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>2</sup> -is *written over deletion*.

Asked why he had hidden this before from the aforementioned inquisitors, he said that for fear of death and of losing his head, because Pons Raymond, the brother of the said knights of Beauteville, was the same witness's lord.

These things he attested at Toulouse before the brothers of the Order of Preachers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons | of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Ermengaud, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Castres,<sup>13</sup> 195<sup>v</sup> and brother Bernard of Boussagues,<sup>14</sup> and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things; before whom the said witness abjured all heresy and took an oath etc.

Item,<sup>15</sup> the aforesaid witness, asked about the departure of Pons Raymond of Beauteville, answered that he had heard it said that he went into Apulia to seek for his sons,<sup>16</sup> who were with king Charles, and that he died at Lucera.<sup>17</sup>

These things he attested in the aforesaid year and on the aforesaid day, before the same inquisitors and witnesses.

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<sup>13</sup> Ermengau Lauterii was assigned as lecturer in theology to Montauban (1265), designated preacher general for Castres (1275), and he was prior of Castres (1274–1276), Narbonne (1278–1282), Montauban (1282–1285) and Bergerac (1285). He died in 1286. *ACP*, pp. 107, 195, 301–302; Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 152; 'Mort des Prieurs', no. 50, p. 168; 274<sup>v</sup> below.

<sup>14</sup> Hérault, comm. La Tour-sur-Orb, cant. Bédarieux, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Béziers; Font-Réaulx, p. 890. Prior of Castres (1268–1270), of Albi (1276–1280) and of Figeac (1289–1291), and designated as a convent visitor in 1280 and 1286, Bernard had completed 49 years in the Dominican Order when he died in 1297. In his brief obituary of him, Gui described him as a short man, good, studious, an avoider of laziness and spontaneous in preaching. Frequently cited by Gui as an oral source, he was described by Gui as a *relator*, a talker or teller of tales. *ACP*, pp. 148, 206, 240, 297; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 143, 144, 145–146, 148–149, 152, 197–198; Gui and Salagnac, *De quattuor*, pp. 164–166; Douais, *Documents*, pp. 377–378; 'Mort des prieurs', no. 27, pp. 162–163.

<sup>15</sup> This is an addendum to the previous deposition, and took place on the same day.

<sup>16</sup> Or possibly more generally 'children'.

<sup>17</sup> Town in the province of Foggia, Apulia. On Charles I of Anjou, see 45<sup>v</sup> above.

196<sup>r</sup> *Deposition de Bernard Raymond Baranhon' de Tholouse, contenant que Raymond | dels Puiols estoit amy des Vaudois, et qu'il avoit assisté a la Predication d'un Vaudois, qui disoit que Dieu aloit par terre; et avoua qu'il croyoit que les ames n'entreroient point dans le Ciel, jusqu'au jour du jugement, excepté la Ste Vierge et St Jean Baptiste, et qu'il y avoit un lieu de repos en ce monde pour les ames, comme il avoit appris dans la vie de Saint Brandan.*

196<sup>v</sup> *Du mardy apres la Saint An|dré audit an.*

Anno et die quo supra, Bernardus Raymundi Baranhonis, filius quondam Guillelmi Iohannis, mercatoris, civis Tholosæ, testis iuratus et requisitus de veritate dicenda super crimine hæresis et Valdesiæ, de se et de aliis, vivis et mortuis, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos nec adoravit eos, nec comedit nec bibit cum eis, nec misit nec dedit eis aliquid, nec recepit ab eis, nec prædicationes eorum audivit, nec tradidit eis aliquod depositum, nec recepit ab eis, nec participationem<sup>1</sup> aliquam unquam habuit cum eisdem.

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<sup>1</sup> -onem added, probably over deletion.

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(merchant), who was dead by 1217, at which date his childrens' interests were being protected by procurators. One of these children was the deponent Bernard Raymond. Bernard Raymond was mentioned in an act of January 25 1248; Y. Dossat, 'Les vaudois méridionaux d'après les documents de l'inquisition', *CaF* 2 (1967), p. 221. Bernard Raymond 'together with his wife Ramunda, was obliged to sell his tolls in Toulouse to the crown in late 1274 and early 1275 in return for an annual rent of 65 shillings on the Bastide of Castillon near Cépet'; Mundy, *Royal Diploma*, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> William John, also termed merchant, was dead by 1217; Mundy, *Royal Diploma*, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> According to the formula for a notarial oath of 1282, a 'citizen of Toulouse' 'owed military service, advice or counsel, which meant taxes and service as a militiaman, town officer, judge delegate, etc'; Mundy, *Society*, p. 53. See further discussion of the meaning of 'citizen' in Toulouse, *ibid.*, pp. 36, 39, 65, 106, 109. Note the ascription of 'citizen' rank to two others in Bernard Raymond's circle, Horombel and Raymond of Muret.

<sup>5</sup> See the many places of these names listed in *DTF*.

<sup>6</sup> This might mean 'member of their household', although it is less likely.

*The deposition of Bernard Raymond Baranhon of Toulouse, containing that Raymond | of Poujols [or Pujols] was a friend of the Waldensians, and that he had been present at the preaching of a Waldensian, who said that God went about on the earth; and he confessed that he believed that souls would not enter heaven until the Day of Judgment, except for the Holy Virgin and St John the Baptist, and that there was a place of rest for souls in this world, as he had learned in the life of St Brendan.* 196<sup>r</sup>

*From the Tuesday after St | Andrew in the said year.* 196<sup>v</sup>

In the same year and on the same day as above,<sup>1</sup> Bernard Raymond Baranhon,<sup>2</sup> son of the late William John,<sup>3</sup> merchant, citizen of Toulouse,<sup>4</sup> sworn in as a witness and asked to tell the truth concerning the crime of heresy and Waldensianism, about himself and about others, living and dead, said that he never saw heretics, nor adored them, nor ate or drank with them, nor sent or gave them anything, nor received anything from them, nor heard their preachings, nor handed over any deposit to them or received any deposit from them, nor had any dealings with them, ever.

<sup>1</sup> The Tuesday after St Andrew, 1274 (December 4) seems unlikely, as the witness's second deposition is dated November 6. The similarity of the witness-list to that of the first deposition of Amblard Vassal makes September 25 1274 much more likely.

<sup>2</sup> On the Baranhon family, see Mundy, *Royal Diploma*, pp. 131–135, and Mundy, *Men and Women*, pp. 135 no 26, 196. Mundy traces three lines of the family, all resident in the parishes of the Daurade and Saint Stephen, and he says that although they 'derived their name from, or gave it to, the Croix Baragnon, none can be shown to have lived there at this time'. The earliest member of the first line was Bruno Barononus, heard of from 1157 and dead by 1190; by 1190 he had founded a leper-house that bore his name. The earliest in the second line was Raymond Baranonus, heard of from 1173 and dead by 1198. This line included consuls: Raymond (consul 1218–1220, 1231–1232); he, his nephew Raymond (1248–1249); Berengar (1225–1226); Arnold Raymond (1227–1228); Arnold Raymond (1227–1228); Bernard Raymond (1214–1216, 1220–1221, 1223–1224, perhaps also 1238–1239); his son Bernard Raymond (probably 1262–1263, 1270–1271, 1275–1276). One of the two called Raymond Arnold was condemned for heresy, some time before February 1237. The earliest known in the third line was William Johannes, *mercerius* or *mercator*

De *Valdensibus* dixit quod ipse vidit Raymundum dels Puïols, qui  
 197<sup>r</sup> erat amicus et familiaris Valdencium; et tunc publice diceba|tur, et ipse  
 testis hoc tunc credebat. Et ipse testis salutavit tunc dictum Raymundum  
 pluries.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis, una cum Guillelmo Raymundi Baranhonis, quondam fratre ipsius testis, associaverunt quadam die Raymundum dels Puïols ad eundem ad quendam *Valdensem* qui morabatur in carria de Ulmo Sicca, cuius nomen ipse testis ignorat. Et tunc ipse testis et dictus frater suus, una cum dicto Raymundo dels Puïols, audiverunt prædicationem illius *Valdensis*.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> quæ verba dixit tunc dictus *Valdensis*, dixit quod non recordatur; hoc excepto, quod audivit eum loquentem qualiter Dominus ibat per terram.

Interrogatus<sup>2</sup> de tempore quo prædicta vidit, dixit quod quinquaginta anni sunt vel circa.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> si habuit unquam aliquem librum de veteri vel de novo  
 197<sup>v</sup> tes|tamento, in Latino vel in Romano, dixit quod ipse testis habuit ab Horombello, quondam cive Tholosæ, quendam librum in Romano et Latino mixtim, in quo legit pluries ipse testis. Et erant scripta in dicto libro Evangelia et Epistolæ et Apocalipsis. Quem librum ipse testis tenuit per tres annos vel circa; et reddidit dictum librum post mortem dicti Horombelli Raymundo de Murello, civi Tholosæ.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> de tempore quo primo habuit dictum librum, dixit quod 5<sup>o</sup>a<sup>5</sup> anni sunt vel circa.

Dixit etiam<sup>6</sup> quod postmodum<sup>7</sup> rogavit pluries dictum Raymundum de Murello ut ipsi testi traderet dictum librum; qui Raymundus de Murello dixit eidem testi<sup>8</sup> quod non habebat dictum librum quia Iohannes  
 198<sup>r</sup> de Grosso habebat eum, qui faciebat | eum extrahi et transcribi.

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> -tus added.

<sup>3</sup> -tus added.

<sup>4</sup> -us added.

<sup>5</sup> 5<sup>o</sup> seems to have been written partly over a.

<sup>6</sup> three words, quod post and perhaps etiam, deleted.

<sup>7</sup> ms post modum.

<sup>8</sup> deletion.

About Waldensians, he said he saw Raymond of Poujols [or Pujols],<sup>5</sup> who was a friend and close associate<sup>6</sup> of the Waldensians; and this was said publicly | at that time, and the same witness then believed this. And 197<sup>r</sup> at that time the same witness often greeted the said Raymond.

He also said that one day the same witness, together with William Raymond Baranhon, the same witness's late brother,<sup>7</sup> accompanied Raymond of Poujols in going to a certain Waldensian who was living in Dry Elm street,<sup>8</sup> whose name the same witness does not know. And then the same witness and his said brother, together with the said Raymond of Poujols, heard the preaching of that Waldensian.

Asked what words the said Waldensian then said, he said that he does not remember; except for this, that he heard him speaking about the manner in which the Lord went about on earth.

Asked about the time when he saw the aforesaid, he said that it was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Asked if he ever had any book of the old or new | testament, in Latin or 197<sup>v</sup> in Romance, he said that the same witness had from the late Horombel, citizen of Toulouse, a certain book in a mixture of Latin and Romance, in which the same witness often read. And there were written in the said book the Gospels, and the Epistles, and the Apocalypse. Which book the same witness kept for three years or thereabouts; and he returned the said book after the death of the said Horombel to Raymond of Muret,<sup>9</sup> a citizen of Toulouse.

Asked about the time when he first had the said book, he said that it was five<sup>10</sup> years ago or thereabouts.

He also said that afterwards he often asked the said Raymond of Muret to hand the said book over to the same witness; but this Raymond of Muret said to the same witness that he did not have the said book because John of Grosso<sup>11</sup> had it, and was having it | extracted and transcribed. 198<sup>r</sup>

<sup>7</sup> According to Mundy, *Royal Diploma*, p. 135 and n. 22, William Raymond was dead by 1271, and his house on the rue des Couteliers (Cuttlers' street) had been sold twice.

<sup>8</sup> Around 1220 heretics were being received in the house of a Pictavinus in Toulouse, in Dry Elm Street (in carreria Ulme Sec); Toulouse 609, f. 58<sup>v</sup>; Mundy, *Royal Diploma*, p. 85 no 34.

<sup>9</sup> Haute-Garonne, ch.-lieu arrond.; Font-Réaulx, p. 992.

<sup>10</sup> Or possibly fifty.

<sup>11</sup> Not identified.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis credit quod Ademarius Farat habet quendam librum, quem fecit extrahi de dicto libro Arnaldus Farat, quondam frater ipsius Ademarii prædicti.

Dixit etiam idem testis quod ipse testis habet quendam librum in Latino in quo est scripta vita Beati Brandani; in quo libro ipse testis legit pluries, et tenuit eum per quindecim annos et amplius.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> si dixit unquam quod Papa non sit caput<sup>2</sup> Sanctæ Ecclesiæ, dixit quod non, quod ipse recordetur, nec credit quod unquam dixit; imo credit quod sit caput<sup>3</sup> Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> si dixit unquam quod Papa non haberet potestatem solvendi vel ligandi, dixit quod non, quod ipse recolat.

198<sup>v</sup> Item, interrogatus<sup>5</sup> si unquam | dixit quod aliquis non deberet iurare, dixit quod non, quod ipse recolat, nec credit quod illud dixerit.

Item, interrogatus<sup>6</sup> si unquam dixit quod Beatus<sup>7</sup> Petrus, cui Dominus dedit potestatem ligandi et solvendi, non fuerit Papa, dixit quod credit quod dixit quod non fuit Papa, quia audiverat ab aliquibus ita dici.

Interrogatus<sup>8</sup> a quibus, dixit quod non recordatur.

Dixit etiam quod audivit dici quod Beatus Silvester fuit primus Papa— sed non recolit a quibus audivit.

Item, interrogatus<sup>9</sup> si habet vel si unquam habuit, vel tenuit, vel vidit, quendam librum qui dicitur ‘Biblia’ in Romano, qui incipit, ‘Roma tri-charitz’, dixit quod non: sed audivit quendam cantilenam<sup>10</sup> sive coplas  
199<sup>r</sup> pluries, quas fecit, ut ipse testis audivit | dici, quidam ioculator qui vocabatur<sup>11</sup> Figuera. Quarum una incipit, sicut ipse credit, sic: ‘Du sirventes far en est so que magensa, e sai ses doptar que naurai malvolensa dels fals, de mau ples,<sup>12</sup> de Roma, que ez caps dechansenssa,<sup>13</sup> que dechai tots

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> -t written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> -t written over deletion.

<sup>4</sup> -tus added.

<sup>5</sup> -tus added.

<sup>6</sup> -tus added.

<sup>7</sup> -tus written over deletion.

<sup>8</sup> -tus added.

<sup>9</sup> -tus added.

<sup>10</sup> ms cantilenam.

<sup>11</sup> perhaps originally bocabatur.

<sup>12</sup> ms manples.

<sup>13</sup> ms de la chaensa.

He also said that the same witness believes that Adémar Farat has a certain book which Arnold Farat, the same aforesaid Adémar's late brother, had had extracted from the said book.

The same witness also said that the same witness has a certain book in Latin in which there is written the life of the Blessed Brendan;<sup>12</sup> in which book the same witness often reads, and he has had it for fifteen years and more.

Asked if he ever said that the Pope is not the head of Holy Church, he said no, as far as he remembers, nor does he believe he ever said it; but rather he believes that he is the head of the Holy Roman Church.

Asked if he ever said that the Pope did not have the power of loosing or binding, he said no, as far as he recalls.

Item, asked if he ever | said that one ought not to take an oath, he said 198<sup>v</sup> no, as far as he recalls, nor does he believe that he has said this.

Item, asked if he ever said that the blessed Peter, to whom the Lord gave the power of binding and loosing, was not Pope, he said that he believes that he said that he was not Pope, because he had heard this said by others.

Asked by whom, he said that he does not remember.

He also said that he heard it said that the Blessed Silvester was the first Pope—but he does not remember from which people he heard this.

Item, asked if he has or has ever had, or possessed, or seen, a certain book which is called the 'Bible' in Romance, which begins 'Deceitful Rome', he said no: but he has often heard a certain song or *coblas*<sup>13</sup> which, as the same witness heard | said, a certain jongleur who was 199<sup>r</sup> called Figueira made. One of these begins thus, as the same witness believes: 'To make a *sirventes* in this mode which pleases me, and I know without doubt that I will attract ill-will from the false people, full of evil, of Rome, which is the capital of decadence, where all good

<sup>12</sup> Almost certainly the *Navigatio sancti Brendani abbatis*, an account of the pilgrimage to a terrestrial paradise undertaken by a sixth-century monk, originally written in Latin in the late ninth century. Large numbers of manuscripts survive, and it was further diffused through vernacular translations made in the twelfth century; *The Voyage of St. Brendan: Representative Versions of the Legend in English Translation*, ed. W.R.J. Barron and G.S. Burgess (Exeter, 2002); J.S. Mackley, *The Legend of St. Brendan: a Comparative Study of the Latin and Anglo-Norman Versions*, *The Northern World* 39 (Leiden 2008). A translation can be found in *Lives of the Saints*, ed. J.F. Webb, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, 1965).

<sup>13</sup> A sort of Provençal lay.



bes'—quam cobblam ipse testis pluries recitavit in publico, et coram pluribus.

Item, interrogatus si dixit quod animæ defunctorum non intrarent in paradisum nisi usque in diem Iudicii, dixit quod ipse dixit, et ita credit, quod aliquæ animæ non intrant in cœlum, nec intrabunt usque in diem Iudicii, excepta Beata Maria et Beato Iohanne Baptista. Et dixit quod hoc dicebat et credebat propter illa verba quæ ipse invenit et legit in  
 199<sup>v</sup> Evangelio, in vulgari translato, quæ verba talia sunt, scilicet: 'Que degus | no poia el cel mas lo fil de la Verge qui del cel dechendet.'<sup>1</sup>

Dixit tamen quod bene credit quod animæ vadunt in paradisum propter illa verba quæ dixit Dominus latroni in cruce: 'Hoi seras ab mi en paradis'.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis dixit pluries, et ita credit, quod paradisus est locus quietis animarum in hoc mundo, et erit usque in die Iudicii. Et hoc dixit et ita credit, quia ita invenit scriptum in vita Beati Brandani, quam pluries fecit sibi legi.

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<sup>1</sup> *ms* dechendec.

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comments on this deposition; 'La critique de la guerre-sainte dans la littérature méridionale', *CaF* 4, *Paix de Dieu et guerre sainte en Languedoc au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Toulouse, 1969), pp. 131, 133 and 136–137. In his *Les Cathares: de la chute de Montségur aux derniers bûchers (1244–1329)* (Paris, 1998), p. 334, Michel Roquebert discusses the passage and provides a translation. Figueira is one of eight Toulousan poets of the thirteenth century discussed by J.H. Mundy in his posthumously published *Studies in the Ecclesiastical and Social History of Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Aldershot, 2006), ch. 6, 'Troubadours and Entertainers', pp. 185–194; see the *vida* (life), *ibid.*, p. 192 no 6. The son of a tailor and with a possibly Catalan name, Figueira wrote against the crusade around 1215, fleeing from Toulouse around 1229 and writing the *sirventès* against Rome late in the 1220s; around 1240 he was in the court of emperor Frederick II; *ibid.*, pp. 189–190.

<sup>15</sup> Compare John 3.13: et nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui descendit de caelo Filius hominis qui est in caelo (And no man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven).

<sup>16</sup> Luke 23.43: hodie mecum eris in paradise (this day thou shalt be with me in paradise).

decays'<sup>14</sup>—which *cobla* the same witness recited in public many times and in the presence of many people.

Item, asked if he said that the souls of the dead would not enter paradise until the Day of Judgment, he said that he said, and believes this, that some souls do not enter heaven, and will not, until the Day of Judgment, except for the Blessed Mary and the Blessed John the Baptist. And he said that he used to say and believe this on account of those words which he found and read in the Gospel, translated into the vernacular, which words are like this, namely: 'No-one has | ascended to heaven 199<sup>v</sup> except for the son of the Virgin who descended from heaven.'<sup>15</sup>

He said, however, that he fully believes that souls go to paradise on account of those words which the Lord said to the thief on the cross: 'Today you will be with me in paradise.'<sup>16</sup>

He also said that the same witness often said, and believes this, that paradise is a place of rest for souls in this world, and will be until the Day of Judgment. And he said this, and believes it, because he found it written like this in the life of the blessed Brendan, which he often had read to him.

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<sup>14</sup> The first strophe of a savage anti-Rome satire by Guilhem Figueira (c. 1215–1240), which is not, however, overtly Cathar or Waldensian. It is quoted here in a somewhat abbreviated version, which has been mis-copied by the seventeenth-century scribes. As edited by Martín de Riquer, *Los trovadores: historia literaria y textos*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1983), iii.1272–1279, it reads:

D'un sirventes far	en est son que m'agenssa
no.m vuolh plus tarzar	ni far longa bistenssa,
e sai ses doptar	qu'ieu n'aurai malvolenssa,
si fas sirventes	
dels fals, d'enjans ples,	
de Roma, que es	caps de la dechansenssa,
on dechai totz bes.	

Bernard Raymond probably mentions it here because it refers twice to 'Roma enganairitz' (lines 11 and 15), although it may not be the poem of which the inquisitor was thinking. See A. Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique des troubadours*, 2 vols (Paris and Toulouse, 1934), i.378–379, ii.219–220, and 225 n. 1, which

Hæc deposuit coram fratribus inquisitoribus Ranulpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnaco. Testes: frater Raymundus Descalquenx, gardianus, et frater Raymundus Arrini, Ordinis Minorum,<sup>1</sup> et frater Petrus Raymundus Baranhonis, et frater Petrus de Yspanis, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et  
 200<sup>r</sup> ego Petrus de Va|queriis, publicus Tholosæ et dictorum inquisitorum notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Item, anno quo supra, octavo idus Novembris, prædictus Bernardus Raymundi Baranhonis addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod audivit dici a Iohanne de Mercerio, burgensi Burdegalensi quondam, qui nutrit ipsum testem, quod Guillelmus Arnaldi de Silva, senior, quondam burgensis Burdegalensis,<sup>2</sup> diligebat Valdenses<sup>3</sup> vel quod credebat eos; et sunt triginta quinque anni vel amplius.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> si postmodum<sup>5</sup> ipse testis habuit cum dicto Guillelmo Arnaldi familiaritatem vel amiciciam, dixit quod non, nisi quod salutavit eum.

200<sup>v</sup> Item dixit se audivisse dici a Bernardo de Sancto Germano, | seniore, quondam, quod Beatus Petrus apostolus, tempore quo vivebat, non fuit electus Papa, sed<sup>6</sup> post mortem suam, multiplicata Christianitate, ossa ipsius fuerunt posita a Christianis in cathedra, et sic fecerunt eum<sup>7</sup> Papam. Et hoc audivit triginta quinque anni sunt elapsi.

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<sup>1</sup> *ms Prædictorum; -dicatorum written over deletion; the letters morum have been deleted after this word. Our conjecture is that this word should in any case read Minorum.*

<sup>2</sup> *-is perhaps added.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms Valdensem; -m added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-tus added.*

<sup>5</sup> *ms post modum.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms si.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms cum.*

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<sup>22</sup> Possibly Haute-Garonne, comm. and cant. Caraman, ch.-lieu cant., around. Toulouse, although the place-name is common; *DTF*.

These things he attested before the brothers inquisitors Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac. Witnesses: brother Raymond of Escalquens,<sup>17</sup> guardian, and brother Raymond Arrin,<sup>18</sup> of the Order of Minors,<sup>19</sup> and brother Peter Raymond Baranhon and brother Peter of the Ispani of the Order of Preachers, and I, Peter of | Vaquiers, public notary 200<sup>r</sup> of Toulouse and of the said inquisitors, who wrote these things.

Item, in the same year as above, eight days before the ides of November,<sup>20</sup> the aforesaid Bernard Raymond Baranhon added to his confession, saying that he had heard it said by the late John of Mercier, burgess of Bordeaux,<sup>21</sup> who brought the same witness up, that the late William Arnold of La Selve,<sup>22</sup> the elder, burgess of Bordeaux, loved the Waldensians or believed in them; and this was thirty-five years ago or more.

Asked if the same witness later had a close association or friendship with the said William Arnold, he said no, except that he greeted him.

Item he said that he had heard it said by the late Bernard of Saint-Germain, | the elder, that the Blessed Peter the Apostle was not elected 200<sup>v</sup> Pope during the time he was alive, but that after his death, when Christianity had expanded, his bones were placed by the Christians in the cathedra, and thus they made him Pope. And thirty-five years have passed since he heard this.

<sup>17</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Montgiscard, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 924. Raymond bore the title of the head of a Franciscan convent—since there is no further specification, the convent in Toulouse. The earliest traceable member of the Descalquens family was active in town government from 1141, and in the late twelfth century men bearing the name were already active as arbitral judges in private courts and as consular agents. Practically every year in the 1190s and 1200s one acted as a consul, while in the mid- and later thirteenth century several were university trained lawyers, with the titles *jurisperitus* or *legista*, and the family continued to figure among the consuls. The family was equal in status to the Toulouse family of the man whose evidence Raymond was witnessing. Mundy, *Royal Diploma*, pp. 208–216; the precise line of Raymond's membership, discussed p. 216, cannot be traced.

<sup>18</sup> The conjecture that Raymond Arrin was Franciscan finds no problem in ACP in which, unlike many Dominican witnesses, he is not to be found.

<sup>19</sup> The Franciscan convent in Toulouse was founded in 1222, the fourth in southern France, coming after Arles in 1219 and Montpellier and Mirepoix in 1220; F. Durieux, 'Approches de l'histoire Franciscaine du Languedoc au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *CaF* 8, *Les mendiants en pays d'Oc au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Toulouse, 1973), p. 83.

<sup>20</sup> November 6 [1274].

<sup>21</sup> City, diocese; Gironde.

Item, interrogatus<sup>1</sup> quanto tempore fuit in illa credentia, quod aliquæ animæ non ascenderent in cœlum usque in diem Iudicii, ut supradictum est, dixit quod a tempore illo quo vidit primo in libro Evangeliorum<sup>2</sup> supradicto translato in vulgari, per annum post, usque nuper in diem confessionis suæ factæ coram nobis: de quo sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

Dixit etiam, interrogatus, quod verba prædictæ credentiæ dixit pluries in publico coram multis.

201<sup>r</sup> Item, interrogatus utrum audivit prædictum Bernardum de Sancto Germano aliqua alia verba dicentem pro hæreticis vel Valdensibus, vel contra fidem Catholicam, dixit quod non; nisi hoc solum, quod quadam vice, cum fieret<sup>3</sup> mentio de Vigoroso de Labocona, hæretico, audivit eum vocantem seu nominantem 'dominum Vigorosum'.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram prædictis inquisitoribus.<sup>4</sup> Testes: frater Petrus Raymundi Baranhonis et frater Petrus de Yspanis, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, notarius publicus, qui hæc scripsi. Et iuravit et abiuravit, *etcetera*, et reconciliatus<sup>5</sup> est; et obligavit se et sua ad parendum mandato Ecclesiæ et inquisitoribus.<sup>6</sup> Et eadem die reddidit inquisitoribus duos libros, scilicet vitam Sancti Brandani in

201<sup>v</sup> Latino, et alium in Romano qui incipit, 'Del se|gle puent et terrible'.

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<sup>1</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Evangeliiis.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* fient.

<sup>4</sup> -ibus *probably added*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* recognitus; -gnitus *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -ibus *added*.

Item, asked how long he was in that belief, that some souls would not ascend to heaven until the Day of Judgment, as has been said above, he said that from that time when he first saw in the aforesaid book of the Gospels translated into the vernacular, for a year after this, until recently, on the day of his confession made before us: which was four years ago or thereabouts.

He also said, questioned, that he often said the words of the aforesaid belief in public, before many people.

Item, asked whether he had heard the aforesaid Bernard of Saint-Germain saying any other words on behalf of the heretics or the Waldensians, or against the Catholic faith, he said no; except only this, that once, when there was mention of Vigouroux of La Bouconne,<sup>23</sup> heretic, he heard him calling or naming him 'Lord Vigouroux'.

These things he attested at Toulouse before the aforesaid inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Peter Raymond Baranhon and Brother Peter of the Ispani of the Order of Preachers, and I Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things. And he took an oath, and abjured etc., and was reconciled; and he pledged himself and his goods to obey the commands of the Church and the inquisitors. And on the same day he handed over to the inquisitors two books, that is to say the life of St Brendan in Latin, and another in Romance which begins, 'About the | stinking and terrible world.'<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Perhaps the forest of Bouconne, 30km W of Toulouse. Vigouroux was bishop of the heretics' church of Agen, probably between about 1223 and 1233; Y. Dossat, 'Un Évêque cathare originaire de l'Agenais: Vigouroux de la Bacone', in his *Église et hérésie en France au XIIIe siècle* (London, 1982), pp. 623–639; C. Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France: Dualism in Aquitaine and the Agenais, 1000–1249* (London, 2005), pp. 225–231.

<sup>24</sup> This appears to be an Occitan translation of the long poem entitled *La Bible*, written c. 1206 by the French writer Guiot de Provins, which begins:

Du siecle puant et orible  
m'estuet commencer une bible,  
por poindre, et por argoilloneir,  
et por grant exemple doner.

Guiot, after a youth spent as a poet at various courts, entered the monastery of Cluny. It is not a heretical work, but rather a satire on the general depravity of the world, including significant passages on the Roman Curia, the secular clergy and the various religious orders. It was edited by J. Orr, *Les œuvres de Guiot de Provins, poète lyrique et satirique*, Publications de l'Université de Manchester, série française, no. 1 (Manchester, 1915), pp. 10–93.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, die Mercurii post octavam Sancti Martini, prædictus testis, interrogatus si credidit Valdenses esse bonos homines, vel quod homo posset salvari in secta eorum, dixit quod non, nec aliquam esse bonam quæ esset contra Ecclesiam Romanam.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore. Testes: frater Guillelmus de Podio, prior Prædicatorum Tholosæ, frater Petrus Vitalis, frater *Bernardus* Guiraudi, eiusdem ordinis, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, notarius publicus, qui hæc scripsi.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, on the Wednesday after the octaves of St Martin,<sup>25</sup> the aforesaid witness, asked if he believed that the Waldensians were good men, or that a man could be saved in their sect, said no, and that nothing was good that was against the Roman Church.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother William of Puy, prior of the Preachers of Toulouse,<sup>26</sup> brother Peter Vital,<sup>27</sup> brother Bernard Guiraud,<sup>28</sup> of the same order, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>25</sup> November 20 1275.

<sup>26</sup> William of Puy, from Bordeaux, was designated preacher-general (1262), convent visitor (1262, 1265), assessor of boundaries of preaching areas (1265), vicar in the Bordeaux vicariate (1277) and diffinitor at the general chapter of the order (1277). He was twice prior of Narbonne (1256–1258, 1272–1273), twice of Bordeaux (1262–?, 1278–1282), prior of Béziers (to 1269), Toulouse (1273–1276) and Castres (1285), and he died in Condom in 1285. *ACP*, pp. 94, 108–109, 212, 216; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 52, 85–86, 98, 153, 252, 261; 'Mort des prieurs', no. 79, p. 174.

<sup>27</sup> The acts of the provincial councils distinguish between three brothers of this name, one from Montpellier, another from Figeac, and another from Carcassonne, according to Douais, *Gascogne*, p. 95 n. 14.

<sup>28</sup> Bernard Guiraud of Montauban was lecturer in Cahors for two years, then first lecturer in Montauban (1253), lecturer in theology in Toulouse (1274), prior of Toulouse (1285), and three times prior of the province (1266–1269, 1276–1281, 1285–1291). When he died in 1291, every priest in the province was required to say three masses for him. In his obituary, Gui refers to him as *iustus iudex*, a just judge. *ACP*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii, xli, cviii–cic, 144, 173, 183, 200, 202, 212, 225, 237, 246, 264, 283, 301, 303, 311, 322, 331, 357; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 25, 52, 85, 122, 164, 181, 207, 248, 269; 'Mort des prieurs', no. 36, p. 165.



202<sup>r</sup> *Audition d'Ayme|ric de Castronovo de Exilio, Chevalier, disant qu'il n'avoit  
jamais eu aucun commerce avec les heretiques, ni creu que leur doctrine fut  
bonne ni veritable.*

*Du Judy avant l'Anonciation 1274.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto, die jovis  
proxima ante festum Anunciationis Dominicæ, Aymericus de Castro-  
novo de Exilio, miles, testis iuratus et requisitus, dixit quod nunquam  
vidit hæreticos nisi captos, nec comedit nec bibit cum eis, nec dedit nec  
202<sup>v</sup> misit<sup>1</sup> | eis aliquid nec deposuit eis aliquid, nec recepit ab eis, nec credit  
eos esse bonos homines nec veraces, nec habere bonam fidem, nec audi-  
vit prædicationem<sup>2</sup> eorum, nec aliquam participationem unquam habuit  
cum eisdem.

De Valdensibus dixit se nihil scire.

Hæc deposuit coram dictis inquisitoribus, Ramnolpho de Placiaco et  
Pontio de Parnaco, et me, Petro de Vaqueriis, notario dictorum inquisi-  
torum, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> *superfluous nec dedit follows here.*

<sup>2</sup> *-em probably added.*

*The hearing of | Aimery of Castelnau of Issel, knight, saying that he had 202<sup>r</sup>  
never had any dealings with the heretics, or believed that their teaching  
was good or true.*

*From the Thursday before the Annunciation 1274.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-four, on the Thursday before the feast of the Annunciation of the Lord,<sup>1</sup> Aimery of Castelnau<sup>2</sup> of Issel,<sup>3</sup> knight, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said that he never saw heretics except captured, nor did he eat or drink with them, nor did he give or send or | give them anything, nor did he deposit 202<sup>v</sup> anything with them, nor did he receive anything from them, nor does he believe that they are good men or truthful, or that they have a good faith, nor did he hear their preaching, nor did he ever have any dealings with them.

About Waldensians he said that he knows nothing.

These things he attested before the said inquisitors, Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, and me, Peter of Vacquiers, notary of the said inquisitors, who wrote these things.

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<sup>1</sup> March 21 1274 (1275).

<sup>2</sup> Aimery led the list of nobles from Castelnaudary who took the oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 1271, *Saisimentum*, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Sud, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 948.

*Deposition d'Ademar Galofi de Montesquieu, contenant entre autres choses*  
 203<sup>r</sup> *qu'il avoit creu que Dieu avoit fait les corps des hommes et qu'il ne luy avoit |*  
*point donné la veüe, l'ouye et les autres sens mais seulement baillés en prest,*  
*et qu'un religieux l'avoit instruit et persuadé le contraire.*

*Du samedy apres l'Ascension 1275.*

Anno quo supra, die sabbati post festum Ascentionis Domini, Ademarius Galofi, filius Guillelmi Galofi de Monte Esquivo, prope Vazegiam, diocesis Tholosanensis, testis iuratus et requisitus, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos, seu<sup>1</sup> adoravit, nec eorum prædicationem audivit, nec dedit eis  
 203<sup>v</sup> aliquid nec misit, nec spem nec | fidem in ill[is]<sup>2</sup> habuit nec aliquid scit de facto hæresis vel Valdensiæ,<sup>3</sup> de se nec de aliis personis, vivis aut defunctis.

Interroga[tus]<sup>4</sup> de articulis fidei, diligenter respondit se firmiter credere et servare sicut Ecclesia Romana eos prædicat et observat.

Interrogatus<sup>5</sup> etiam an credit quod Deus fecerit omnia visibilia et invisibilia, et specialiter utrum Deus<sup>6</sup> fecerit corpora nostra et membra nostra, utpote<sup>7</sup> manus, pedes et cætera membra quæ habemus, dixit quod sic, et nunquam aliter credidit.

Item, interrogatus si dixit unquam alicubi quod non credebat quod Deus fecisset oculos, manus, et membra quæ habemus, respondit quod non; dixit tamen se credidisse et dixisse quod Deus non dederat homini  
 204<sup>r</sup> visum, et auditum, et sensum, et scire, sed acomodaverat. Et hoc dicebat | propter hoc, quia non credebat quod homo posset amittere ea quæ Deus dederat: unde, cum homo amitteret sensus<sup>8</sup> in obitu, non credebat quod ea dedisset, sed quod accomodasset.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* scilicet.

<sup>2</sup> *gap left for expansion.*

<sup>3</sup> *abbreviation mark added, probably by reader.*

<sup>4</sup> *gap left for expansion.*

<sup>5</sup> *-tus added.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms* dictus.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* ut pote.

<sup>8</sup> *altered from ostensus by later hand, probably reader.*

*The deposition of Adémar Galos of Montesquieu, containing, among other things, that he had believed that God had made men's bodies and that he had | not given them sight, hearing and the other senses, but only handed 203<sup>r</sup> them over on loan, and that a religious had instructed him and persuaded him of the contrary.*

*From the Saturday after the Ascension 1275.*

In the same year as above, on the Saturday after the feast of the Ascension of the Lord,<sup>1</sup> Adémar Galos, the son of William Galos of Montesquieu, near Baziège,<sup>2</sup> in the diocese of Toulouse, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said that he never saw heretics or adored them, nor heard their preaching, nor gave or sent them anything, nor had any hope or | faith in them, nor knows anything about the matter of heresy or 203<sup>v</sup> Waldensianism, concerning himself or other persons, living or dead.

Questioned about the articles of faith, he diligently replied that he firmly believes and observes as the Roman Church preaches and observes them.

Asked also whether he believes that God made all things, visible and invisible, and especially whether God made our bodies and our members, such as our hands, feet and the other members which we have, he said yes, and that he never believed otherwise.

Item, asked if he ever said anywhere that he did not believe that God had made our eyes, our hands and the members which we have, he answered no; he said however that he had believed and said that God had not given man sight, and hearing and sense, and knowledge, but had lent them. And he said this | for this reason, that he did not believe that man 204<sup>r</sup> could lose the things that God had given: therefore, since man lost the senses in death, he did not believe that he had given them, but that he had lent them. The same witness also believed once that in the resurrection God would give man a new body and new members, not those which we have but others; but now he believes that we shall rise in the same bodies, as the Roman Church believes and preaches.

<sup>1</sup> May 25 [1275].

<sup>2</sup> Distance to Montesquieu is 4 km; DTF.

Credidit etiam ipse testis aliquando quod Deus in resurrectione esset redditurus homini novum<sup>1</sup> corpus et nova membra, non ista quæ habemus sed alia; sed modo credit quod in eisdem corporibus resurgemus, sicut Ecclesia Romana<sup>2</sup> credit et prædicat.

Interrogatus unde didicerat quod Deus accomodasset sensus et non dedisset, dixit quia ita audiverat dici, sed non recolit a quo.

Item interrogatus<sup>3</sup> unde<sup>4</sup> habuit quod Deus in resurrectione esset redditurus homini novum corpus et nova membra, dixit quod ex propria consideratione.

Interrogatus<sup>5</sup> quanto tempore fuit in ista credentia, dixit quod per  
204<sup>v</sup> dimidium annum, sed revocavit cum postea frater Nicho|laus, de Ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum Castrensiū, et direxit eum, et docuit quod Deus dedit homini corpus et membra et sensus, et quod in eisdem corporibus resurgemus:<sup>6</sup> et ipse testis ita credit.

Dixit etiam postea quod ...<sup>7</sup> ipsi testi quod a patre suo habuit prima verba, videlicet de accomodatione sensuum; nescit tamen pro certo.

Præterea dixit se credidisse aliquando quod Deus non dedisset homini nisi tria,<sup>8</sup> scilicet animam, paradisum et astra:<sup>9</sup> pro eo, quod ista non amittit homo, ex quo habet ea, sicut ipse testis credebat. Modo vero credit in omnibus sicut Ecclesia Romana credit et docet.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore. Testes: frater Raymundi Baranhonis, Ordinis Prædicatorum, *Petrus* de  
205<sup>r</sup> Vaqueriis, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, | qui hæc scripsi.<sup>10</sup>

Addidit etiam ibidem, et coram prædictis, quod publice dixerat apud Baure, et apud Lestap, quod ipse credebat quod Deus non dedisset homini visum, et auditum, et cæteros census, sed quod acomadasset ut prædictum est. Hæc omnia prædicta, ut suprascripta, et correcta et

<sup>1</sup> *ms* nomini.

<sup>2</sup> -ana *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>4</sup> u- *altered, probably from i-*.

<sup>5</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -r- *added, probably by reader*.

<sup>7</sup> *original presumably illegible*.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* tua.

<sup>9</sup> *ms* astre; et *deleted*.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* scripsit; scrip- *written over deletion*.

Asked where he had learnt that God had lent the senses and not given them, he said that so he had heard it said, but he does not recall by whom.

Item, asked from where he had it that in the resurrection God would give man a new body and new members, he said that from his own reflection.

Asked how long he was in this belief, he said that for half a year, but he took this back when afterwards brother Nicholas, | of the Order of 204<sup>v</sup>  
Brothers Preacher of Castres,<sup>3</sup> both directed him and taught that God gave man his body and members and senses, and that we shall rise in the same bodies: and the same witness believes this.

He also said afterwards that ...<sup>4</sup> to the same witness that he had the first words from his father, that is about the lending of the senses; however, he does not know for sure.

Furthermore he said that he had believed once that God had only given man three things, that is his soul, paradise and the stars: and for this reason, that man does not lose these, once he has them, as the same witness used to believe. Now however he believes in all things as the Roman Church believes and teaches.

These things he attested at Toulouse, before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Raymond Baranhon, of the Order of Preachers, Peter of Vacquiers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, | 205<sup>r</sup>  
who wrote these things.

He also added there,<sup>5</sup> and before the aforesaid, that he had said publicly at Vaure and at L'Estep,<sup>6</sup> that he believed that God had not given man sight, and hearing, and the other senses, but that he had lent them, as has been said above. All these aforesaid things, as they are written

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<sup>3</sup> The acts of the provincial chapters refer to eight brothers called Nicholas, none of them positively linked with Castres; *ACP*, p. 760.

<sup>4</sup> The original was evidently illegible at this point, and a gap with three dots has been left.

<sup>5</sup> An addendum to the previous deposition, made on May 25 1275, and corrected in the infirmary perhaps on a later date.

<sup>6</sup> Either Estap, Tarn, comm. Saint-Amans-Soult, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres (*DTF*), or L'Estep, Tarn, comm. Soual-l'Estep, cant. Dourgne, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 925.

interlineata sunt, deposuit;<sup>1</sup> et iterum recognovit coram prædicto inquisitore, in domo Fratrum Prædicatorum Tholosæ, in capella infirmatorii, et iuravit et abiuravit etcetera. Testes: frater Guillelmus de Podio, prior, et frater *Bernardus* Guiraudi, lector, eiusdem domus, et ego Atho de Sancto Victore, notarius publicus, qui hæc scripsi.

Assignata fuit ei dies martis post festum Nativitatis Beatæ Mariæ proxime futurum; prædictus autem inquisitor remisit dictum Ademarium ad fratrem<sup>2</sup> Raymundum, Ordinis Prædicatorum, de conventu Castrensi, cum suis litteris sub hac forma:

‘Religioso in Christo, dilecto fratri *Raymundo*<sup>3</sup> Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum in conventu Castrensi, frater Pontius de Parnaco, inquisitor hæreticæ pravitatis in partibus Tholosanis, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Ademarium<sup>4</sup> latorem præsentium, quem ad nos cum vestris litteris transmisistis, iuratum coram nobis inquisivimus de singulis articulis fidei Catholicæ, quos confessus est firmiter credere prout Ecclesia Romana eos prædicat et observat. Interrogatus autem super verbis illis quæ nobis scripsistis, videlicet quod ipse dixerat apud Baure, et apud Lestap, se non credere quod Deus fecisset oculos, manus, et membra cætera quæ habemus, respondit se nunquam ista verba dixisse vel credidisse: | imo credit, et semper credidit, unum Deum omnipotentem, creatorem omnium visibilium et invisibilium. Recognovit tamen quod dixerat in locis prædictis quod Deus non dederat homini visum, et auditum, et alios sensus, sed acomodaverat, et quod ita dictus Ademarius crediderat donec fuit revocatus et correctus per fratrem Nicholaum,<sup>5</sup> ordinis nostri, de conventu Castrensi. Modo vero, sicut asserit, credit, et de cætero proponit semper credere, quidquid Ecclesia Romana docet nos vero. Deliberato consilio<sup>6</sup> cum priore et lectore domus nostræ Tholosæ, ipsum Ademarium ad vos remittimus, rogantes quatinus cum priore vestro Castrensi ordinetis quod ipse, quam citius comode poterit, deputet duos fratres qui in prædictis locis et in aliis, si qua sunt in quibus ex prædictis verbis scandalum sit exortum, faciant eum<sup>7</sup> publice confiteri in ecclesiis ipsorum locorum quod firmiter credit, et semper vult

<sup>1</sup> *ms* de Podio.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* fratrum.

<sup>3</sup> *gap left for expansion.*

<sup>4</sup> *altered from Ademadium.*

<sup>5</sup> *apud deleted.*

<sup>6</sup> *altered, perhaps from consiliario.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms* cum.

above, and corrected and interlined, he attested; and again he acknowledged them before the aforesaid inquisitor, in the house of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse, in the chapel of the infirmary, and he took an oath and abjured etc. Witnesses: brother William of Puy, prior, and brother Bernard Guiraud, lector, of the same house, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

He was assigned the Tuesday after the next feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary;<sup>7</sup> however, the aforesaid inquisitor sent the said Adémar back to brother Raymond, of the Order of | Preachers, of the Castres 205<sup>v</sup> convent, with his letters in this form:

'To the religious in Christ, his beloved brother Raymond, of the Order of Brothers Preacher in the convent of Castres,<sup>8</sup> brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor of heretical depravity in the Toulouse region, greetings and sincere charity in the Lord. We have examined Adémar, the bearer of the present letters, whom you sent to us with your letters, on oath before us about the individual articles of the Catholic faith, which he confessed that he believed firmly as the Roman Church preaches and observes them. Asked moreover about those words which you wrote to us, that is that he had said at Vaure and at L'Estep, that he did not believe that God had made eyes, and hands, and the other members which we have, he answered that he had never said or believed those words: | but rather he 206<sup>r</sup> believes, and always has believed, in one God omnipotent, maker of all things visible and invisible. He acknowledged however that he had said in the aforesaid places that God had not given man sight, and hearing, and the other senses, but had lent them, and that the said Adémar had believed this until he was set right and corrected by brother Nicholas, of our order, of the convent of Castres. Now however, as he claims, he believes, and henceforth proposes always to believe, whatever the Roman Church truly teaches us. Having taken counsel with the prior and lector of our house of Toulouse, we send the same Adémar back to you, asking that with your prior of Castres you make arrangements for him, as soon as he can conveniently do this, to appoint two brothers who in the aforesaid places and others, if there are any in which a scandal has arisen from the aforesaid words, are | to make him confess publicly, in the 206<sup>v</sup> churches of the same places, that he firmly believes, and always wishes to

<sup>7</sup> September 10 [1275].

<sup>8</sup> The acts of the provincial chapters refer to over one hundred brothers called Raymond; *ACP*, pp. 780–783.



credere et tenere, fidem Catholicam prout Ecclesia Romana eam prædicat et observat, et expresse quod Deus omnipotens fecit oculos, et manus, et membra cætera quæ habemus; et si unquam contrarium dixit quod modo revocat et non sic credit. Et quid inde factum fuerit et qualiter circa ista se habuerit dictus Ademarius, nobis per vestras litteras rescribatis vel faciatis a priore rescribi.<sup>1</sup> Nos autem assignavimus dicto Ademario diem martis post instans festum Nativitatis Beatæ Mariæ, ad quam se debeat nostro conspectui præsentare. Datum Tholosæ,<sup>2</sup> dominica post festum Ascensionis Domini.<sup>3</sup>

207<sup>r</sup> Anno<sup>3</sup> quo supra, | die iovis ante festum Penthecostes, Isambardus de Sancto Antonio Ruthenæ, testis iuratus et requisitus, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos nisi captos, nec adoravit eos nec audivit prædicationes eorum, nec spem nec fidem in illis habuit, nec dedit eis aliquid nec misit, nec aliquam familiaritatem cum eis habuit, nec aliquid comisit, nec scit de crimine hæresis vel Valdens[iæ], de se nec de aliis personis, vivis aut defunctis.

Interrogatus specialiter si dixit in ecclesia cuidam fratri de pœnitentia celebranti missam et volenti prædicare, et dicenti quod diceret aliqua verba et loqueretur de Deo, quod quanto minus diceret, plus placeret, et quod vellet<sup>4</sup> quod minus diceret, respondit quod nunquam dixit prædicta  
207<sup>v</sup> verba vel similia quod recolat; dixit tamen quod fuit graval<sup>5</sup>tus aliquando longo sermone, et credit dixisse secreto his qui erant circa ipsum, ‘Iste frater, vel iste prædicator, multum fecit longum sermonem.’

Item interrogatus si nunquam impedivit oblationes facere in ecclesia, vel si dixit quod peccatum erat offerre, dixit quod non; dixit tamen quod audivit dicentes quosdam quod audiverant dici a quodam religioso quod peccatum et contra ius erat orare pro infantibus ablati,<sup>5</sup> qui moriuntur in innocentia, vel offerre pro eis; et hoc retulit in quibusdam locis quando pro talibus offerebatur—quia fides erat quod erant in gloria.

Requisitus<sup>6</sup> a quo audivit, ipse testis dixit se credere quod a Petro de Causaco vel Stephano de Causaco de Sancto Antonino, qui dicebat se hoc

<sup>1</sup> re- interlined.

<sup>2</sup> -æ probably added.

<sup>3</sup> This deposition follows straight on from the preceding one, with no sign that the seventeenth-century scribe realised that there was a change of witness.

<sup>4</sup> ms vellent.

<sup>5</sup> ms abbatis.

<sup>6</sup> -tus added.

believe and hold, the Catholic faith as the Roman Church preaches and observes it, and expressly that God omnipotent made eyes, and hands and the other members that we have; and if he ever said the contrary he now withdraws it and does not believe this. And you are to write back to us by your letters, or have the prior write, saying what has been done about this, and how the said Adémar conducted himself with regard to these things. We moreover have assigned the said Adémar the Tuesday after the next feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, on which day he must present himself to our sight. Given at Toulouse, on the Sunday after the feast of the Ascension of the Lord.<sup>9</sup>

In the same year as above, | on the Thursday before the feast of Pente- 207<sup>r</sup>  
cost,<sup>10</sup> Isambard of Saint-Antonin in the Rouergue, sworn in as a wit-  
ness and questioned, said that he never saw heretics except captured, nor  
did he adore them or hear their preachings, nor did he have any hope or  
faith in them, nor did he give or send them anything, nor did he have  
any close association with them, nor had he committed any act concern-  
ing, or know anything about, the crime of heresy or Waldensianism, with  
regard to himself or other persons, living or dead.

Asked especially if he said in church, to a Sacked Brother, who was  
celebrating mass and intending to preach, and saying that he would say a  
few words and speak about God, that the less he said, the more it would  
please him, and that he wanted him to say less, he replied that he never  
said the aforesaid words or similar, as far as he recalls; he said however  
that he was once annoyed | by a long sermon, and believes that he said 207<sup>v</sup>  
secretly to those who were around him, 'This brother, or this preacher,  
makes a very long sermon.'

Item, asked if he ever hindered offerings being made in church, or if he  
said that it was a sin to make offerings, he said no; he said however that  
he had heard certain people saying that they had heard it said by a certain  
religious that it was a sin and against what was right to pray for infants  
who had been taken away, who die in innocence, or to make offerings for  
them; and this he repeated in certain places when offerings were made  
for such infants—because the faith was that they were in glory.

Asked from whom he had heard this, the same witness said that he  
believes that from Peter of Cahuzac<sup>11</sup> or Stephen of Cahuzac of Saint-

<sup>9</sup> May 26 [1275].

<sup>10</sup> May 30 [1275].

<sup>11</sup> A quite common place-name; *DTF*.

208<sup>r</sup> audivisse a Fratre Prædicatore, filio Hugonis | Fabri<sup>1</sup> de Montepessullano, qui vocatur, sicut credit, frater Daide.

Interrogatus<sup>2</sup> si dixit<sup>3</sup> prædicta verba asserendo, dixit quod non.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> si publice, dixit quod non; sed<sup>5</sup> a nemine<sup>6</sup> †eviebat†.

Item si vocavit ipse testis quandam divinam<sup>7</sup> de Carcassesio ad domum suam, et si tenuit eam ibi, et si divinavit ibi per invocationem demonum, respondit quod sine dubio ipse testis, ad preces<sup>8</sup> Iohannæ,<sup>9</sup> uxoris ipsius testis, quæ credebatur omnino<sup>10</sup> maleficiata, pro eo quod non poterat concipere vel habere prolem, vocavit quandam mulierem de Carcassesio, nomine Beatriz de Malbons ut credit. Et venit bis vel ter in domo sua, et consulit prædictæ uxori suæ, et quibusdam aliis, ut intellexit<sup>11</sup> ipse testis; et<sup>12</sup> sibi dedit<sup>13</sup> centum solidos Caturcenses. Et in domo ipsius testis comedit qualibet vice, et iacuit. De his tamen est  
208<sup>v</sup> confessus fratri Petro | Augerii, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, a quo habuit poenitentiam quam complevit.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore. Testes: frater Petrus Raymundi Baranhonis, Petrus de Vaqueriis, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> The first two letters of this word appear at the foot of fol. 207<sup>v</sup>, but it is written out in full on 208<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> -tus added.

<sup>3</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>4</sup> -tus added.

<sup>5</sup> ms si.

<sup>6</sup> ms anemine.

<sup>7</sup> -am perhaps added.

<sup>8</sup> -ces altered, perhaps from -x.

<sup>9</sup> -æ perhaps altered from -e.

<sup>10</sup> ms omnia. -ia written over deletion.

<sup>11</sup> superfluous ut follows here.

<sup>12</sup> added.

<sup>13</sup> added, superscript.

Antonin, who said that he had heard this from a Brother Preacher, the son of Hugh | Faure (or Hugh, smith) of Montpellier, who is called, as he 208<sup>r</sup> believes, brother Daide.

Asked if he said the aforesaid words asserting them, he said no.

Asked if publicly, he said no; but he did not conceal them from anyone.

Item if the same witness called a certain female diviner from Carcas-  
sonne to his house, and if he kept her there, and if she divined there by the  
invocation of demons, he answered that without doubt the same witness,  
at the request of Joanna, the same witness's wife, who believed herself  
to be completely bewitched, because she could not conceive or have off-  
spring, called in a certain woman from the Carcassès,<sup>12</sup> named Beatrix  
of *Malbons*,<sup>13</sup> as he believes. And she came into his house two or three  
times, and advised his aforesaid wife, and certain others, as the same wit-  
ness understood; and he [or she] gave her a hundred Cahors shillings.<sup>14</sup>  
And she ate in the same witness's house each time, and slept there. How-  
ever, he has confessed these things to brother Peter | Augier, of the Order 208<sup>v</sup>  
of Brothers Minor,<sup>15</sup> from whom he had a penance which he completed.

These things he attested at Toulouse, before brother Pons of Parnac,  
inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, Peter of Vac-  
quiers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, who wrote these things.

<sup>12</sup> Region of the Aude, whose centre is Carcassonne.

<sup>13</sup> Not identified. Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 125, conjectures Malves-en-Minervois, Aude, cant. Conques-sur-Orbiel, arrond. Carcassonne. There is another Malves in Tarn-et-Garonne; *DTF*.

<sup>14</sup> On exchange between Tournois and Cahors currency, see Spufford, *Handbook*, p. 181.

<sup>15</sup> A just possible but unlikely identification is with Peter Augier of Avignon, a Franciscan attested much later, in 1312; *CaF* 10 (1975), p. 57. Using only this passage in D25, Douais listed him as an inquisitor active around 1255, *Documents*, pp. cxxxi, cxxxvi and n. 12; the basis for this date is not clear. Peter does not appear in Dossat, *Crises*.

*Deposition de Bernarde, femme de Guillaume de Fonté, contenant que Guillaume Auriola de St Paul de Cadaiovis, baillif de Bartacius de Galaiaç, chevalier, se rendit heretique en sa maladie, avec l'assistance mesme dudit chevalier.*

209<sup>r</sup> *De la veille de la Pentecoste 1275.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, sabbato in vigilia Penthecostes, Bernarda, uxor Guillelmi de Fonte, molendinarii<sup>1</sup> de Cantaleriis, adducta capta, testis iurata<sup>2</sup> et requisita<sup>3</sup> etcetera, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos nec adoravit eos, nec audivit prædicationes eorum, nec dedit eis aliquid nec misit, nec participationem<sup>4</sup> aliquam cum eis habuit, nec scit aliquid de crimine hæresis vel Valdensiæ;<sup>5</sup> hoc excepto, quod dudum, cum ipsa testis moraretur pro ancilla cum Guillelmo Auriola de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, dictus Guillelmus Auriola, 209<sup>v</sup> constitutus in ægritudine<sup>6</sup> qua decessit,<sup>7</sup> quodam vespere, inter|rogavit eam frequenter quando veniret Raymundus Orfani de Sancto Paulo, qui fuerat molendinarius eius; et cum ipsa testis diligenter interrogasset eum ad quid ita frequenter quærebat eum, tandem respondit ipsi testi quod sperabat quod adduceret ei bonos homines: quod ipsa intellexit de hæreticis. Et in crastinum, inter tertiam et meridiem decessit dictus Guillelmus. Et erat baiulus Barracii, militis de Palaiaço.

Dixit etiam ipsa testis quod dictus infirmus antea miserat ipsam testem ad dictum Barracium apud Palaiaçum ut diceret eidem Barracio, ex parte dicti infirmi, quod omnibus dictus Barracius subveniret ipsi infirmo; quod et fecit ipsa testis.

Interrogata de qua subventionem intellexit ipsa testis, respondit quod 210<sup>r</sup> intellexit quod dictus Barracius faceret ut hæretici veni|rent ad ipsum hæreticandum.

<sup>1</sup> first -n- altered, apparently from -ti-.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* iuratus.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* requisitus.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* participacionem; -ionem *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -iæ *added*.

<sup>6</sup> æ- *probably altered from e-*.

<sup>7</sup> *superfluous* quodam *deleted*.

*The deposition of Bernarda, wife of William of Lafont, containing that William Auriola of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, bailli of Bartac of Palajac, knight, became a heretic in his illness, with the assistance of the said knight.*

*From the eve of Pentecost 1275.*

209<sup>r</sup>

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, on the Saturday on the eve of Pentecost,<sup>1</sup> Bernarda, the wife of William of Lafont,<sup>2</sup> the miller of Caucalières,<sup>3</sup> brought out as a captive, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that she never saw heretics or adored them, or heard their preachings, or gave or sent them anything, or had any dealings with them, or knows anything about the crime of heresy or Waldensianism; except for this, that once, when the same witness was living as a maidservant with William Auriola of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, the said William Auriola, suffering from the illness of which he died, one evening, | asked her frequently when Raymond Orfan of Saint-Paul, who 209<sup>v</sup> was his miller, was coming; and when the same witness had persistently asked him why he asked for him so often, he at last answered the same witness that he hoped that he would bring him the good men: which she understood to mean the heretics. And on the following day, between the third hour and midday, the said William died. And he was the *bailli* of Bartac, knight of Palajac.<sup>4</sup>

The same witness also said that the said sick man had previously sent the same witness to the said Bartac at Palajac to ask the same Bartac, on behalf of the said sick man, that the said Bartac might help the same sick man in all things; which the same witness did.

Asked what help the same witness understood this to mean, she answered that she understood that the said Bartac would have the heretics come | to hereticate him.

210<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> June 1 1275.

<sup>2</sup> See the many listed in *DTF*.

<sup>3</sup> Tarn, cant. Mazamet-Sud-Ouest, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>4</sup> See 30<sup>v</sup> n. 22 above.

Interrogata<sup>1</sup> quare hoc intellexit, respondit quia ipsa testis reputabat eos credentes et amicos hæreticorum.

Interrogata utrum ipsa testis scivit quod dictus Guillelmus fuerit hæreticus in morte, dixit quod nec scit, nec credit; audivit enim dicentem dictum Raymundum Orfani quod non adduxerat ipse hæreticos prædicto infirmo.

Requisita<sup>2</sup> de tempore, dixit<sup>3</sup> quod hoc fuit anno quo decessit dominus Raymundus, comes Tholosæ, vel erat annus quo<sup>4</sup> decesserat dictus Guillelmus.

Item dixit quod postea ipsa testis stetit pro ancilla cum Petro de Villela, marito de Na Fresca, et tunc morabatur cum eodem Petro de Villela pro molendinario, Bernardus de Bosqueto, qui de nocte exhibat domum aliquando; et rogabat ipsam testem quod ostium dimitteret apertum, ut  
 210<sup>v</sup> cum | rediret posset intrare; quod faciebat ipsa testis. Et credit ipsa testis quod tunc ibat ad hæreticos, quia post paucos dies recessit, et audivit dici quod iverat ad hæreticos in Lombardiam.

Dixit etiam quod quadam nocte dictus Raymundus aportavit de pane siliginis, et dixit ipsi testi quod erat panis Dei. Et cum ipsa testis<sup>5</sup> interrogaret eum quo modo erat panis Dei, prædictus Raymundus dixit quod erat panis bonorum hominum: quod ipsa testis intellexit hæreticorum. Et ipsa testis, invitata per eum, recepit de illo pane, et posuit illum in quadam fenestra, sed non comedit, nec credidit quod posset *edere*.<sup>6</sup> De<sup>7</sup> hoc<sup>8</sup> viginti anni sunt vel circa.

Interrogata<sup>9</sup> si ipsa testis dedit alicui personæ de pane prædicto, dixit  
 211<sup>r</sup> quod non, nec postea habuit illum, nec scit quod aliquis haberet illum | postea.

<sup>1</sup> -ta *perhaps added later*.

<sup>2</sup> -ta *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *added, superscript*.

<sup>4</sup> *deletion, perhaps -d*.

<sup>5</sup> -is *probably added*.

<sup>6</sup> -e *perhaps altered*; pro dictæ *deleted*.

<sup>7</sup> *written over deletion*.

<sup>8</sup> *deletion, perhaps facit*.

<sup>9</sup> -ta *perhaps added*.

Asked why she understood this, she replied because the same witness considered them to be believers and friends of the heretics.

Asked whether the same witness knew if the said William was hereticated at his death, she said that she neither knows nor believes it; for she heard the said Raymond Orfan saying that he had not brought the heretics to the aforesaid sick man.

Asked about the time, she said that this was the year in which lord Raymond, count of Toulouse died<sup>5</sup>—or it was the year in which the said William had died.

Item, she said that afterwards the same witness was with Peter of Villèle, husband of Na Fresca, as a maidservant. And there was then living with the same Peter of Villèle, as miller, Bernard of Bousquet,<sup>6</sup> who sometimes used to go out of the house at night; and he asked the same witness to leave the door open, so that when | he returned he could enter; 210<sup>v</sup> which the same witness did. And the same witness believes that he used to go to the heretics then, because after a few days he returned, and she heard it said that he had gone to the heretics in Lombardy.

She also said that one night the said Raymond brought some rye bread, and told the same witness that it was the bread of God. And when the same witness asked him in what way it was the bread of God, the aforesaid Raymond said that it was the bread of the good men, which the same witness understood to mean the heretics. And the same witness, invited by him, received some of that bread, and put it in a certain window; but she did not eat it, nor did she think that it could be [the bread of God]. This was twenty years ago or thereabouts.

Asked if the same witness gave any person any of the aforesaid bread, she said no, nor did she afterwards have it, nor does she know that anyone had it | afterwards. 211<sup>r</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Raymond VII of Toulouse died on September 27 1249.

<sup>6</sup> An extremely common place-name; *DTF*. Bousquet, Haute-Garonne, comm. Préserville, cant. Lanta, arrond. Toulouse, is 1 km from the commune of Villèle, the nearest to the disappeared place Villèle. See *DTF* and above, 120<sup>r</sup> n. 2.



Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitore. testes: frater Raymundus de Fonte,<sup>1</sup> et frater Guillelmus de Planis, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Item, anno quo supra, die lunæ in crastinum Sancti Michaelis Septembris, prædicta testis,<sup>2</sup> iurata<sup>3</sup> et requisita ut supra, educta de carcere, addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod transacta nocte prædicta, qua dicta testis<sup>4</sup> posuit panem in dicta fenestra, mane sequenti, ipsa teste<sup>5</sup> volente recedere de domo et ire ad bovariam Petri de Villela, prædictus Bernardus de Bosqueto repetiit<sup>6</sup> ab eadem teste<sup>7</sup> prædictum panem, dicens, 'Ubi est illud quod tibi tradidi in nocte?' Quæ respondit sibi, 'Ibi est in<sup>8</sup> illa 211<sup>v</sup> fenestra,<sup>9</sup> et hoc dicto | recessit.

Interrogata<sup>10</sup> qui erant tunc in dicta domo, dixit quod dictus Bernardus Bosqueti, et Frescas, uxor Petri de Villela, et Anthioca, uxor Guillelmi Polerii, quæ ambæ volebant ire ad ecclesiam, et erant in domo foganea; et dictus Petrus de Villela, senex, erat in camera in lecto.

Interrogata si dictæ mulieres audierunt quando prædictus Bernardus repetiit prædictum panem ab ipsa teste,<sup>11</sup> ut supradictum est, dixit quod bene potuerunt audire, et prædictus Petrus de Villela si vigilabat.

Interrogata si vidit dictum Bernardum resumentem dictum panem, vel comedentem, vel dantem aliis propredictis ad comedendum, vel ipsos recipientes vel comedentes, dixit quod non, quia iam ipsa testis erat<sup>12</sup> in scala recedens quando dictus Bernardus repetiit illum sicut dictum est. Nescit etiam si dictus Petrus tunc vigilabat.

<sup>1</sup> F- *written over deletion.*

<sup>2</sup> -is *added.*

<sup>3</sup> -a *perhaps added.*

<sup>4</sup> -is *added.*

<sup>5</sup> -e *added.*

<sup>6</sup> *originally reperiit.*

<sup>7</sup> -e *perhaps added.*

<sup>8</sup> *superscript.*

<sup>9</sup> *ms fenestra.*

<sup>10</sup> -a *perhaps added.*

<sup>11</sup> *originally testis.*

<sup>12</sup> *ms erit.*

These things she attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Raymond of Lafont<sup>7</sup> and brother William of Plaigne,<sup>8</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

Item, in the same year as above, on the Monday on the morrow of St Michael in September,<sup>9</sup> the aforesaid witness, sworn in and questioned as above, brought out from prison, added to her confession, saying that after the aforesaid night, when the said witness put the bread in the said window, the next morning, when the same witness was preparing to leave the house and go to Peter of Villèle's cattle-shed, the aforesaid Bernard of Bousquet asked the same witness for the aforesaid bread back, saying, 'Where is what I gave you in the night?' And she answered him, 'There it is in that window.' And when she had said this | she went away.

211<sup>v</sup>

Asked who was in the said house then, she said the said Bernard of Bousquet, and Frescas, Peter of Villèle's wife, and Anthioca, the wife of William Polier, who were both preparing to go to church, and were in the house where the hearth was; and the said Peter of Villèle, an old man, was in the chamber in bed.

Asked if the said women heard when the aforesaid Bernard asked for the aforesaid bread back from the same witness, as has been said above, she said that they could certainly hear, and the aforesaid Peter of Villèle if he was awake.

Asked if she saw the said Bernard taking the said bread back, or eating it, or giving it to the others mentioned above to eat, or them receiving it or eating it, she said no, because the same witness was already on the stair going away when the said Bernard asked for it back as has been said. Neither does she know if the said Peter was then awake.

<sup>7</sup> Not found in ACP.

<sup>8</sup> Aude, cant. Belpech; *Saisimentum*, p. 446. William was assigned to the new convent of Brives (1263, 1264), and to Condom (1272) and Pamiers (1281), and he died at Brives. He witnessed a Carcassonne deposition in 1285; D26, 227<sup>v</sup>; ACP, pp. 97, 102, 171, 254; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 160–161.

<sup>9</sup> September 30 1275, which was a Monday in this year.

212<sup>r</sup>     Hæc deposuit Tholosæ | coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore.  
Testes: frater Guillelmus de Monteclaro, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum,  
et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

These things she attested at Toulouse | before brother Pons of Parnac, 212<sup>r</sup>  
inquisitor. Witnesses: brother William of Montclar,<sup>10</sup> of the Order of  
Brothers Preacher, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote  
these things.

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<sup>10</sup> Probably either Aude, cant. Montréal, arrond. Carcassonne, or Haute-Garonne, cant. Cazères, arrond. Muret, but there are others; Font-Réaulx, p. 983; *DTF*. William of Montclar witnessed interrogations in Albi (1286–1287); Douais, *Documents*, p. clxxxvii. The acts of the provincial chapters contain many references to William of Montclar, G. or W. [Guillelmus, Willelmus] de Montclaro, who was assigned to study and audit logic in Figeac (1264, 1265), to lecture in Bordeaux (1272), Agen (1276) and Montauban (1290), to lecture in theology at Castres (1277), Narbonne (1280), Condom (1283), and Montauban (1284); it was specified at Condom that he should engage in disputation. He was also assigned to study in Bologna (1273) and Paris (1280). William was prior of Albi (1286–1290), Montauban (1291–1292), Narbonne (1293–1294) and Pamiers (1294–1295). The specification ‘of the diocese of Toulouse’ in Gui’s description—William of Montclar, of the diocese of Toulouse—adds to the suspicion that provisions of provincial chapters may have been referring to two men called William of Montclar. *ACP*, pp. 104, 108, 163, 175, 207, 239, 242, 266, 275, 332, 383; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 124, 182, 198, 253–254.

*Deposition de Pierre Raymond, domicellus, fils d'Isarn de Saint Paul de Cadaiovis, contenant qu'il avoit ouy dire a Sicard de la Solada, chevalier de Saint Paul, que Pierre de Villela, avec lequel ils avoient bruit, avoit commis le crime d'heresie dans la maison de B. de Podio de Prades, et qu'il auroit voulu | qu'on eut confisqué ses biens.*

*Du samedi avant la St. Martin d'hiver, 1275.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, die sabbati ante festum Sancti Martini hiemalis, Petrus Raymundi, filius domini Isarni de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, domicellus, testis iuratus et requisitus etcetera, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos, nec adoravit eos, nec audivit prædicationes eorum, nec dedit eis aliquid nec misit, nec fidem in illis habuit, nec aliquid scit de facto hæresis vel Valdesiæ, de se nec de aliis, vivis aut defunctis.

213<sup>r</sup> Dixit tamen quod olim, cum esset discordia in|ter ipsum testem et parentes et fratres suos, ex una parte, et Petrum de Villela et suos ex alia, Sicardus de la Solada, miles, de Sancto Paulo, qui similiter habebat odio<sup>1</sup> dictum Petrum de Villela et suos, interrogavit ipsum testem, dicens, 'Velletis nos de Petro de Villela quidquid habet?' Cui respondit ipse testis dicens quod sic. Et dictus Sicardus adiecit, dicens, 'Sciatis: ego audivi dici quod Petrus de Villela commisit hæresim in domo Bernardi de Podio de Pradis, et si modo commisit hæresim et probaretur, nonne<sup>2</sup> bene posset amittere quidquid habet?' Et ipse testis respondit quod bene posset amittere. Dixit insuper<sup>3</sup> dictus Sicardus, 'Ego vellem dedisse de meo quod ipse amitteret bona sua,' et interrogavit ipsum testem, 'Nonne<sup>4</sup> vos velletis dedisse de vestro viginti, vel triginta, vel quadraginta solidos?' Et ipse testis respondit | quod mandaret Bernardo Fortesa, notario,

<sup>1</sup> h- *deleted*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* nomine.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* in super.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* Nomine.

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<sup>4</sup> Sicard of La Soulade of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux led the list of nobles of Puylaurens who took the oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 1271, *Saisimentum*, p. 96.

*The deposition of Peter Raymond, squire, son of Isarn of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, containing that he had heard it said by Sicard of La Soulade, knight of Saint-Paul, that Peter of Villèle, with whom they had a quarrel, had committed the crime of heresy in the house of Bernard of Puy of Prades, and that he would have liked | him to have his goods confiscated.* 212<sup>v</sup>

*From the Saturday before St Martin in winter, 1275.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, on the Saturday before the feast of St Martin in winter,<sup>1</sup> Peter Raymond, the son of lord Isarn of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux,<sup>2</sup> squire, sworn in as a witness and questioned etcetera, said that he never saw heretics, or adored them, or heard their preachings, or gave or sent them anything, or had faith in them, nor does he know anything about the matter of heresy or Waldensianism, concerning himself or others, living or dead.

He said however that once, when there was a quarrel between | the same witness and his parents<sup>3</sup> and brothers, on the one hand, and Peter of Villèle and his on the other, Sicard of La Soulade,<sup>4</sup> knight, of Saint-Paul, who likewise hated the said Peter of Villèle and his family, questioned the same witness, saying, 'Do you wish we had something on Peter of Villèle?' And the same witness answered him saying that he did. And the said Sicard added more, saying, 'Know this: I heard it said that Peter of Villèle committed heresy in the house of Bernard of Puy of Prades. And if he has now committed heresy and it were to be proved, couldn't he easily lose all he has?' And the same witness replied that he certainly could. The said Sicard said, moreover, 'I would willingly give of my own money for him to lose his goods,' and he asked the same witness, 'Wouldn't you willingly give twenty, or thirty, or forty shillings of your money?' And the same witness answered | that he would instruct Bernard Fortesa, notary, 213<sup>r</sup> 213<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> November 9 1275.

<sup>2</sup> Isarn was among the nobles of Puylaurens who took the oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 and December 20–24 1271, *Saisimentum*, pp. 97 (and n. 13) and 217.

<sup>3</sup> This can mean 'kin', but as it seems to be opposed to 'brothers', it has been translated as 'parents'.

quod traderet ipsi Sicardo viginti solidos, vel triginta, vel quadraginta, quando peteret. Et hoc mandavit dicto Bernardo Fortesa, unde credit ipse testis quod si prædictus Sicardus aliquid procuraverit contra dictum *Petrum* de Villela, fecerit hoc potius causa inimiciæ quam zelo fidei.

Requisitus de loco prædictorum verborum, dixit quod apud Sanctum Paulum in carreria.

De tempore: annus et dimidius vel circa.

De personis: nulla alia.

Item dixit quod dictus Sicardus recepit viginti solidos<sup>1</sup> Tholosanos<sup>2</sup> a dicto Bernardo Fortesia, sed ipse testis debebat Sicardo prædicto plures denarios; et nescit ipse testis si dictus Sicardus intendit prædictos viginti solidos recepissee propter hoc, vel propter illud: scilicet in solutionem  
 214<sup>r</sup> vel propter mandatum prædictum, | quia postea non fuit sibi loquutus de prædictis verbis, nec ipse Sicardus ipsi testi.

Interrogatus quando dictus Sicardus recepit dictos viginti solidos a Bernardo Fortesia prædicto, dixit quod post mandatum tradendi factum per ipsum testem prædicto Bernardo Fortesia per unum mensem vel duos, sicut credit.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore. Testes: frater *Petrus Raymundi* Baranhonis, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -os added.

<sup>2</sup> -os added.

to give the same Sicard twenty shillings, or thirty, or forty, when he asked for them. And he gave these instructions to the said Bernard Fortesa; on account of which the same witness believes that if the aforesaid Sicard got something up against the said Peter of Villèle, he did this rather through enmity than through zeal for the faith.

Asked about the place where the aforesaid words were said, he said at Saint-Paul in the street.

About the time: a year and a half ago or thereabouts.

About people: no-one else.<sup>5</sup>

Item, he said that the said Sicard received twenty Toulouse shillings from the said Bernard Fortesa, but the same witness owed the aforesaid Sicard quite a lot of money; and the same witness does not know if the said Sicard understood that he received the aforesaid twenty shillings for this purpose, or for that: that is, in payment, or on account of the aforesaid instruction—| because afterwards he did not speak to him about the aforesaid words, nor did the same Sicard speak to the same witness. 214<sup>r</sup>

Asked when the said Sicard received the said twenty shillings from the aforesaid Bernard Fortesa he said a month or two, as he believes, after the same witness had instructed the aforesaid Bernard Fortesa to give them.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>5</sup> This is probably feminine agreeing with 'persona', but it could mean 'no other woman'.



214<sup>v</sup> *Deposition de Hugues, archiprestre de Gardubio, contenant qu'il avoit ouy dire a Raymond Arnaud de Autunhaco que si le corps de Jesus | Christ estoit au sacrifice il y avoit 100 ans, que Dieu seroit mangé, et que la messe ne s'apelloit messe<sup>1</sup> que par ce que les prestres et les clerks l'avoient ainsi ordonné, et ledit Raymond Arnaud avoit dit qu'il n'avoit avancé cela que par maniere de recreation.*

*Du mardy apres l'octave de l'Epiphanie audit an.*

215<sup>r</sup> Anno quo supra, die martis post octavam Epiphaniæ, dominus Hugo, archipresbiter Gardubii, testis iu|ratus<sup>2</sup> et requisitus etcetera, dixit quod ipse testis, audito quod Raymundus Arnaldi de Antunhaco dixerat publice apud Gardubium quod si verum corpus Christi quod conficitur et a sacerdote recipitur in altari esset Deus, centum anni sunt elapsi quod commestus esset<sup>3</sup> Deus, ipse testis vocavit coram se dictum Raymundum Arnaldi et interrogavit eum<sup>4</sup> si dixerat illa verba. Qui respondit quod dixerat ea, sed causa solacii.

Requisitus<sup>5</sup> de loco, dixit quod apud Gardubium, in domo ipsius testis.

Requisitus<sup>6</sup> de personis, dixit quod ipse testis et Isarnus Pictavini, frater ipsius testis, Guillelmus Godiera, clericus uxoratus, et Iohanna, pediseca ipsius testis.

Requisitus de tempore, dixit quod in adventu, prope festum Natalis Domini proxime transactum.

215<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod dictus Ray|mundus Arnaldi, interrogatus ab ipso teste,<sup>7</sup> recognovit se dixisse in audientia Athonis Iaulevi, sacerdotis, quod missa non erat aliud, nec alia ratione<sup>8</sup> dicebatur missa, nisi quia erat res missa et statuta a sacerdotibus et clericis—sed excusavit se similiter quod hæc dixerat causa solacii.

<sup>1</sup> m- altered, probably from p- or q-.

<sup>2</sup> ms iu|tus, although catchword correctly gives -ratus.

<sup>3</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>4</sup> ms cum.

<sup>5</sup> -us added.

<sup>6</sup> -us added.

<sup>7</sup> altered, perhaps from testis.

<sup>8</sup> -e perhaps added.

*The deposition of Hugh, archpriest of Gardouch, containing that he had heard it said by Raymond Arnold of Antugnac that if the body of Jesus | 214<sup>v</sup> Christ were in the sacrifice, God would have been eaten a hundred years ago, and that the mass was only called mass because the priests and the clergy had ordained it so: and the said Raymond Arnold had said that he had only suggested this by way of a joke.*

*From the Tuesday after the octave of Epiphany, in the said year.*

In the same year as above, on the Tuesday after the octave of Epiphany,<sup>1</sup> lord Hugh, archpriest of Gardouch, sworn in as a witness | and ques- 215<sup>r</sup> tioned etc., said that the same witness, hearing that Raymond Arnold of Antugnac<sup>2</sup> had said publicly at Gardouch that if the true body of Christ which is made and received by the priest at the altar were God, God would have been eaten a hundred years ago, the same witness called the said Raymond Arnold before him and asked him if he had said those words. He replied that he had said them, but as a joke.

Asked about the place, he said at Gardouch, in the same witness's house.

Asked about people, he said the same witness and Isarn Pictavin, the same witness's brother, William Godiera, a married cleric, and Joanna, the same witness's waiting-woman.

Asked about the time, he said during advent, just around last Christmas.

Item, he said that the said | Raymond Arnold, questioned by the same 215<sup>v</sup> witness, acknowledged that he had said in the hearing of Atho Jaulieu, priest, that the mass was nothing else, nor was it called 'mass' for any other reason, than because it was a thing set up ('missa') and instituted by priests and clerics—but he excused himself likewise that he had said this as a joke.

<sup>1</sup> January 14 [1275 (1276)].

<sup>2</sup> Aude, cant. Couiza, arrond. Limoux; Font-Réaulx, p. 862.

Requisitus<sup>1</sup> de loco et personis, dixit idem quod supra proxime.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco inquisitore.  
Testes: frater *Bernardus* de Villela, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, Michael, prior Avinionis, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -us *perhaps added*.

Asked about the place and people, he said the same as immediately above.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Bernard of Villèle, of the Order of Brothers Preacher, Michael, prior of Avignon,<sup>3</sup> and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>3</sup> On the Dominican convent of Avignon, founded 1224 or 1225, see Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 255, and N. Hurel, 'À propos de quelques manuscrits enluminés de la bibliothèque des Dominicains d'Avignon (xiii<sup>e</sup>–xv<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *CaF* 31 (1996), pp. 418–440, together with the works cited pp. 437–438 n.s 7–10. In his *De fundatione*, Gui did not list the priors at Avignon, and there is nothing to link this Michael with others of the same name referred to in *ACP*.

216<sup>r</sup> *Deposition de Pierre Perrin de Puy Laurens, qui avoit ouy dire a Bernard de la Vaur, no|taire, que depuis qu'on avoit<sup>1</sup> chassé les heretiques du pays et que les Freres Precheurs et les Mineurs y habitoient, il y gresloit ordinairement.*

*Du judy apres l'octave de l'Epiphanie audit an.*

Anno quo supra, die iovis post octavam Epiphaniæ, Petrus Perrini de Podio Laurentio, testis iuratus et requisitus etcetera, dixit se nihil scire de facto hæresis vel Valdesiæ, de se nec de aliis.

216<sup>v</sup> Interrogatus specialiter si unquam audivit aliquam personam dicentem aliquid contra fidem Catholicam, dixit quod | non; hoc excepto, quod audivit Bernardum de Vauro, notarium Assoal[is],<sup>2</sup> dicentem quadam vice quod fulgura et tempestates non solebant cadere<sup>3</sup> ita frequenter sicut modo faciunt tempore quo hæretici manebant in terra ista—sed postquam sumus cum Minoribus et Prædicatoribus, cadunt frequentius<sup>4</sup> quam solebant. Et hoc dixit tunc quia obscurabatur, et timebant ipse, et alii qui erant ibi, de tempestate.

Dixit etiam tunc idem Bernardus de Vauro quod audivit Anglesiam, uxorem quondam Petri Raterii, quæ fuit combusta propter hæresim, dicentem quod hæretici<sup>5</sup> habebant quendam librum quem respiciebant quando videbant tale tempus;<sup>6</sup> et hoc in Bulgaria.

Requisitus<sup>7</sup> de loco ubi audivit prædicta verba, dixit quod apud Assoalem, in operatorio Guillelmi Sartre.

<sup>1</sup> *there is a superfluous abbreviation mark over this word.*

<sup>2</sup> *space left for expansion.*

<sup>3</sup> *c- and -r- altered.*

<sup>4</sup> *-us added, over deletion.*

<sup>5</sup> *letter deleted.*

<sup>6</sup> *altered.*

<sup>7</sup> *-us perhaps added.*

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among heretics in Languedoc as well as Italy. The colophon of another copy states that it was brought by Nazarius (bishop of the heretics of Concorezzo) from Bulgaria; E. Bozóký, *Le livre secret des Cathares: Interrogatio Iohannis, apocryphe d'origine bogomile* (Paris, 1980), p. 86. The deposition suggests a combination of indistinct memory of the role of books and heretics in Bulgaria and the notion of a past golden age.

*The deposition of Peter Perrin of Puylaurens, who had heard it said by Bernard of Lavaur, | notary, that after the heretics had been chased from the land and the Brothers Preacher and the Minors lived there, it hailed frequently.* 216<sup>r</sup>

*From the Thursday after the octave of Epiphany in the said year.*

In the same year as above, on the Thursday after the octave of Epiphany,<sup>1</sup> Peter Perrin of Puylaurens, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that he knew nothing about the matter of heresy or Waldensianism, concerning himself or others.

Asked especially if he had ever heard any person saying anything against the Catholic faith, he said | no; except for this, that he heard Bernard of Lavaur, notary of Soual,<sup>2</sup> saying once that lightning and storms used not to occur so frequently at the time when the heretics lived in this land as they do now—but since we have had the Minors and the Preachers, they occur more frequently than they used to. And he said this then because it was becoming dark, and he, and others who were there, were afraid of a storm. 216<sup>v</sup>

The same Bernard of Lavaur also said then that he had heard Anglesia, the wife of the late Peter Ratier, who [Anglesia] was burnt for heresy, saying that the heretics had a certain book which they looked at when they saw such weather—and this in Bulgaria.<sup>3</sup>

Asked about the place where he heard the aforesaid words, he said at Soual in the workshop of William Sartre (*or* William, tailor).

<sup>1</sup> January 16 [1275 (1276)].

<sup>2</sup> Tarn, cant. Dourgne, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1085.

<sup>3</sup> This reference to a text used by heretics in Bulgaria is unique in the inquisition records of Languedoc. Its broadest context is the earlier dependence of the 'heretics' of Latin Christendom (Cathars) on the Bogomils for their ritual and other texts, translated for their use into Latin; see B. Hamilton, 'Wisdom from the East: the reception by the Cathars of eastern dualist texts', in *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530*, ed. P. Biller and A. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 38–60. One example is an apocryphon, *The Questions of John*, otherwise known as the *Secret*, which was possessed and used by the heretics (Cathars) of Concorrezzzo in Italy. The preservation of a Doat copy of one of the three manuscripts of this, earlier in the archive of the Dominicans at Carcassonne, suggests that it circulated

217<sup>r</sup>     Requisitus de personis, dixit | quod ibi erant ipse, et Guillelmus Sartre, senior,<sup>1</sup> intra operatorium, et dictus Bernardus de Vauro et Bernardus Arsevi, notarius,<sup>2</sup> extra operatorium, et Guillelmus Petri Rafegat sedens super tabulam illius operatorii.

Requisitus de tempore, dixit quod inter festum Penthecostes et festum<sup>3</sup> Sancti Michaelis proxime transacta.

Interrogatus si fuit alias coram inquisitoribus, dixit quod sic, et abiuravit<sup>4</sup> hæresim coram eis.

Interrogatus quare non venerat ad inquisitores revelaturus prædicta verba, dixit quod non poterat venire.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore. Et iuravit<sup>5</sup> *etcetera*. Testes: frater Petrus Raymundi Baranhonis et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> erant *deleted*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Natarii.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* fescum.

<sup>4</sup> -avit *added*.

<sup>5</sup> et iurav *deleted*.

Asked about people, he said | that there were there himself and William 217<sup>r</sup>  
Sartre, the elder, inside the workshop, and the said Bernard of Lavaur and  
Bernard Arsieu, notary, outside the workshop, and William Peter Rafegat  
sitting on the work-bench of that workshop.

Asked about the time, he said beteeen the feast of Pentecost and the  
feast of Michaelmas last.

Asked if he had previously been before inquisitors, he said yes, and he  
had abjured heresy before them.

Asked why he had not come to the inquisitors to reveal the aforesaid  
words, he said that he had not been able to come.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac,  
inquisitor. And he took an oath etc. Witnesses: brother Peter Raymond  
Baranhon, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these  
things.



217<sup>v</sup> *Deposition faite | par Pierre Augerii de Podio Danieli, contenant qu'il avoit  
ouy dire a Sicarde, sa femme, qu'un pelerin luy apparoissoit, disant qu'il  
estoit Saint Jaques, et qu'aucune ame n'entreroit point en paradis jusques  
au jour du jugement, excepté celles des petits enfans et des saints.*

*Du samedy apres l'Epiphanie 1275.*

Anno quo supra, die sabbati post Epiphaniam, Petrus Eugrini de Podio  
218<sup>r</sup> Danielis, diocesis Tholosanensis, testis iu|ratus et requisitus etcetera, dixit  
se nihil scire de facto hæresis vel Valdesiæ.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> super multis aliis verbis denunciatis contra eum, dixit se  
audivisse dici a Sicarda, uxore sua, quod homo quidam qui frequenter  
apparebat ei in specie<sup>2</sup> peregrini et dicebat se esse Beatum Iacobum,  
dicebat quod animæ defunctorum non intrant paradisum donec in diem  
Iudicii, sed in requiem, parvulis exceptis et sanctis.

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<sup>1</sup> -tus probably added.

<sup>2</sup> superscript.

*The deposition made | by Peter Eugrin of Puydaniel, containing that he had 217<sup>v</sup>  
heard it said by Sicarda, his wife, that a pilgrim had appeared to her, saying  
that he was St James, and that no soul would enter paradise until the day  
of Judgment, except those of little children and of the saints.*

*From the Saturday after Epiphany 1275.*

In the same year as above, on the Saturday after Epiphany,<sup>1</sup> Peter Eugrin of Puydaniel,<sup>2</sup> in the diocese of Toulouse, sworn in as a witness | and 218<sup>r</sup>  
questioned etc., said that he knew nothing about the matter of heresy or Waldensianism.

Asked about many other words of information against him, he said that he had heard it said by Sicarda, his wife, that a certain man who frequently appeared to her in the guise of a pilgrim and said that he was the Blessed James, said that the souls of the dead do not enter paradise until the day of Judgment, but go to rest, except for small children and the saints.

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<sup>1</sup> January 11 [1275 (1276)]; but, given the sequence of depositions in this part of Doat 25–26, it is more likely that it should be dated to the Saturday after the octave of the Epiphany (January 18).

<sup>2</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Auterive, arrond. Muret; Font-Réaulx, p. 1009.

*Audition de Pierre de Sella de Montferrat en Lombardie, qui se disoit de l'ordre des Apostres, qui declara n'avoit jamais adoré les heretiques*  
 218<sup>v</sup> *manicheens, Patarenos, Valdenses, ny autres, | auquel l'inquisiteur defendit de precher publiquement et en secret.*

*Du dimanche apres l'octave de l'Epiphanie audit an.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quinto, dominica post octavam Epiphaniæ, Petrus de Sella, de Monte Ferrato Lombardiæ, qui se dicit de Ordine Apostolorum, vocatus<sup>1</sup> coram nobis, fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore hæresis, et requisitus quod præstaret<sup>2</sup> iuramentum quod de fide et credulitate quam habebat diceret veritatem, noluit  
 219<sup>r</sup> iurare: et propter hoc dictus inquisitor ipsum tan|quam suspectum de hæresi fecit eum in carcere detineri.

Die martis proxime sequenti, prædictus Petrus, eductus de carcere, constitutus in iudicio coram prædicto inquisitore, requisitus<sup>3</sup> ab eo iuravit stare mandatis eius super eo quod iurare recusaverat. Iuravit etiam dicere plenam et puram veritatem de omnibus super quibus inquisitus fuerit super fidem.

Requisitus<sup>4</sup> itaque si vidit vel adoravit hæreticos Manicheos,<sup>5</sup> Patarenos, Valdenses, vel alios quoscumque hæreticos, vel audivit

<sup>1</sup> -us written over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> -et added, -e- altered from -i-.

<sup>3</sup> -tus added.

<sup>4</sup> -tus probably added.

<sup>5</sup> ms Mancheos.

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<sup>6</sup> The inquisitor's normal opening question was whether he or she had seen a heretic (= Cathar Good Man or Good Woman) or a Waldensian; see the question-list above, p. 67. On this one occasion, confronted by an Italian belonging to an Italian religious Order, Pons of Parnac varied the formula, replacing the first term, 'heretic', with two words. One, 'Manichæan', was a word for dualist heretics not usually found in inquisition proceedings but rather in treatises, especially theological treatises. While Bernard Gui did not use it in inquisition, he chose it for his reflective treatise on the practice of inquisition to denote the Cathars. The other word, 'Paterine', was more regional, a term used in Italy to denote heretics, especially at this period dualist heretics.

*The hearing of Peter of Sella of Monferrato in Lombardy, who said that he was of the Order of the Apostles, who stated that he had never adored Manichean, Patarene, Waldensian or other heretics; | whom the inquisitor 218<sup>v</sup> forbade to preach, publicly and in secret.*

*From the Sunday after the octave of Epiphany in the said year.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, on the Sunday after the octave of Epiphany,<sup>1</sup> Peter of Sella,<sup>2</sup> of Monferrato<sup>3</sup> in Lombardy, who said that he was of the Order of the Apostles,<sup>4</sup> summoned before us, brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor of heresy, and asked to take an oath that he would tell the truth about the faith and belief which he had, refused to swear: and on account of this the said inquisitor had him | 219<sup>r</sup> held in prison as suspect of heresy.

On the following Tuesday,<sup>5</sup> the aforesaid Peter, brought out from prison, appearing in court before the aforesaid inquisitor, asked by him, swore to obey his commands on the matter that he had refused to swear. He also swore to tell the pure and whole truth about all the things about which he was questioned, concerning faith.

Asked therefore if he had seen or adored Manichean, Patarene, or Waldensian heretics,<sup>6</sup> or any other heretics whatsoever, or had heard

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<sup>1</sup> January 19 1275 (1276).

<sup>2</sup> Common place-name, meaning 'saddle'.

<sup>3</sup> Region of Piedmont, marquise, covering the modern province of Alessandria.

<sup>4</sup> This Order was founded by Gerard Segarelli in Parma in 1260. Its members practised an imitation of the poverty of the life of the apostles that was even more literal than that of the Franciscans. They had local support, but were banned by Honorius IV in 1286, and Segarelli was burnt in 1300; M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Movement to the Reformation*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 2002), pp. 219–222.

<sup>5</sup> [January 21 1275 (1276)].

prædicationem eorum, vel si habuit aliquam participationem cum hæreticis, dixit quod non, quod ipse sciat.

Interrogatus si credit quod aliquis possit salvari nisi in fide catholica Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, dixit quod non.

219<sup>v</sup> Requisitus super omnibus et singulis articulis fidei Catholicæ, respondit ad omnes quod credit, et vult | vivere et mori in illa fide quam Romana tenet, et servat Ecclesia.

Interrogatus si unquam prædicavit alicubi, publice vel privatim, dixit quod non per modum prædicandi; sed dixit multotiens in domibus in quibus hospitabatur,<sup>1</sup> et in viis, aliqua bona verba de Evangelio. Et dictus inquisitor iniunxit et prohibuit ei ne prædicaret alicubi publice vel occulte.

Assignata fuit ei dies veneris proxima ad audiendum mandatum inquisitoris.

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<sup>1</sup> h- *added*.

their preaching, or if he had had any dealings with heretics, he said no, not that he knew.

Asked if he believes that anyone can be saved other than in the Catholic faith of the Holy Roman Church, he said no.

Asked about each and every article of Catholic faith, he replied to all that he believes them, and wishes | to live and die in that faith which 219<sup>v</sup> Rome holds, and the Church observes.

Asked if he had ever preached anywhere, publicly or privately, he said not in the manner of preaching; but he had often said some good words from the Gospel in the houses in which he was lodged, and in the streets. And the said inquisitor forbade and ordered him not to preach anywhere publicly or in secret.

He was assigned the following Friday<sup>7</sup> to hear the command of the inquisitor.

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<sup>7</sup> [January 24 1275 (1276)].

*Deposition d'Arnaud Cimordani de Gascoigne, qui declara avoir rompit les prisons par ce que le roy, qui n'avoit eu la confiscation de ses biens, ne luy*  
 220<sup>r</sup> *faisoit | point donner de quoy vivre, et l'evêque qui en avoit profité ne luy*  
*fournissoit point le necessaire, et declara qu'estant en prison il ouït dire a*  
*Raymond Ricard de Bonore<sup>1</sup> de Lavaur qu'il y avoit deux Dieux qui avoient*  
*combattu l'un contre l'autre dans le ciel, et quod sanguis ascenderat per*  
*murum civitatis.*

*De l'année 1275.*

220<sup>v</sup> Anno et die quibus proximis Arnaldus Cimordani | de Gasconia, fugi-  
 tivus de muro Tholosæ, reversus assecuratus, testis iuratus et requisitus  
 etcetera, dixit quod ipse testis fuit confessus omnia quæ sciebat de hæresi,  
 primo fratri Bernardo de Cautio, quondam inquisitori,<sup>2</sup> a quo pœniten-  
 tiam habuit de crucibus et perregrinationibus,<sup>3</sup> postmodum<sup>4</sup> fratri Guil-  
 lelmo Bernardi super eo quod dixit ei, quod post prædictam pœnitentiam  
 receptam a fratre Bernardo associavit Raymundum Labegiam, hæreti-  
 cum, quoniam prædicta associatio fuerat facta per ipsum testem ante  
 prædictam pœnitentiam iniunctam ipsi testi a dicto fratre<sup>5</sup> Bernardo, et  
 eam tacuit fratri Bernardo propter oblivionem.

Interrogatus si scit aliquid amplius de hæresi quam confessus est  
 prædictis inquisitoribus, dixit quod non.

221<sup>r</sup> Interrogatus<sup>6</sup> quare fugit de muro, dixit quod quia non habebat ibi  
 necessaria. Non enim providebatur | sibi de bonis regis, quia incursus

<sup>1</sup> *The seventeenth-century scribe has clearly misread the word honore as a place-name.*

<sup>2</sup> *-i added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-ionibus added.*

<sup>4</sup> *ms post modum.*

<sup>5</sup> *-e altered from -i.*

<sup>6</sup> *-tus added.*

<sup>5</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Castanet-Tolosan, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 951. Raymond (Ramundus Labeia), together with his companion William of Belmontet, hereticated Pons of Villeneuve of Lavaur during the illness from which he died, in his son's house at Lavaur. This was described in the confession (perhaps from 1254) of a converted Good Man called Peter; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 32.

*The deposition of Arnold Cimordan of Gascogne, who stated that he escaped from prison because the king, who had not had the confiscation of his goods, did not have him | given anything to live off, and the bishop, who had profited from it, did not provide for his needs; and he stated that while he was in prison he heard Raymond Richard of the honour of Lavaur saying that there were two gods who had fought, one against the other, in heaven, and that 'blood had risen up the wall of the city'.<sup>1</sup>* 220<sup>r</sup>

*From the year 1275.*

In the same year and on the same day as immediately above,<sup>2</sup> Arnold Cimordan | of Gascogne,<sup>3</sup> a fugitive from the prison of Toulouse, returned under safe-conduct, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that the same witness had confessed everything which he knew about heresy, firstly to brother Bernard of Caux, the former inquisitor, from whom he had a penance of crosses and pilgrimages, and afterwards to brother William Bernard about what he told him: that after<sup>4</sup> he had received the aforesaid penance from brother Bernard he had accompanied Raymond [of] Labège,<sup>5</sup> heretic, since the aforesaid accompanying was done by the same witness before the aforesaid penance had been imposed upon the same witness by the said brother Bernard, and he had kept silent about it to brother Bernard through forgetfulness. 220<sup>v</sup>

Asked if he knows anything more about heresy than he confessed to the aforesaid inquisitors, he said no.

Asked why he fled from prison, he said that because he did not have what he needed there. For he was not provided | for from the goods of the 221<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The words in inverted commas have been left in Latin by the writer of this introduction.

<sup>2</sup> January 19 1275 (1276), if the first deposition of Peter of Sella is the point of reference.

<sup>3</sup> Original name of Montpitoul, Haute-Garonne, cant. Montastruc-la-Conseillère, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, pp. 936, 990.

<sup>4</sup> The passage makes sense if 'before' is substituted for 'after'.



ipsius non pervenerat ad regem, sed ad episcopum, nec providebatur ei de bonis episcopi, quia non habebat nuntium quem posset ita frequenter mittere ad aulam episcopi pro pane. Et quando mittebatur ipsi testi panis de domo episcopi ad murum,<sup>1</sup> mittebatur durus, et non poterat comedere. Carebat etiam vestibus et aliis necessariis.

Interrogatus si postquam fugit de muro commisit aliquid in hæresi, vel scivit de se vel de aliis, dixit quod non.

Dixit tamen quod quando ipse testis erat in muro, audivit Raymundum Ricardi, de honore Vauri, dicentem quod erant duo dii, qui pugnave-  
rant alter contra alterum in cœlo, et quod sanguis ascenderat per murum  
civitatis, et alia verba de quibus non recolit.

221<sup>v</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, | inquisitore.  
Testes: frater Bernardus de Villela, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publi-  
cus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Postmodum, eadem die, consulte ad præsentiam dicti inquisitoris, et exposuit se misericordiæ<sup>2</sup> et voluntati inquisitoris,<sup>3</sup> et iuravit stare man-  
datis eorum, et agere poenitentiam quam ei duxerint iniungendam, sub  
pœna quingentarum<sup>4</sup> librarum Turonensium, pro quibus obligavit inqui-  
sitoribus<sup>5</sup> omnia bona sua, præsentia et futura, renunciando omni defen-  
sioni et rationi<sup>6</sup> quam posset proponere in contrarium, et fuit absolutus  
ab excommunicatione quam incurrerat propter inobedientiam et fugam  
prædictam. Testes: frater Petrus Raymundi Baranhonis, Ordinis Prædi-  
catorum, Petrus de Vaqueriis, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus  
notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

222<sup>f</sup> Et fuit ei assignata ad audien|dum mandatum inquisitoris, dies iovis  
post instans festum Sancti Albini.

Qua die non comparuit, quia detentus erat in carcere apud Viridifolio, sed  
comparuit coram dicto inquisitore die lunæ sequenti, liberatus a carcere,  
ut dicebat, dominica proxima præcedenti, dicens quod senescallus et  
baiulus Viridis Folii retinuerant cultellum suum, et obligaverunt eum

<sup>1</sup> m- written over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> -æ perhaps altered from -e.

<sup>3</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>4</sup> ms quingenta; -a perhaps added.

<sup>5</sup> -ibus or -oribus perhaps added.

<sup>6</sup> -i altered from -e.

king, because his forfeiture had not come to the king but to the bishop; nor was he provided for from the goods of the bishop, because he did not have a messenger whom he could send frequently enough to the bishop's hall for bread. And when he sent the same witness bread from the bishop's house to the prison, he sent it hard, and he could not eat it. He also lacked clothes and other necessities.

Asked if after he fled from prison he committed any act of heresy, or knew of anything concerning himself or others, he said no.

He said however that when the same witness was in prison, he heard Raymond Richard, of the honour of Lavaur, saying that there were two gods, who fought one against the other in heaven, and that blood had risen up the wall of the city, and other words which he does not recall.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, | 221<sup>v</sup>  
inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Bernard of Villèle, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

Afterwards, on the same day,<sup>6</sup> after consultation in the presence of the said inquisitor, he both submitted himself to the mercy and will of the inquisitor, and swore to obey their<sup>7</sup> commands, and to perform the penance which they decided to impose upon him, on pain of paying fifty pounds Tournois, for which he pledged all his goods, present and future, to the inquisitors, renouncing all defence and argument which he could put forward to the contrary; and he was absolved from the excommunication which he had incurred because of his aforesaid disobedience and flight. Witnesses: brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, of the Order of Preachers, Peter of Vacquiers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

And he was assigned, to hear the command | of the inquisitor, the 222<sup>r</sup>  
Thursday after the next feast of St Albin.<sup>8</sup>

On which day he did not appear, because he was held in prison at Verfeil,<sup>9</sup> but he appeared before the said inquisitor on the following Monday,<sup>10</sup> freed from prison, as he said, on the Sunday immediately preceding, saying that the seneschal and *bailli* of Verfeil had kept his

<sup>6</sup> See above.

<sup>7</sup> There is a discrepancy between this plural and the singular 'inquisitor' above.

<sup>8</sup> March 5 [1275 (1276)].

<sup>9</sup> Haute-Garonne.

<sup>10</sup> [March 9 1275 (1276)].

per iuramentum ad solvendum ducentos decem solidos Turonenses infra dominicam Ramis Palmarum, et tenuerunt eum captum per octo dies postquam sciverunt quod ipse fuerat assecuratus a dicto inquisitore, nec permiserunt eum venire ad diem iovis prædictam sibi assignatam ab inquisitore prædicto, in præiudicium<sup>1</sup> negotii inquisitionis.

222<sup>v</sup> Postmodum dictus inquisitor interrogavit dictum Arnaldum per iuramentum ab ipso prius super | hoc præsumptum, quod nominaret personas illas quæ receperunt eum scientes ipsum fugitivum de muro; qui respondit quod non recordabatur. Et fuit iniunctum ei quod recogitaret, et mane rediens responderet.

Rediit igitur mane sequenti et respondit, dicens quod cum fugisset de muro venit in Vasconiam, ad grangiam de Gimonte, quæ vocatur Aqua Bela, et invenit ibi fratrem Petrum de Fradeus, qui cognoscebat ipsum testem, sed ignorabat statum ipsius testis, sicut credit.

Interrogatus<sup>2</sup> de personis quibus revelavit statum suum, et quod erat fugitivus de muro, inquisitori<sup>3</sup> respondit quod Petro Binhaco, priori<sup>4</sup> de Benito, cum quo moratus fuit de festo Sancti Petri usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, serviens de colligendis messibus, et vindemiis, 223<sup>r</sup> et lignis apportandis cum quodam mulo. | Et nihil retribuit ipsi testi, imo ipse testis dedit ei, ultra dictum servitium, decem solidos<sup>5</sup> Tholosanos.<sup>6</sup> Et hoc totum faciebat ipse testis, quia dictus prior dederat ei spem reconciliandi eum gratiæ domini episcopi, et inquisitoris,<sup>7</sup> vel saltem quod faceret posse suum; de quo nihil fecit quod ipse testis sciat.

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<sup>1</sup> *Written over deletion.*

<sup>2</sup> *-tus perhaps added.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms inquisitor.*

<sup>4</sup> *ms prior.*

<sup>5</sup> *-os perhaps added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-os perhaps added.*

<sup>7</sup> *-is added.*

knife and had bound him by oath to pay two hundred and ten shillings Tournois before Palm Sunday; and they kept him prisoner for eight days after they knew that he had been granted a safe-conduct by the said inquisitor, nor did they allow him to come on the aforesaid Thursday assigned to him by the aforesaid inquisitor, in prejudice of the business of the Inquisition.

Afterwards the said inquisitor asked the said Arnold, on the oath previously taken by him on | this matter, to name those persons who received him, knowing him to be a fugitive from prison; and he replied 222<sup>v</sup> that he did not remember. And he was ordered to reconsider, and to come back and answer in the morning.

Therefore he returned the next morning<sup>11</sup> and answered, saying that when he had fled from prison he came into Gascogne, to the grange of Gimont<sup>12</sup> which is called 'Aiguebelle',<sup>13</sup> and he found there brother Peter of *Fradeus*<sup>14</sup> who knew the same witness, but did not know of the same witness's status, as he believes.

Asked about the people to whom he revealed his status, and that he was a fugitive from prison, he answered the inquisitor that to Peter Binhac, the prior of *Benitum*,<sup>15</sup> with whom he lived from the feast of St Peter until the feast of All Saints, serving to gather the harvest, and the grape harvest, and to carry wood with a certain mule. | And he paid the same 223<sup>r</sup> witness nothing, but rather the same witness gave him, besides the said service, ten Toulouse shillings. And the same witness did all this because the said prior had given him the hope of reconciling him to the grace of the lord bishop and of the inquisitor, or at least that he would do what he could; on which matter he did nothing, as far as the same witness knows.

<sup>11</sup> [March 10 1275 (1276)].

<sup>12</sup> Cistercian abbey, Gers, cant. and arrond. Auch, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Auch, founded (probably) in 1145 Wildhaber, 'Catalogue', p. 30. See *DHGE*, xx.1415–1418.

<sup>13</sup> Now La Grange, by the stream of Aiguebelle: Haute-Garonne, comm. and cant. Saint-Lys, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Muret; A. Clergeac, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Gimont* (Paris and Auch, 1895), p. 375 n. 1. Donations to the grange of Aiguebelle are extant from 1164 onwards; *ibid.*, pp. 374–455.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly scribal error for Pradens, Gard, comm. Saint-André-de-Majencoules, cant. Valleraugue, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Vigan.

<sup>15</sup> Not identified.

Item dominus Augerius, *dum* erat abbas Foliencii, et frater Sancius de Palineriis, frater Vitalis Hares, et frater Raymundus Sancii de Foliencio, et frater Adam, cellerarius tunc, cognoverunt *eum*, et sciverunt fugam suam de muro; et nihilominus sustinuerunt eum in servitio domus per septem annos vel circa.

223<sup>v</sup> Dixit etiam quod promisit et obtulit abbati quindecim solidos Morlanos si tractaret reconciliationem ipsius testis—ipse noluit recipere, sed finaliter respondit ipsi testi quod non | videbat sibi remedium nisi de redeundo ad murum.

Dixit etiam quod dedit duos solidos Morlanos fratri Raymundo Sancii ut rogaret abbatem prædictum quod reconciliaret ipsum testem inquisitioni.<sup>1</sup>

Item fuit apud bastidam de Guiruonte in diversis hospitiiis,<sup>2</sup> et habebat socium Raymundum de Abbas de Omervilla, fugitivum propter quoddam homicidium, qui se faciebat vocari<sup>3</sup> Raymundum Raversa, et sciebat bene fugam ipsius testis, et causam fugæ.

Item fuit apud Albinellum per duos annos, vel circa, et nullus scivit ibi statum suum.

Item fuit in Astaraco apud Podium Lobunum a festo Omnium Sanctorum usque ad Carniprivium, et ibi duxit uxorem. Et nullus scivit ibi factum ipsius testis.

224<sup>r</sup> Item stetit incognitus de Carniprivio usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum apud Sanctum Foelicem in Astaraco, et ibi Guillelmus de Castromovo attemptavit eum capere; sed evasit.

<sup>1</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>2</sup> h- *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* vacari.

<sup>19</sup> Probably Gimont.

<sup>20</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Grenade-sur-l'Adour, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 997.

<sup>21</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Grenade-sur-l'Adour, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse, which is 5 km from Merville; *DTF*.

<sup>22</sup> Archdeanery of the diocese of Auch; Font-Réaulx, pp. 867–868.

<sup>23</sup> Gers, cant. Montesquiou, arrond. Mirande; Font-Réaulx, p. 1009.

<sup>24</sup> Not identified.

<sup>25</sup> Not identified. There are many places of this name (or beginning Castelnau-) in Languedoc; *DTF*; Font-Réaulx, p. 906.

Item, lord Auger, when he was abbot of Feuillants,<sup>16</sup> and brother Sans of Palinières,<sup>17</sup> brother Vital Hares, and brother Raymond Sans of Feuillants, and brother Adam, then the cellarer, knew him, and knew of his flight from prison; and nevertheless kept him in the service of the house for seven years or thereabouts.

He also said that he promised and offered the abbot fifteen Morlaàs shillings<sup>18</sup> if he would handle the same witness's reconciliation—he refused to receive them, but finally answered the same witness that he did not | see any remedy for him except returning to prison.

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He also said that he gave two Morlaàs shillings to brother Raymond Sans to ask the aforesaid abbot to reconcile the same witness to the inquisitor.

Item, he was at the *bastide* of *Guiruonte*<sup>19</sup> in various lodgings, and had as a companion Raymond of *Abbas* (abbot) of Merville,<sup>20</sup> a fugitive for a certain homicide, who had himself called Raymond Raversa; and he knew well about the same witness's flight, and the reason for the flight.

Item, he was at Aubinels<sup>21</sup> for two years, or thereabouts, and no-one there knew his status.

Item, he was in Astarac<sup>22</sup> at Pouylebon<sup>23</sup> from the feast of All Saints until Lent, and he married there. And no-one there knew of the same witness's case.

Item he lived incognito from Lent until the feast of All Saints at Saint-Félix<sup>24</sup> in the Astarac area; and there William of Castelnau<sup>25</sup> attempted to capture him; but he escaped.

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<sup>16</sup> Cistercian abbey, Haute-Garonne, comm. Bastide-Clermont, cant. Rieumes, arrond. Muret, founded in 1143 Wildhaber, 'Catalogue', pp. 32–33; *DHGE*, xvi.1334–1338. See also *CaF* 21 (1986), pp. 132–133. Auger III was abbot from 1255–1267.

<sup>17</sup> *DTF* lists only one place of this name, Corrèze, comm. Saint-Cyprien, cant. Ayen, arrond. Brive-la-Gaillarde. Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 134, conjectures Palmiers, without localizing; *DTF* lists three in Provence.

<sup>18</sup> Pyrénées-Atlantiques, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Pau; *DTF*. Morlaàs, very close to Pau, was the mint of the viscounts of Béarn, counts of Bigorre. The Morlan was of identical value with the Toulouse penny (denier toulousain, tolza), that is to say, double the Tournois penny (denier tournois) at this date. In the thirteenth century these double-tournois value pennies of Béarn and Toulouse were the ordinary money of Gascony—the standard coins from the Pyrennees north to Albi and from the Bay of Biscay east to Carcassonne. A. Blanchet and A. Dieudonné, *Manuel de numismatique française*, 4 vols (Paris, 1912–1936), vol. 4, *Monnaies féodales*, pp. 89–91, and information of Peter Spufford.

Item dixit quod fuit apud Banherias in Bigorra, et in grangia de Bolbona, quæ vocatur Inter Ambas Aquas, et apud Sabonerias in Savesio, et in multis aliis locis, sed incognitus<sup>1</sup> apud omnes exceptis Bernarda, uxore ipsius testis modo defuncta, et Petro, filio ipsius testis.

Item dixit quod, procurante Bernarda, uxore ipsius testis, ipse testis venit de nocte prope Gasconiam ad ortale quod solebat esse ipsius testis, et ibi fuit locutus cum Arnaldo Escolavi, tunc capellano de Gasconia, qui recepit ibi quinque solidos Tholosanos ab ipso teste ut reconciliaret eum  
224<sup>v</sup> inquisitoribus; et si hoc faceret debebat<sup>2</sup> | habere amplius decem solidos et duas virgas de panno lineo pro camisiis. Sed nihil fecit inde.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore. Testes: frater *Petrus* Raymundi Baranhonis, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Iniunctum est ei per dictum inquisitorem, sub virtute iuramenti ab eodem Arnaldo præstiti, quod statim redeat ad murum unde fugerat, retenta sibi potestate imponendi sibi maiorem poenitentiam propter fugam prædictam. Testes qui supra et *Petrus* Boneti, capellanus de Gasconia, et Vitalis Faber de eodem loco.

Postmodum<sup>3</sup> redditus est<sup>4</sup> dicto Arnaldo Cimordani cultellus, et remissa obligatio præmissa a senescallo et baiulo supradictis, et aliud positum in sufficientia, scilicet de emenda quia tenuerunt eum in præiudicium inquisi-  
225<sup>r</sup> tionis; et hoc factum est ob reverentiam domini episcopi Tholosani, et instantiam magistri Bertrandi de Ferreriis officialis sui.

<sup>1</sup> *originally* in cognitus.

<sup>2</sup> -ba- altered.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* Post modum.

<sup>4</sup> *originally* test; gap left for expansion.

Item, he said that he was at Bagnères-de-Bigorre,<sup>26</sup> and in the grange of Boulbonne<sup>27</sup> which is called Tramesaygues,<sup>28</sup> and at Sabonnères<sup>29</sup> in the Savès,<sup>30</sup> and in many other places, but incognito to all except Bernarda, the same witness's wife, now deceased, and Peter, the same witness's son.

Item, he said that, with Bernarda, the same witness's wife, arranging this, the same witness came by night to near Gascogne, to the garden which used to belong to the same witness, and there he spoke with Arnold Escolau,<sup>31</sup> then a chaplain of Gascogne, who received there five Toulouse shillings from the same witness to reconcile him to the inquisitors; and if he did this he was to | have another ten shillings and two rods<sup>32</sup> of linen 224<sup>v</sup> cloth for shirts. But he did nothing about this.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

He was ordered by the said inquisitor, by virtue of the oath made by the same Arnold, to return immediately to the prison from which he fled, reserving to himself the power of imposing upon him a greater penance for the aforesaid flight. Witnesses as above and Peter Bonet, chaplain of Gascogne, and Vital Faure of the same place.

Afterwards the knife was returned to the said Arnold Cimordan, and the aforesaid bond remitted by the aforesaid seneschal and *bailli*, and something put down as a sufficiency, that is a fine, because they held him to the prejudice of the Inquisition; | and this was done out of reverence 225<sup>r</sup> for the lord bishop of Toulouse, and at the request of master Bertrand of Ferrières<sup>33</sup> his official.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Hautes-Pyrénées, ch.-lieu arrond; Font-Réaulx, p. 873.

<sup>27</sup> See above, 37<sup>r</sup> n. 5.

<sup>28</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Cintegabelle, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Muret; Font-Réaulx, p. 799.

<sup>29</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Rieumes, arrond. Muret; Font-Réaulx, p. 1027.

<sup>30</sup> Archdeaconry of the diocese of Toulouse, around the river Save; Font-Réaulx, p. 1078.

<sup>31</sup> Not identified.

<sup>32</sup> Measure of cloth, not to be confused with rod as measure of land. See below, 28<sup>v</sup> n. 45.

<sup>33</sup> A common place-name; *DTE*.

<sup>34</sup> A letter concerning the first known beadle of the University of Toulouse and addressed to the rector of the cathedral of Saint Stephen was read out in the presence of Bertrand of Ferrières on September 23 1272; H. Gilles, 'Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de l'université de Toulouse au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle', *CaF* 5 (1970), p. 295.



*Deposition de Guillaume le Gran de Tholouse, qui declara avoir ouy dire a Arnaud de Montirel de St. Lisier que Dieu n'estoit ny ne venoit pas de soy, mais de la farine du froment, qu'il y avoit eu sept dieux dont les six avoient esleu le septiesme et l'avoient fait leur souverain, et que Saint Pierre n'avoit*  
 225<sup>v</sup> *jamaïs | esté Pape de Rome.*

*Du dimanche apres la Saint Mathieu 1275.*

Anno et die quibus supra<sup>1</sup> Guillelmus le Gran, testis iuratus et requisitus etcetera, dixit se nihil scire de facto hæresis vel Valdesiæ, de se nec de aliis.

Dixit tamen, interrogatus, quod nuper, scilicet dominica proxime præterita, sero, apud Sanctum Sulpicium Lesatensem, in quodam hospicio,<sup>2</sup> cum quidam clericus qui moratur Tholosæ ad Portariam diceret quod interfuerat sermoni cuiusdam Fratris Minoris, qui prædicaverat in ecclesia Sancti Sulpitii, et diceret quod bene loquutus<sup>3</sup> fuerat idem frater, ipse  
 226<sup>r</sup> testis | qui erat ibi præsens, audivit quod Arnaldus de Montiret, de Sancto Licerio Coseranensis,<sup>4</sup> respondit dicto clerico interrogans ipsum clericum si credebatur quod Deus venisset sive fuisset de se, et ibidem ipse Arnaldus dixit quod non fuerat nec venerat de se, sed de farina frumenti.

Item dixit idem Arnaldus quod fuerunt septem, quorum sex elegerant et præfecerant septimum.

Item audivit ipse testis dictum Arnaldum dicentem quod beatus Petrus nunquam fuit apostolicatus, sive papa Romæ, et quod fides non venerat de Roma.

Requisitus<sup>5</sup> de personis astantibus, dixit hospita<sup>6</sup> et filia eius, quarum nomina nescit, et Petrus, filius hospita prædictæ, et Guillelmus,

<sup>1</sup> added in margin.

<sup>2</sup> h- added.

<sup>3</sup> second -u- added.

<sup>4</sup> -ensis added.

<sup>5</sup> -tus perhaps added.

<sup>6</sup> h- perhaps added.

<sup>5</sup> Ariège, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Saint-Girons; Font-Réaulx, p. 1040.

<sup>6</sup> City, diocese, Ariège; Font-Réaulx, p. 917.

<sup>7</sup> The reference is perhaps to the apostles: seven, not twelve.

*The deposition of William le Gran of Toulouse, who stated that he had heard it said by Arnold of Montiret of Saint-Lizier that God was not present and did not come personally, but in wheat flour, that there had been seven gods, of whom six had chosen the seventh and made him their sovereign, and that St Peter had never | been Pope of Rome.* 225<sup>v</sup>

*From the Sunday after St Matthew 1275.*

In the same year and on the same day as above,<sup>1</sup> William le Gran, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that he knew nothing about the matter of heresy or Waldensianism, concerning himself or others.

He said however, questioned, that recently, that is on the Sunday immediately past, late, at Saint-Sulpice of Lèzat,<sup>2</sup> in a certain inn, when a certain cleric who lives at Toulouse by the Portaria<sup>3</sup> said that he had been present at the sermon of a certain Friar Minor, who had preached in the church of Saint-Sulpice, and said that the same brother had spoken well, the same witness, | who was present there, heard that Arnold of *Montiret*,<sup>4</sup> 226<sup>r</sup> of Saint-Lizier<sup>5</sup> in the Couserans<sup>6</sup> region, answered the said cleric, asking the same cleric if he believed that God had come or had been present personally, and the same Arnold said there that he had not been present nor had come personally, but in wheat flour.

Item, the same Arnold said that there were seven, of whom six had chosen the seventh and set him above them.<sup>7</sup>

Item, the same witness heard the said Arnold saying that the Blessed Peter was never the pontiff or the pope of Rome, and that the faith had not come from Rome.

Asked about the people standing by, he said the innkeeper and her daughter, whose names he does not know, and Peter, the son of the

<sup>1</sup> January 19 1275 (1276), if the first deposition of Peter of Sella is the point of reference.

<sup>2</sup> Saint-Sulpice-sur-Lèze, Haute-Garonne, cant. Carbonne, arrond. Muret; Font-Réaulx, p. 1049.

<sup>3</sup> Open area named after a Roman gate on its northern edge, now the Place du Capitole, by the entrance to the rue du Taur; Mundy, *Society*, no. 13 on map opposite p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Not identified. There is a Montirat in Aude and another in Tarn; DTF.

226<sup>v</sup> clericus qui moratur ad Portariam, et alius clericus qui moratur ad Bur-  
guetum Novum, nomine Guillelmus similiter, et quidam | alius de Porta-  
ria, cuius nomen nescit, et ipse testis, et Iohannes Botoner, socius ipsius  
testis.

aforesaid innkeeper, and William, the cleric who lives by the Portaria, and another cleric who lives at the New Bourg,<sup>8</sup> likewise called William, and some | other man from the Portaria, whose name he does not know, 226<sup>v</sup> and the same witness, and John Botoner, the same witness's companion.

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<sup>8</sup> The New Bourg (Bourget-Nau) has to be set against the background of the older division of Toulouse into City (the southern and larger part) and Bourg (northern part and smaller). Located in the north-west of the City, between Saint Peter of the Kitchens (Saint-Pierre-des-Cuisines) in the City and Daurade in the Bourg, the New Bourg had been built up only around 1200, hence its name 'New'. City, Bourg and New Bourg are described in Mundy, *Society*, pp. 22–26; see there the map opposite p. 7, and Sibly, *William of Puylaurens*, map 2, p. xi.

*Deposition de Rodrigue Ferrandi, prestre, qui dit que voulant donner de leau benite apres la messe, il entendit que Pons des Monts de Lagarde disoit que l'eau benite ne seruoit de rien aux morts, ny aux vivans, et que rien ne profitoit aux morts que leurs bonnes oeuvres.*

227<sup>r</sup> *Du lundy avant la feste de Sa|int Marc 1276.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo sexto, die lunæ ante festum Sancti Marchi Evangelistæ, Rodoricus Ferrandi, sacerdos oriundus de Portugalia, de villa ...,<sup>1</sup> testis iuratus et interrogatus, dixit se nihil scire de facto hæresis vel Valdesiæ, de se nec de aliis.

Dixit tamen quod quadam die, cum ipse<sup>2</sup> testis,<sup>3</sup> post celebrationem missæ, vellet aspergere aquam benedictam per cimiterium villæ de Garda, ubi tunc morabatur, dixit Pontius de Montibus de Garda quod aqua benedicta non proficiebat in aliquo nec vivis nec defunctis.

227<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod unus asinus posset portare omnia quæ fuerunt<sup>4</sup> pro defunctis, et quod nihil | proficit defuncto, et cum ipse testis interrogaret eundem Pontium de Montibus si missæ et orationes proficiunt defuncto, dixit quod non, quidquid fit pro eo; hoc excepto, quod dum vivit homo quod facit propria manu pro se proficit ei, et si dimittit filio suo vel alii mandatum vel legatum quod faciat aliquid pro anima sua *cum* defunctus fuerit, prodest ei valde modicum vel quasi nihil, et si aliquis facit pro defuncto sine mandato ipsius, nihil prodest defuncto.

Requisitus<sup>5</sup> de loco, dixit quod apud Gardam in cimiterio, et in via quando revertebantur de cimiterio ad ecclesiam.

Requisitus de tempore, dixit quod inter festum Sancti Nicholay et festum Natalis Domini proxime præterita.

228<sup>r</sup> Requisitus<sup>6</sup> de personis, dixit quod ipse testis et multi alii de villa Garde, quos ipse testis nondum<sup>7</sup> cognoscebat, quia de novo | venerat in villam. Audivit tamen postea Pontium Mathæi de Garda [dicentem]

<sup>1</sup> *space left for name.*

<sup>2</sup> *originally ipso.*

<sup>3</sup> *originally teste.*

<sup>4</sup> *second -u- perhaps altered from -i-.*

<sup>5</sup> *-tus added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-itus perhaps added.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms non dum.*

*The deposition of Rodrigo Fernandes, priest, who said that, when he wanted to distribute holy water after mass, he heard Pons of Mons of Lagarde saying that holy water did no good to the dead, or to the living, and that nothing was any benefit to the dead except their good works.*

*From the Monday before the feast of St | Mark 1276.*

227<sup>r</sup>

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-six, on the Monday before the feast of St Mark the Evangelist,<sup>1</sup> Rodrigo Fernandes, priest, a native of Portugal, of the town / village ...,<sup>2</sup> sworn in as a witness and questioned, said that he knew nothing about the matter of heresy or Waldensianism, concerning himself or others.

He said however that one day, when the same witness, after celebrating mass, wanted to sprinkle holy water over the cemetery of the village of Lagarde, where he was then living, Pons of Mons of Lagarde said that holy water was of no benefit at all either to the living or the dead.

Item, he said that one donkey could carry everything that was any good for the dead, and that nothing | helps a dead person. And when the same witness asked the same Pons of Mons if masses and prayers help a dead person, he said no, whatever is done for him; with this exception, that while a man lives, what he does with his own hand for himself helps him, and if he leaves to his son or someone else an instruction or legacy, that he is to do something for his soul when he is dead, it benefits him a very little or almost nothing; and if anyone does anything for a dead person without his instruction, it is of no benefit to the dead. 227<sup>v</sup>

Asked about the place, he said at Lagarde in the cemetery, and in the road when they were returning from the cemetery to the church.

Asked about the time, he said between the feast of St Nicholas and the feast of Christmas immediately past.

Asked about people, he said the same witness and many others from the village of Lagarde, whom the same witness did not yet know, because he had newly | arrived in the village. He did however afterwards hear Pons 228<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> April 20 1276.

<sup>2</sup> A space, with four dots, has been left here for the name, which was either not in the original or illegible there.

quod ipse interfuerat et audiverat prædictum Pontium de Montibus proferentem verba prædicta.

Item audivit alia vice prædictum Pontium de Montibus dicentem quod semper deinceps esset contra Ecclesiam toto tempore vitæ suæ. Et hoc dixit motus et turbatus quia sacerdos et clerici ecclesiæ de Garda volebant sepelire sine candelis quandam puellam,<sup>1</sup> neptem<sup>2</sup> ipsius Pontii de Montibus<sup>3</sup> defunctam.

Requisitus<sup>4</sup> de loco, dixit quod apud Gardam, ante portam domus capellani.<sup>5</sup>

Requisitus<sup>6</sup> de tempore, dixit quod inter Natale et Carniprivium proxime præterita.

Requisitus<sup>7</sup> de personis,<sup>8</sup> dixit quod ipse testis, et *Bernardus* de Meretino, capellanus de Avalhos, magister *Petrus* de Ruppe, *Guiraldus*<sup>9</sup> Columbi, sacerdos, | et *Raymundus* de Guibello, clericus, et quidam alii quorum nomina ignorat.

Hæc<sup>10</sup> deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore. Testes: frater *Raymundus* Aimerici, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>2</sup> *n- written over deletion of two or three letters.*

<sup>3</sup> *de deleted.*

<sup>4</sup> *-tus probably added.*

<sup>5</sup> *originally capellanus.*

<sup>6</sup> *-tus probably added.*

<sup>7</sup> *-tus probably added.*

<sup>8</sup> *ips deleted.*

<sup>9</sup> *que deleted.*

<sup>10</sup> *originally hoc.*

Matthew of Lagarde [saying] that he had been present and had heard the aforesaid Pons of Mons speaking the aforesaid words.

Item, on another occasion he heard the aforesaid Pons of Mons saying that he would always henceforth be against the Church for the whole of his lifetime. And he said this moved and disturbed because the priest and clergy of the church of Lagarde wished to bury a certain girl, a dead niece of the same Pons of Mons, without candles.

Asked about the place, he said at Lagarde, in front of the door of the chaplain's house.

Asked about the time, he said between Christmas and Lent immediately past.

Asked about people, he said the same witness, and Bernard of *Meretin*,<sup>3</sup> chaplain of Nailloux,<sup>4</sup> master Peter of Laroque,<sup>5</sup> Guiraud Colomb, priest, | and Raymond of Gibel,<sup>6</sup> cleric, and some others whose names 228<sup>v</sup> he does not know.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Raymond Aimery,<sup>7</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

<sup>4</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 720, where the Latin form is *Analhosiūm*.

<sup>5</sup> Common place-name; *DTF*.

<sup>6</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Nailloux, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 939.

<sup>7</sup> Raymond Aimery of Toulouse was twice prior of Pamiers (1287–1289, 1291–1294), prior of Montauban (1299–1300), and designated a convent visitor (1294); *ACP*, pp. 387–388; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 125, 181–182.



*Deposition de Raymond Basterii de Caramanno, contenant que Lombarde, sa femme, niece de Nicholaua, dame de Belleval proche Caraman, et de Navarra, soeurs, gardoit un mourceau de pain benit par les heretiques, que*  
 229<sup>r</sup> *ladite Navarra luy recommanda de conserver lors qu'elle fut | conduite aux prisons de l'inquisition de Carcassonne, disant que a l'heure de la mort ce pain feroit autant de profit que si les heretiques mesme si trouvoient.*

*12° kalendas Iunii audit an.*

Anno quo supra, duodecimo kalendas Iunii, Raymundus Basserii de Caramanno, sponte veniens, non citatus, testis iuratus et interrogatus ut<sup>1</sup> supra,<sup>2</sup> dixit se nihil scire de facto hæresis vel Valdesiæ; hoc excepto, quod apud Belaval' prope Caramannum, ubi ipse testis morabatur cum domina  
 229<sup>v</sup> Nicholaua, domina ipsius loci, vidit in quadam caxia dominæ | Navarræ, sororis dictæ Nicholauæ, quoddam frustrum panis siccum et consumptum præ nimia<sup>3</sup> antiquitate, et quæsivit a Lombarda,<sup>4</sup> uxore ipsius testis, nepte dictarum dominarum, cuiusmodi panis erat. Quæ respondit ipsi testi quod nesciebat, sed quod domina Navarra mandaverat ei de muro per Nicholauam prædictam, quod dictum panem bene reservaret sibi sicut oculum capitis, vel mitteret eidem Navarræ.

Dixit insuper quod postmodum, cum prædicta Navarra esset educta de muro, venit ad domum prædictam de Belaval, ubi fuit morata, et audivit ipse testis dici a supradicta Lombarda, uxore ipsius testis, quod dicta Navarra repetiit dictum panem ab eadem Lombarda, et quod dixit

<sup>1</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>2</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms prænimia.*

<sup>4</sup> *originally Alombarda.*

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<sup>5</sup> Peter Fogasset of Caraman, questioned January 26 1244, claimed that Navarra's family had contacts with heretics: Willelma, widow of the knight Gaillard of Belaval, her daughters Albara, Navarra and Nicoleva, and her son Peter of Belaval. The mother and daughters were feeding two heretics who were on their estate; D23, f. 341<sup>r-v</sup>. Navarra's mother Willelma (Willelma, uxor quondam Galliardi de bellavalle militis de Caramanh), questioned February 26 1244, admitted adoring heretics in a house maintained publicly by the deacon Isarn Capel at Caraman around 1204, and she had been a believer from that date. Her dying sister Longa had been hereticated around 1234; D23, 344<sup>v</sup>–346<sup>v</sup>.

*The deposition of Raymond Bassier of Caraman, containing that Lombarda, his wife, the niece of Nichola, lady of Belaval near Caraman, and of Navarra, sisters, kept a piece of bread blessed by the heretics, which the said Navarra told her to keep while she was | taken to the prisons of the Carcassonne Inquisition,<sup>1</sup> saying that at the hour of her death this bread would be of as much benefit as if the heretics themselves were there.* 229<sup>r</sup>

*12 days before the kalends of June in the said year.*

In the same year as above, twelve days before the kalends of June,<sup>2</sup> Raymond Bassier of Caraman, appearing spontaneously, not summoned, sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that he knew nothing about the matter of heresy or Waldensianism; except for this, that at Belaval<sup>3</sup> near Caraman, where the same witness was living with lady Nichola,<sup>4</sup> the lady of the same place, he saw in a certain casket belonging to lady | Navarra, the sister of the said Nichola, a certain piece of bread, 229<sup>v</sup> dry and worn from great age; and he asked Lombarda, the same witness's wife, the niece of the said ladies, what kind of bread it was.<sup>5</sup> She answered the same witness that she did not know, but that lady Navarra had instructed her from prison, through the aforesaid Nichola, to be sure to keep the said bread with her, like the eye in her head, or to send it to the same Navarra.

She said moreover that afterwards, when the aforesaid Navarra had been released from prison, she came to the aforesaid house of Belaval, where she lived; and the same witness heard it said by the aforesaid Lombarda, the same witness's wife, that the said Navarra asked for the said bread back from the same Lombarda, and that she told the same

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<sup>1</sup> Carcassonne is not mentioned in the deposition.

<sup>2</sup> May 21 [1276].

<sup>3</sup> We have not identified a Belaval close to Caraman. Probably too distant from Caraman is the Belaval in Haute-Garonne, comm. Lavalette, cant. Verfeil, arrond. Toulouse; DTF.

<sup>4</sup> See next note.

ipsi Lombardæ quod tantum valebat ille panis ei, qui vellet habere bonos  
homines in obitu et non posset habere eos, et quod erat panis bonorum  
230<sup>r</sup> hominum, quod | ipse testis intellexit hæreticorum.

Interrogatus quare non statim venit ad inquisitorem<sup>1</sup> cum audivisset  
prædicta, et non revelavit ea inquisitoribus, dixit quod quia Raymundus  
Guillelmi de Francartvilla, domicellus, dixit ei quod non oportebat eum  
venire, quia ipse Raymundus Guillelmi insinuaret fratri *Bernardo* de  
Villela, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et valeret tantumdem; et hoc dicit frater  
*Bernardus* de Villela.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco et fratre Hugone<sup>2</sup> de  
Boniolis, inquisitoribus. Testes: frater *Bernardus* de Villela, et frater Ray-  
mundus Aymerici, Ordinis Prædicatorum, *Petrus* de Vaqueriis, et ego,  
Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -em added.

<sup>2</sup> -ne added.

Lombarda that that bread was as good to a person, who wanted to have the good men at his death and could not have them, and that it was the bread of the good men, which | the same witness understood ‘of the 230<sup>r</sup> heretics.’

Asked why he did not come at once to the inquisitor when he heard the aforesaid, and did not reveal it to the inquisitors, he said because Raymond William of Francarville,<sup>6</sup> squire, told him that it was not necessary for him to come, because the same Raymond William would mention it to brother Bernard of Villèle, of the Order of Preachers, and that would be as good; and brother Bernard of Villèle says this.

These things he attested before brother Pons of Parnac and brother Hugh of Bouniols,<sup>7</sup> inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Bernard of Villèle,<sup>8</sup> and brother Raymond Aimery, of the Order of Preachers, Peter of Vacquiers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>6</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 932.

<sup>7</sup> See pp. 48, 51 and 60 above.

<sup>8</sup> Not found in *ACP*.

230<sup>v</sup> *Inquisition faite par le prieur des Freres Precheurs de Mont|tauban, député par letres de Pons de Parnaco, inquisiteur, y inserées, contre Bernard de Solhac de Montauban, qui avoit soutenu que le corps de Jesus Christ n'estoit point dans l'hostie consacrée, et qu'il faloit se confesser a Dieu, et non aux prestres, que les Sarrasins et les Juifs avoient meilleure foy que les Chrestiens, que l'usure n'estoit point un crime, et autres choses contenues dans les depositions des tesmoins.*

*Du dimanche apres la Saint Denis 1276.*

231<sup>r</sup> Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo sexto, dominica post festum Sancti Dionisii, frater Pontius de Parnaco, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, inquisitor hæreticæ pravitatis in regno Franciæ autoritate apostolica deputatus, misit fratri Raymundo, priori Fratrum Prædicatorum Montis Albani, suas litteras sigillatas sigillo proprio, in hæc verba:

‘Frater Pontius de Parnaco, Ordinis Prædicatorum, inquisitor hæreticæ pravitatis in regno Franciæ autoritate apostolica deputatus, venerabili patri fratri Raymundo, priori Fratrum Prædicatorum Montis Albani, vel eius locumtenenti, salutem et sinceram in<sup>1</sup> Domino charitatem. Ad audientiam nostram, fama deferente, pervenit quod Bernardus de Solhaco de Monte Albano | quædam verba gravia contra fidem evomit orthodoxam.

Dixit enim, ut relatum est nobis,<sup>2</sup> quod hostia consecrata quam sacerdos elevat<sup>3</sup> in altari non est verum corpus Christi, sed pasta decocta.

<sup>1</sup> hæc verba *deleted*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* vobis.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* elavat.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Lot, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Gourdon, but there are others of this name; *DTF*.

*The inquisition conducted by the prior of the Brothers Preacher of | Mont- 230<sup>v</sup>  
tauban, deputed by letters from Pons of Parnac, inquisitor, included here,  
against Bernard of Souillac of Montauban, who had maintained that the  
body of Jesus Christ was not present in the consecrated host, and that one  
ought to confess to God, and not to priests, that Sarracens and Jews had a  
better faith than Christians, that usury was not a crime, and other things  
contained in the depositions of the witnesses.*

*From the Sunday after St Denis 1276.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-six, on 231<sup>r</sup>  
the Sunday after the feast of St Denis,<sup>1</sup> brother Pons of Parnac, of the  
Order of Brothers Preacher, inquisitor of heretical depravity in the realm  
of France, appointed by apostolic authority, sent to brother Raymond,  
prior of the Brothers Preacher of Montauban,<sup>2</sup> his letters, sealed with his  
own seal, in these words:

‘Brother Pons of Parnac, of the Order of Preachers, inquisitor of hereti-  
cal depravity in the realm of France, appointed by apostolic authority, to  
the venerable father brother Raymond, prior of the Brothers Preacher of  
Montauban, or to his lieutenant, greetings and sincere charity in the Lord.  
It has come to our hearing, borne by report, that Bernard of Souillac<sup>3</sup> of  
Montauban | has spewed forth certain grave words against the orthodox 231<sup>v</sup>  
faith.

For he has said, as we are informed, that the consecrated host which  
the priest elevates on the altar is not the true body of Christ, but cooked  
dough.

<sup>1</sup> October 11 1276.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond of Caubous entered the Dominican Order in 1258, was sub-  
prior of Toulouse, then prior of Montauban three times (1268–1271, 1276–1278,  
1286–1290), of Bergerac (1272–1276), of Toulouse (1278–1282) and of Brives  
(1284–1285). He was designated a convent visitor (1283) and preacher-general  
in 1284, and he was companion of the provincial prior at the general chapter  
(1289). He died in 1290, and was described by Gui as a man of great devotion  
and prayer, rightly called in his province ‘the good prior’. *ACP*, pp. 177, 269, 329;  
Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 52, 123–124, 166, 172; ‘Mort des prieurs’, no. 161, p. 193.  
Douais, *Documents*, p. clxxviii. Caubous: Haute-Garonne, cant. Bagnères-de-  
Luchon, arrond. Saint-Gaudens; Font-Réaulx, p. 906.

Item dixit quod si esset corpus Christi, et esset ita magnum sicut unus magnus mons, commestum fuisset iam diu est et consumtum.

Item dixit quod sacerdotes portantes corpus Christi per carrerias faciunt gentes errare, sive fatuizare,<sup>1</sup> quia non est corpus Christi, sed pasta decocta.

Item dixit quod ipse habet in archa sua satis de tali pasta.

Item dixit quod usura non est peccatum.

Item dixit quod confessio facta sacerdoti non est ad salutem.

Item dixit quod soli Deo confitendum est, et non sacerdoti.

232<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod ipse non confitetur peccata sua sacerdoti, sed soli Deo.

Item dixit quod meliorem fidem habent Sarraceni et Iudæi quam Christiani.

Et hæc dixit, ut intelleximus, in præsentia plurimorum: videlicet Martini Bergonho, Iuliani Angevini,<sup>2</sup> Stephani Britonis, Iohannis Board, Iohannis Moret, Perrini Bergonho, Iohannis Bergonho, Bernardi Guinardi, et Guillelmi Colom. Quæ omnia dictus Bernardus super his a nobis vocatus, et per iuramentum præstitum requisitus in præsentia nostra negavit in iudicio constitutus. Quare discretioni vestræ, commissa nobis<sup>3</sup> auctoritate, mandamus quatinus omnes prædictos, et alios si qui vobis fuerint nominati, super dictis articulis iuratos et sigillatim ac secreto interrogatos vice nostra, diligenter examinare curetis, habentes semper vobiscum 232<sup>v</sup> duos de fratribus vestri | conventus, in quorum præsentia dictam examinationem faciatis, et notarium publicum qui dicta ipsorum in scriptis<sup>4</sup> redigat coram vobis; de tempore, loco, et personis circumstantiis, prout vobis videbitur,<sup>5</sup> singulos requirentes, compellentes eos si necesse fuerit per censuram ecclesiasticam veritati testimonium præhibere,<sup>6</sup> depositiones ipsorum, sub sigillo vestro inclusas, nobis per latorem præsentium remittentes. Datum Tholosæ dominica post festum Sancti Dionisii.

Anno quo supra, dictus vero prior super dicto negotio processit auctoritate prædictarum litterarum, et remisit processum præfato inquisitori prout inferius proxime continetur.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* fatinzare.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Augenini.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* vobis, *altered from* nobis.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* inscriptis.

<sup>5</sup> *v-* *altered*.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* prohibere.

Item, he has said that if it were the body of Christ, and were as large as a large mountain, it would have been eaten and consumed long ago.

Item, he has said that priests carrying the body of Christ through the streets make people err, or behave like fools, because it is not the body of Christ, but cooked dough.

Item, he has said that he has plenty of such dough in his chest.

Item, he has said that usury is not a sin.

Item, he has said that confession made to a priest does not aid salvation.

Item, he has said that one should confess to God alone, and not to a priest.

Item, he has said that he does not confess his sins to a priest, but only 232<sup>r</sup> to God.

Item, he has said that Sarracens and Jews have a better faith than Christians.

And he has said these things, as we understand, in the presence of many people: namely of Martin Bergonho (the Burgundian), Julian [the] Angevin, Stephen Brito, John Board, John Moret, Perrin Bergonho (the Burgundian), John Bergonho (the Burgundian), Bernard Guinard, and William Colom. The said Bernard, summoned by us on these matters, and, questioned on the oath he had taken, brought into court, has denied all these things in our presence. Therefore, by the authority entrusted to us we instruct your discretion to take the trouble to examine carefully all the aforesaid, and any others who may have been named to you, questioning them on oath, and singly and in private concerning the said articles, in our place, having always with you two of the brothers of your | 232<sup>v</sup> convent, in whose presence you may make the said examination, and a public notary to draw up what they say in writing before you; asking each about the time, place and people present, as seems fit to you, compelling them to testify to the truth by ecclesiastical censure if necessary, returning their depositions, enclosed under your seal, to us by the bearer of the present letters. Given at Toulouse, on the Sunday after the feast of St Denis.'

In the same year as above, the said prior did indeed proceed in the said business, on the authority of the aforesaid letter, and sent the process back to the aforementioned inquisitor as is contained immediately below.



Item, anno quo supra, die martis post festum Sancti Dionisii, nos, frater  
 233<sup>r</sup> Raymun[dus], prior Fratrum Prædicatorum villæ Montis Albani, recipi-  
 mus litteras fratris Pontii de Parnaco, inquisitoris criminis hæresis in hæc  
 verba:

‘Frater Pontius de Parnaco, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, inquisitor  
 hæreticæ pravitatis in regno Franciæ autoritate apostolica deputatus,  
 venerabili patri fratri Raymundo, priori Fratrum Prædicatorum Montis  
 Albani, vel eius locumtenenti, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem.  
 Ad audientiam nostram, fama deferente, pervenit quod Bernardus de  
 Solhaco de Monte Albano quædam verba gravia quatenus fidem evomit  
 orthodoxam.

Dixit enim, ut relatum est nobis, quod hostia consecrata quam sacer-  
 dos elevat in altari non est verum corpus Christi, sed pasta decocta.

Item dixit quod si esset corpus Christi, et esset ita magnum sicut  
 magnus mons, connestum fuisset iam diu est et consumptum.

233<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod sacerdotes portantes corpus Christi per carrerias<sup>1</sup>  
 faciunt gentes errare<sup>2</sup> seu fatuizare,<sup>3</sup> quia non est ibi corpus Christi sed  
 pasta decocta.

Item dixit quod ipse habet in archa sua satis de tali pasta.

Item dixit quod usura non peccatum est.

Item dixit quod confessio facta sacerdoti non est ad salutem.

Item dixit quod soli Deo confitendum est, et non sacerdoti.

Item dixit quod ipse non confitetur peccata sua sacerdoti, sed soli Deo.

Item dixit quod meliorem fidem habent Sarraceni et Iudæi quam  
 Christiani.

Et hoc dixit, ut intelleximus, in præsentia plurium: videlicet Martini  
 Bergonho, Iuliani Angevini, Stephani Britonis, Iohannis Board, Iohan-  
 nis Moret, Perrini Bergonho, Iohannis Bergonho, Bernardi Guimardi,  
 234<sup>r</sup> et | Guillelmi<sup>4</sup> Colom. Quæ omnia dictus Bernardus super his a nobis  
 vocatus, et per iuramentum præstitum requisitus in præsentia nostra<sup>5</sup>  
 negavit in iudicio constitutus. Quare discretioni vestræ, nobis commissa  
 autoritate, mandamus quatinus omnes prædictos, et alios si qui vobis  
 fuerint nominati, super dictis articulis iuratos et sigillatim ac secreto  
 interrogatos vice nostra, diligenter examinare curetis, habentes semper

<sup>1</sup> *originally* carcerias.

<sup>2</sup> *added, superscript.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms* famizare.

<sup>4</sup> -i- altered from -l-.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* vestra.

Item, in the same year as above, on the Tuesday after the feast of St Denis,<sup>4</sup> we, brother Raymond, | prior of the Brothers Preacher of the town of Montauban, received the letter of brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor of the crime of heresy, in these words: 233<sup>r</sup>

‘Brother Pons of Parnac, of the Order of Brothers Preacher, inquisitor of heretical depravity in the realm of France, appointed by apostolic authority, to the venerable father brother Raymond, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Montauban, or to his lieutenant, greetings and sincere charity in the Lord. It has come to our hearing, borne by report, that Bernard of Souillac of Montauban has spewed forth certain grave words concerning the orthodox faith.

For he has said, as we are informed, that the consecrated host which the priest elevates on the altar is not the true body of Christ, but cooked dough.

Item, he has said that if it were the body of Christ, and were as large as a large mountain, it would have been eaten and consumed long ago.

Item, he has said that priests carrying the body of Christ through the streets make people err, or behave like fools, because there is no body of Christ there, but cooked dough. 233<sup>v</sup>

Item, he has said that he has plenty of such dough in his chest.

Item, he has said that usury is not a sin.

Item, he has said that confession made to a priest does not aid salvation.

Item, he has said that one should confess to God alone, and not to a priest.

Item, he has said that he does not confess his sins to a priest, but only to God.

Item, he has said that Sarracens and Jews have a better faith than Christians.

And he has said this, as we understand, in the presence of several people: namely of Martin Bergonho (the Burgundian), Julian [the] Angevin, Stephen Brito, John Board, John Moret, Perrin Bergonho (the Burgundian), John Bergonho (the Burgundian), Bernard Guinard, and | William Colom. The said Bernard, summoned by us on these matters, and, questioned on the oath he had taken, brought into court, has denied all these things in our presence. Therefore, by the authority entrusted to us we instruct your discretion to take the trouble to examine carefully all the aforesaid, and any others who may have been named to you, questioning 234<sup>r</sup>

<sup>4</sup> October 13 [1276].

vobiscum duos de fratribus vestri conventus, in quorum [præsentia] dictam examinationem faciatis, et notarium publicum qui dicta ipsorum in scriptis<sup>1</sup> redigat coram vobis,<sup>2</sup> de tempore, loco, et personis circumstantiis prout vobis<sup>3</sup> videbitur [singulos] requirentes, compellentes eos, si necesse fuerit, per censuram ecclesiasticam, veritati testimonium præhibere,<sup>4</sup> depositiones ipsorum, sub sigillo vestro<sup>5</sup> inclusas, nobis per latorem præsentium remittentes. Datum Tholosæ domi|nica post festum Sancti Dionisii, anno quo supra.<sup>7</sup>

Quarum autoritate litterarum nos, prior prædictus, vice præfati inquisitoris, processimus, prout inferius proxime sequitur, ad examinationem testium subscriptorum, adhibitis et assistentibus nobis fratribus conventus nostri Vitali de Antone et Vitali Geraldii.

Iulianus Angevini, testis iuratus et interrogatus super dictis articulis, dixit se vidisse et audivisse Bernardum de Solhaco de Monte Albano dicentem quod Deus non villificaret se tantum quod poneret se in manibus tam falsæ gentis sicut sunt presbiteri et capellani.

Item dixit quod hostia quam sacerdos portat per villam et tenet in manibus non est verum corpus Christi sed pasta decocta, et ‘Vos estis fatui qui creditis; et dicam | vobis rationem: quare, quoniam si illud esset corpus Christi, et esset ita magnum sicut unus mons magnus, comestum fuisset iam diu est, et consumptum.’

Item dixit quod sacerdotes portantes illud per carrerias faciebant gentes fatuizare et badare.

Item dixit quod audivit dictum Bernardum dicentem quod ipse non confitebatur peccata sua sacerdoti, sed quæ, interrogatus<sup>6</sup> a sacerdotibus, negabat omnia; sed confitebatur peccata sua Deo Patri. Et addidit idem Bernardus, dicens quod meliorem legem habent Sarraceni et Iudæi quam nos Christiani, quia ipsi non confitentur alicui sed Deo soli, nec comedit unus alium, sicut capellani nos comedunt.

Item audivit dictum Bernardum dicentem quod usura non est peccatum, sed bonum lucrum et pulcrum.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* inscriptis.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* nobis.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* nobis.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* prohibere.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* nostro.

<sup>6</sup> -tus *added*.

them on oath, and singly and in private concerning the said articles, in our place, having always with you two of the brothers of your convent, in whose presence you may make the said examination, and a public notary to draw up what they say in writing before you; asking each about the time, place and people present, as seems fit to you, compelling them to testify to the truth by ecclesiastical censure if necessary, returning their depositions, enclosed under your seal, to us by the bearer of the present letters. Given at Toulouse, on the Sunday | after the feast of St Denis, in 234<sup>v</sup> the same year as above.<sup>5</sup>

By authority of this letter we, the aforesaid prior, in the place of the aforementioned inquisitor, proceeded, as follows immediately below, to the examination of the witnesses named below, calling to us and having as assistants the brothers of our convent Vital of Caubon<sup>5</sup> and Vital Gerald.<sup>6</sup>

Julian [the] Angevin, sworn in as a witness and questioned about the said articles, said that he had seen and heard Bernard of Souillac of Montauban saying that God would not cheapen himself so much as to put himself in the hands of such false people as priests and chaplains are. Item, he said that the host which the priest carries through the town and holds in his hands is not the true body of Christ but cooked dough, and, 'You are fools who believe this; and I shall tell | you the truth: for this 235<sup>r</sup> reason, that if that were the body of Christ, and were as large as a large mountain, it would have been eaten and consumed long ago.

Item, he said that priests carrying that through the streets made people into fools and gaping idiots.

Item, he said that he heard the said Bernard saying that he did not confess his sins to the priest but that, asked by priests, he denied everything; but he confessed his sins to God the Father. And the same Bernard added more, saying that the Saracens and Jews have a better law than we Christians, because they do not confess to anyone except to God alone, nor does one eat another, as the chaplains eat us.

Item, he heard the said Bernard saying that usury is not a sin, but a good and beautiful profit.

<sup>5</sup> Not found in *ACP*. Caubon: Lot-et-Garonne, comm. Caubon-Saint-Sauveur, cant. Seyches, arrond. Marmande; Font-Réaulx, p. 449.

<sup>6</sup> Designated convent visitor and preacher-general (1277); *ACP*, p. 214.

235<sup>v</sup> Requisitus de tempore, | dixit quod in Quadragesima proxime transacta, inter festum Ramis Palmarum et festum Paschæ, fuerunt quinque anni elapsi.

Requisitus<sup>1</sup> de loco, dixit quod in vinea dicti *Bernardi* quam habet *Alesquiers*, quæ confrontatur ex una parte cum via del Castanher prope Montem Albanum; et videtur sibi quod dicta vinea sit in feudo regio.

Requisitus<sup>2</sup> de personis, dixit quod Stephanus Buro, Guillelmus Lococ, Iohannes Board, Iohannes Lococ, Guillelmus<sup>3</sup> Martini et alii de quibus non recolit.

Hæc deposuit coram supradicto priore in præsentia dictorum fratrum Vitalis<sup>4</sup> de Cantone et Vitalis Gerdali, Athonis de Sancto Victore, notarii inquisitoris, et mei, Raymundi de Silva, notarii publici Montis Albani, qui hæc scripsi apud Montem Albanum in domo Fratrum Prædicatorum.

236<sup>r</sup> Stephanus Brito, testis iuratus et interrogatus super prædictis articulis, dixit se vidisse et audisse Bernardum de Solhaco de Monte Albano dicentem et interrogantem ipsum testem si credebatur quod, 'Illa hostia quam prætendunt sacerdotes esse<sup>5</sup> corpus Christi, non credatis quod sit corpus Christi, sed pasta decocta'; et quod de tali pane ipse comedebat quotidie<sup>6</sup> et satis habebat de tali in archa sua; et quod non crederet ipse testis quod in manibus talium proditorum tales sunt sacerdotes permetteret se Deus contere;<sup>7</sup> et quod dicti proditores faciebant de hostia tria frustra<sup>8</sup> ad hoc ut possent a gentibus peccuniam extorquere.

Item [dixit] dictus *Bernardus* de Solhaco quod si prædicta hostia esset ita magna sicut Mons de Vinhar, potuissent eam diu est comedisse.

236<sup>v</sup> Item dixit dictus *Bernardus* quod ipse non confitebatur peccata sua sacerdoti, sed potius celat ea sacerdoti. Sed confitetur ea Deo Patri in domo suo<sup>9</sup> contra parietem, quia melius sciebat ipse *Bernardus* peccata quæ<sup>10</sup> faciebat sacerdos.

Item dixit idem *Bernardus* de se ipso quod non erat Christianus, sed digeti sunt Christiani sive leprosi.

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> -us added.

<sup>3</sup> ms Guillelmi.

<sup>4</sup> -is added.

<sup>5</sup> ms est.

<sup>6</sup> originally cotidie.

<sup>7</sup> added.

<sup>8</sup> first -r- probably altered.

<sup>9</sup> ms sic.

<sup>10</sup> ms quam.

Asked about the time, | he said it was five years ago last Lent, between 235<sup>v</sup>  
the feast of Palm Sunday and the feast of Easter.

Asked about the place, he said in the said Bernard's vineyard, which he has at *Lesquiers*, which fronts, on one side, the Castagné<sup>7</sup> road near Montauban; and it seems to him that the said vineyard is in the royal fee.

Asked about people, he said Stephen Buro, William Lococ, John Board, John Lococ, William Martin, and others whom he does not recall.

These things he attested before the aforesaid prior, in the presence of the said brothers Vital of Caubon and Vital Gerald, of Atho of Saint-Victor, notary of the Inquisition, and of me, Raymond of La Selve, public notary of Montauban, who wrote these things at Montauban in the house of the Brothers Preacher.

Stephen Brito, sworn in as a witness and questioned about the aforesaid 236<sup>r</sup>  
articles, said that he had seen and heard Bernard of Souillac of Montauban saying and asking the same witness if he believed that, 'That host which the priests claim is the body of Christ, don't believe that it is the body of Christ, but cooked dough'; and that he ate such bread every day, and had enough of such in his chest; and that the same witness should not believe that God would allow himself to be crushed in the hands of such traitors as priests are; and that the said traitors habitually made three crumbs out of the host in order to extort money from the people.

Item, the said Bernard of Souillac [said] that if the aforesaid host was as large as the Mount of *Vinhar*<sup>8</sup> they could have eaten it long ago.

Item, the said Bernard said that he did not confess his sins to the | 236<sup>v</sup>  
priest, but rather hides them from the priest. But he confesses them to God the Father in his house against the wall, because the same Bernard knew too well the sins which the priest committed.

Item, the same Bernard said of himself that he was not a Christian, but that Christians are *digeti*<sup>9</sup> or lepers.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Albefeuille-Lagarde, cant. and arrond. Castelsarrasin, which is 8 km from Montauban; *DTF*.

<sup>8</sup> Not identified; see Vignar- in *DTF*.

<sup>9</sup> A Provençal word for 'leprous'. Levy, *Petit dictionnaire Provençal-Français*, p. 108, provides 'degeit' and 'diget'.

Requisitus de tempore, dixit quod circa Pascha proxime præteritum fuerunt sex anni ut credit.

Interrogatus de loco, dixit quod in vinea quod dictus *Bernardus* [habet] in termino Alesquiers prope Montem Albanum in feudo regis, quæ tenet se ad viam del Castanher.

Requisitus de personis, dixit quod Iulianus Angevini, Guillelmus Locot, Iohannes Boart, Iohannes Salomo, Guillelmus Martini, Iohannes Lococ, et non plures.

237<sup>r</sup> Hæc deposuit coram dicto priore, in præsentia dictorum fratrum Vitalis de Cautone et Vitalis Guiraldi, Athonis de Sancto Victore, | notarii inquisitoris, et mei, Raymundi de Silva, publici notarii Montis Albani, qui hæc scripsi apud Montem Albanum in domo Fratrum Prædicatorum.

Iohannes Moret, testis iuratus et interrogatus, dixit se vidisse et audisse quod dum ipse testis, et Bernardus Fradiu, et alius de quo non recolit, conducti a *Bernardo* de Solhaco de Monte Albano, operantes in vinea sua, audirent pulsari campanam ad elevationem corporis Christi, et propter hoc supplicarent Deo iunctis manibus, dictus Bernardus de Solhaco dixit eis si credebant quod hostia quam elevabat sacerdos esset corpus Christi, et adiecit, dicens, 'Non<sup>1</sup> credatis quod sit corpus Christi; quia si esset,<sup>2</sup> [et]<sup>3</sup> esset ita magnum sicut Mons de Vinhar, diu est quod fuisset comestum. Et si creditis fatui estis, et ego nolo<sup>4</sup> esse particeps illius credulitatis vestræ.'

237<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod audivit eum dicentem quod si illud esset corpus Christi, de frumento quod ipse habebat in archa sua possent fieri plura talia corpora Christi.

Interrogatus de tempore, dixit quod in mense Madii proxime venturo<sup>5</sup> erunt duodecim anni, sicut credit.

Requisitus de loco, dixit quod in vinea quam dictus *Bernardus* habebat in loco vocato Cavartio.

Interrogatus de personis, dixit ut supramet<sup>6</sup> dixerat.

Item dixit se audivisse dictum Bernardum dicentem quod si haberet quid mutuaret seu acomodaret ad usuras, quod ipse mutuaret et accomodaret, et quod non crederet inde pecare.

<sup>1</sup> *written over end of longer deletion.*

<sup>2</sup> *quia si esset superscript.*

<sup>3</sup> *wrongly deleted.*

<sup>4</sup> *ms volo.*

<sup>5</sup> *-ro added over deletion.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms supra met.*

Asked about the time, he said that it was six years ago, as he believes, around last Easter.

Asked about the place, he said in the vineyard which the said Bernard has at the boundary of *Lesquiers* near Montauban, in the king's fee, which borders on the road to Castagné.

Asked about people, he said Julian Angevin, William Locot, John Boart, John Salomon, William Martin, John Lococ, and no others.

These things he attested before the said prior, in the presence of the said brothers Vital of Caubon and Vital Guiraud, of Atho of Saint-Victor, | 237<sup>r</sup> notary of the inquisitor, and of me, Raymond of La Selve, public notary of Montauban, who wrote these things at Montauban in the house of Brothers Preacher.

John Moret, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said that he had seen and heard that when the same witness, and Bernard Fradui, and another whom he does not recall, hired by Bernard of Souillac of Montauban, working in his vineyard, heard the bell struck at the elevation of the body of Christ, and for this reason prayed to God with joined hands, the said Bernard of Souillac asked them if they believed that the host which the priest elevated was the body of Christ, and added more, saying, 'Don't believe that it is the body of Christ, because if it were, and were as large as the Mount of *Vinhar*, it would have been eaten long ago. And if you believe it you are fools, and I don't want any share in that credulity of yours.'

Item, he said that he heard him saying that if that were the body of | 237<sup>v</sup> Christ, from the wheat which he had in his chest could be made many such bodies of Christ.

Asked about the time, he said that it will be twelve years ago next May, as he believes.

Asked about the place, he said in the vineyard which the said Bernard had in the place called *Cavartium*.<sup>10</sup>

Asked about people, he said that as he had said just above.

Item, he said that he had heard the said Bernard saying that if he had anything to loan or lend at usury, he would loan or lend it, and would not believe that he sinned in doing so.

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<sup>10</sup> Not identified.



Requisitus de loco, dixit quod apud Montem Albanum in carreria publica iuxta domum Guillelmi de Rippa.

Requisitus de personis, dixit quod erant ibi multæ, sed non recolit.<sup>1</sup>

Interrogatus de tempore, dixit quod undecim anni sunt elapsi vel circa.

238<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod quandocumque ipse vel alii loquebantur de fide in aliis locis de quibus non recolit, dictus *Bernardus* erat eis contrarius.

Hæc deposuit coram dicto priore in præsentia dictorum fratrum Vitalis de Caubon et Vitalis Geraldî, Athonis de Sancto Victore, notarii inquisitoris, et mei, Raymundi de Silvo, publici notarii Montis Albani, qui hæc scripsi apud Montem Albanum in domo Fratrum Prædicatorum.

Guillelmus Colom, testis iuratus et interrogatus, dixit se vidisse et audisse Bernardum de Solhaco dicentem quod si cognovisset carnaliter omnes mulieres de tota una villa, ipse non confiteretur se ipsum.

Interrogatus de tempore, dixit quod sunt quindecim anni vel amplius.

238<sup>v</sup> Interrogatus de loco, dixit quod apud Fargas prope Montem Albanum, in vinea Galhardi | Grimoardi.

Requisitus de personis, dixit quod Geraldus Colom, frater eius, qui moratur apud Narbonam, et Vitalis Cosender de Monte Albano, et non plures.

Et hæc deposuit coram dicto priore, et dictis fratribus, et dictis notariis. Actum fuit ut supra.

Bernardus Cunhardus, testis iuratus et interrogatus super dictis articulis, dixit se vidisse et audisse *Bernardum* de Solhaco de Monte Albano dicentem quod si ipse congregasset tantam pecuniam de fenore quantum habet<sup>2</sup> ditior<sup>3</sup> homo de mundo, ipse non confiteretur clerico nec capellano, nec alicui religioso, quia non crederet pecasse; nec peccatum aliquod confiteretur clerico nec capellano, sed soli Deo.

Interrogatus de loco, dixit quod in itinere de Calgueriis iuxta vineam<sup>4</sup> Bartholomæi de Pozara.

<sup>1</sup> gap left here.

<sup>2</sup> added.

<sup>3</sup> added.

<sup>4</sup> d deleted: the next word is partly written over it.

<sup>14</sup> Not identified.

<sup>15</sup> Not identified. See Poujarras: Haute-Garonne, comm. Malvezie, cant. Barbazan, arrond. Saint-Gaudens; DTF.

Asked about the place, he said at Montauban in the public highway next to the house of William of Rive.<sup>11</sup>

Asked about people, he said that there were many there, but he does not recall [who].

Asked about the time, he said that eleven years have passed or thereabouts.

Item, he said that whenever he or others spoke about the faith in other places which he does not recall, the said Bernard was against them. 238<sup>r</sup>

These things he attested before the said prior in the presence of the said brothers Vital of Caubon and Vital Gerald, of Atho of Saint-Victor, notary of the inquisitor, and of me, Raymond of La Selve, public notary of Montauban, who wrote these things at Montauban in the house of the Brothers Preacher.

William Colom, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said that he had seen and heard Bernard of Souillac saying that if he had known carnally all the women of a whole town, he would not confess himself.

Asked about the time, he said that this was fifteen years ago or more.

Asked about the place, he said at Fargues [Les Farguettes]<sup>12</sup> near Montauban, in the vineyard of Gailhard | Grimoard. 238<sup>v</sup>

Asked about people, he said Gerald Colom, his brother, who lives at Narbonne,<sup>13</sup> and Vital Cosender of Montauban, and no others.

And these things he attested before the said prior, and the said brothers, and the said notaries. It was done as above.

Bernard Cunhard, sworn in as a witness and questioned about the said articles, said that he had seen and heard Bernard of Souillac of Montauban saying that if he had gathered together as much money, by lending at interest, as the richest man in the world has, he would not confess to cleric or chaplain, nor to any religious, because he would not believe that he had sinned; nor would he confess any sin to cleric or chaplain, but only to God.

Asked about the place, he said in the road to *Calguerie*,<sup>14</sup> next to the vineyard of Bartholomew of *Pozara*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Not identified; see the many places of this name in *DTF*.

<sup>12</sup> Although there are many places called Fargues, none is right by Montauban, whereas Les Farguettes is only 3 km away, Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Montauban, ch.-lieu dép; *DTF*.

<sup>13</sup> Aude, ch.-lieu arrond., city and archdiocese; Font-Réaulx, p. 993.

239<sup>r</sup> Requisitus de tempore, dixit quod quindecim anni vel circa | sunt elapsi.

De personis: ipsi ambo, et nullus alius.

Hæc deposuit coram dicto priore, et dictis fratribus, et dictis notariis.

Martinus Bergonho, testis iuratus et requisitus super dictis articulis, dixit se vidisse et audisse *Bernardum* de Solhaco de Monte Albano dicentem quod plus vellet interfecisse omnes Lemovicenses et Bergundos omnes quam tres Iudæos;<sup>1</sup> et addidit quod probiores homines erant Sarraceni et Iudæi quam ipsi.

Item dixit prædictus *Bernardus* ipsi testi et quibusdam aliis, videlicet Iohanni Bergonho, et Galterio Bergonho, et aliis de quibus non recolit, quod illud quod sacerdos portat ad comunicandum infirmos, non est corpus Dei, sed pasta cocta, et quod de tali pasta habebat ipse satis<sup>2</sup> in archa sua, et quod ipsi fatuizabant, et erant minus | quam bestię, si credebant quod esset corpus Dei.

Requisitus de loco, dixit quod in vinea Bernardi de Solhaco apud Lesquiers, quæ tenet se ad viam al Castanher.

Requisitus de tempore, dixit quod circa Pascha proxime venturum erunt sex anni, sicut credit.

Interrogatus de personis: prædictus Iohannes et Galterius Bergonho, et Perrinus Bergunho.

Hæc deposuit in præsentia dicti prioris et dictorum fratrum et notariorum.

Iohannes Board, testis iuratus et interrogatus super dictis articulis, dixit se vidisse et audisse *Bernardum* de Solhaco de Monte Albano dicentem quod ipse habebat bladum in archa sua de quo faceret ita pulcrum corpus Dei sicut erat illud quod capellanus portabat per carrerias.

Requisitus de loco, dixit quod in vinea quam dictus *Bernardus* habet apud Lesquiers quæ | tenet se cum via publica del Castanher.

De tempore dixit quod fuerunt quinque anni in Paschate<sup>3</sup> proxime transacto.

De personis dixit quod Iulianus Angevini, Stephanus Brito,<sup>4</sup> Guillelmus lo Coc, Iohannes Lococ, Iohannes Salomonis, Guillelmus Martini.

<sup>1</sup> -æ- probably altered from -e-.

<sup>2</sup> altered, probably from testis.

<sup>3</sup> -e perhaps altered from -o.

<sup>4</sup> -o written over deletion.

Asked about the time, he said that fifteen years thereabouts | have 239<sup>r</sup>  
passed.

About people: the two of them, and no-one else.

These things he attested before the said prior, and the said brothers,  
and the said notaries.

Martin Bergonho, sworn in as a witness and questioned about the said articles, said that he had seen and heard Bernard of Souillac of Montauban saying that he would rather have killed all the people of Limoges<sup>16</sup> and all the Burgundians than three Jews; and he added that the Saracens and Jews were more worthy people than they were.

Item, the aforesaid Bernard said to the same witness and certain others, namely John Bergonho, and Gautier Bergonho, and others whom he does not recall, that that thing that the priest carries to administer the sacrament to the sick, is not the body of God, but cooked dough, and that he had plenty of such dough in his chest, and that they were fools, and were less | than beasts, if they believed that it was the body of 239<sup>v</sup>  
God.

Asked about the place, he said in Bernard of Souillac's vineyard at *Lesquiers*, which borders on the road to Castagné.

Asked about the time, he said that it will be six years around next Easter, as he believes.

Asked about people: the aforesaid John and Gautier Bergonho, and Perrin Bergonho.

These things he attested in the presence of the said prior and of the said brothers and notaries.

John Board, sworn in as a witness and questioned on the said articles, said that he had seen and heard Bernard of Souillac of Montauban saying that he had corn in his chest from which he could make as beautiful a body of God as that which the chaplain carried through the streets.

Asked about the place, he said in the vineyard which the said Bernard has at *Lesquiers*, which | borders on the public road to Castagné. 240<sup>r</sup>

About the time, he said that it was five years ago last Easter.

About people, he said Julian Angevin, Stephen Brito, William lo Coc, John Lococ, John Salomon, William Martin.

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<sup>16</sup> Haute-Vienne, ch.-lieu région; Font-Réaulx, p. 963.

Hæc deposuit in præsentia dicti prioris, et dictorum fratrum, et dictorum notariorum.

Perrinus Bergonho, testis iuratus et interrogatus, dixit se vidisse et audisse *Bernardum* de Solhaco de Monte Albano dicentem sibi et sociis suis, 'Non credatis quod illa hostia quam prætendit sacerdos, et portat per carrerias sit<sup>1</sup> corpus Christi.'

Item dixit idem *Bernardus* quod ipse habebat satis de talibus in archa sua.

240<sup>v</sup> Item dixit idem *Bernardus* quod plus crederet pecasse si interficeret unum Iudæum vel Sarracenum quam si interfecisset | omnes Bergundos vel omnes Angevos.

Requisitus de loco, dixit quod in vinea quam habet dictus *Bernardus* Alesquiers, quæ tenet se ad viam al Castanher.

De tempore dixit quod fuerunt sex anni circa Pascha proxime transactum.

De personis dixit quod Martinus de Bergonho, Iohannes Bergonho, Gauterius Bergunho, et alii de quibus non recolit.

Hæc deposuit in præsentia dicti prioris, et dictorum fratrum, et dictorum notariorum.

Iohannes Bergonho, testis iuratus et interrogatus, dixit quod ipse vidit et audivit *Bernardum* de Solhaco de Monte Albano dicentem ipsi testi et sociis suis, 'Vos gens stulte, creditis omnibus verbis quæ dicunt vobis clerici et capellani?'

241<sup>r</sup> Item audivit eum dicentem quod plus crederet peccasse si interfecisset unum Iudæum et Sarracenum | quam si<sup>2</sup> interfecisset omnes Bergundos et Aufugenas.

De loco dixit quod in vinea quam dictus *Bernardus* habet<sup>3</sup> apud Lesquiers, quæ tenet se cum al Castanher.

De tempore dixit quod non recolit, sed credit quod in Quadragesima proxime transacta fuerunt quinque anni.

De personis, dixit quod Perrinus de Bergonho, Martinus Bergonho, Gauterius Bergonho: de aliis non recolit.

Et hæc deposuit coram dicto priore, et dictis fratribus, et dictis notariis.

<sup>1</sup> altered, perhaps from sicut.

<sup>2</sup> superscript.

<sup>3</sup> altered from longer word.

These things he attested in the presence of the said prior, and of the said brothers, and of the said notaries.

Perrin Bergonho, sworn in as a witness and, questioned, said that he had seen and heard Bernard of Souillac of Montauban saying to him and his companions, 'Don't believe that that host which the priest holds up and carries through the streets is the body of Christ.'

Item, the same Bernard said that he had plenty of such in his chest.

Item, the same Bernard said that he would think that he had sinned more if he were to kill one Jew or Saracen than if he had killed | all the 240<sup>v</sup> Burgundians or all the people of Anjou.<sup>17</sup>

Asked about the place, he said in the vineyard which the said Bernard has at *Lesquiers*, which borders on the road to Castagné.

About the time, he said that it was six years ago, around last Easter.

About people, he said Martin of Bergonho, John Bergonho, Gautier Bergonho, and others whom he does not recall.

These things he attested in the presence of the said prior, and of the said brothers, and of the said notaries.

John Bergonho, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said that he saw and heard Bernard of Souillac of Montauban saying to the same witness and his companions, 'You foolish people, you believe all the words which the clerics and chaplains say to you.'

Item, he heard him saying that he would believe that he had sinned more if he had killed one Jew and Saracen | than if he had killed all the 241<sup>r</sup> Burgundians and Angevins.

About the place, he said in the vineyard which the said Bernard has at *Lesquiers*, which borders on [the road to] Castagné.

About the time, he said that he does not recall, but he believes that it was five years ago last Lent.

About people, he said Perrin of Bergonho, Martin Bergonho, Gautier Bergonho: about others he does not recall.

And these things he attested before the said prior, and the said brothers, and the said notaries.

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<sup>17</sup> Former county, largely corresponding to the *département* of Maine-et-Loire.

*Deposition de Raymonde Ferreria de Iulio qui declara avoir ouy dire a frere*  
 241<sup>v</sup> *Guillaume, de l'Ordre de Sainte Croix, qu'il | y avoit trois Dieux.*

*De l'année 1276.*

Anno et die prædictis, Raymunda Ferreria de Iulio, citata veniens, testis iurata et requisita *etcetera*, dixit se nihil scire de facto hæresis vel Valdesiæ.

Interrogata super aliis, dixit quod audivit pluries fratrem Guillelmum et fratrem Simonem, Ordinis Sanctæ Crucis, vocantem Sanctum Iohannem Baptistam 'Sanctum Iohannem lo Tinhos'.

Requisita de loco, dixit quod apud Iulium ad planum, et non alibi.

Requisita de tempore, dixit quod a festo Sancti Iohannis Baptistæ citra, sed non a Natali<sup>1</sup> citra: aliter non recordatur.

242<sup>r</sup> Requisita de personis, dixit quod Ray|munda Rama, et Guillelma Aceria, et ipsa testis—sed de pluribus non recordatur.

Item dixit quod apud Iulium ipsa testis, existens in orto suo, audivit contententes fratrem *Guillelmum* et fratrem Simonem prædictos contra Fabrum de Iulio et Bartholomæum, fratres, quia transibant per quandam semitam quam videbantur vitare dicti fratres de Sancta Cruce. Et vidit ipsa testis quod frater Guillelmus voluit dictum Bartholomæum prostrare de roncino quem equitabat, et audivit ipsa testis quod dictus frater *Guillelmus* dixit eis ibi quod erant tres dii.

Requisita<sup>2</sup> de loco ubi ipsi erant, dixit quod apud Iulium in loco vocato Cantalop, in prato Fabri de Iulio.

Requisita<sup>3</sup> de personis, dixit quod erant ibi prædicti fratres Sanctæ Crucis et dicti Faber et Bartholomæus, et alii de quibus non recolit; et  
 242<sup>v</sup> ipsa testis in horto<sup>4</sup> | de longe.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* anatali.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Requisitus.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* Requisitus.

<sup>4</sup> *h-* added.

<sup>3</sup> See 2<sup>v</sup> n. 4 above.

<sup>4</sup> Not identified. *Cantalop* of the *ms* presented here was the very common place-name Canteloup; *DTF*.

*The deposition of Raymonda Ferrier of Jul, who stated that she had heard brother William, of the Order of the Holy Cross, saying that there | were 241<sup>v</sup> three gods.*

*From the year 1276.*

In the aforesaid year and on the aforesaid day,<sup>1</sup> Raymonda Ferrier of Jul,<sup>2</sup> appearing having been summoned, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that she knew nothing about the matter of heresy or Waldensianism.

Asked about others, she said that she often heard brother William and brother Simon, of the Order of the Holy Cross,<sup>3</sup> calling St John the Baptist ‘St John the Wormy’.

Asked about the place, she said at Jul in the open fields, and not elsewhere.

Asked about the time, she said since the feast of St John the Baptist, but not since Christmas: otherwise she does not remember.

Asked about people, she said | Raymonda Rama, and Guillelma Acier, 242<sup>r</sup> and the same witness—but she does not remember about any more.

Item, she said that at Jul the same witness, being in her garden, heard the aforesaid brother William and brother Simon fighting against Faure of Jul and Bartholomew, brothers, because they were going by a certain path which the said brothers of the Holy Cross appeared to avoid. And the same witness saw that brother William wished to pull the said Bartholomew off the pony he was riding, and the same witness heard that the said brother William said to them there that there were three gods.

Asked about the place where they were, she said at Jul in the place called ‘Canteloup’,<sup>4</sup> in the meadow of Faure of Jul.

Asked about people, she said that the aforesaid brothers of the Holy Cross were there, and the said Faure and Bartholomew, and others whom she does not recall; and the same witness in her garden | in the distance. 242<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The point of reference is completely lost. It may be the deposition of Raymond Bassier of Caraman (228<sup>v</sup>; May 21 [1276])—but a date after October 11 1276 seems more likely.

<sup>2</sup> Tarn, comm. Pratviel, cant. Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, arrond. Castres; DTF.



Requisita<sup>1</sup> si audivit dictos fratres vel eorum alterum dicentem vel dicentes aliqua alia verba contra fidem, vel in blasphemiam vel sanctorum, dixit quod non.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore, in præsentia fratris Hugonis Amelii, prioris Tholosæ, fratris *Petri* Arsivi, et fratris *Petri* Raymundi, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -ta *added*.

Asked if she heard the said brothers or either of them saying any other words against the faith, or in blasphemy, or of the saints, she said no.

These things she attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor, in the presence of brother Hugh Amiel, prior of Toulouse,<sup>5</sup> brother Peter Arsieu, and brother Peter Raymond,<sup>6</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>5</sup> See pp. 49–50 above.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Peter Raymond Barnahon; see above, 34<sup>v</sup> n. 3.

*Deposition de Lambret, domicellus, qui declara que Pierre Guillaume de Rocovilla avoient enlevé une chasuble et la croix d'un crucifix de l'église de*  
 243<sup>r</sup> *Pampelonne, et quil avoit baillé le tout | a Aymeric de Castronovo pour le rendre au senechal.*

*De l'année 1276.*

Anno et die quibus<sup>1</sup> proximis, Bernardus de Lambres, domicellus, de Lambres prope Andevilla, testis iuratus et requisitus super rapina ecclesiæ Pampalonensis, si scit quod aliquis, habens pœnitentiam propter hæresim, caperet aliquid inde, dixit quod Petrus Guillelmi de Rocovilla in ecclesia de Pampalona comisit ipsi testi, tanquam socio, quandam capam missalem de purpura<sup>2</sup> plicatam, portandam ad hospitium, et cum esset  
 243<sup>v</sup> in hospitio, et videret eam explicatam, et cognosceret quod esset capa | missalis,<sup>3</sup> dimisit eam sibi, et noluit esse particeps alius.

Item dixit se audivisse dici quod habuerat coronam crucifixi prædictæ ecclesiæ.

Post hæc audivit dici quod dictus Petrus Guillelmi redderat dictam capam Aymerico de Castronovo, ut ipsam restitueret senescalpo qui repe-tebat, et recipiebat restitutionem rapinæ prædictæ.

Requisitus<sup>4</sup> si vidit dictum Petrum Guillelmi capientem dictam capam de altari vel circa, dixit quod non, sed vidit eum exeuntem cancellos cum ea.

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<sup>1</sup> *superscript.*

<sup>2</sup> *pur- written over deletion.*

<sup>3</sup> *originally missales.*

<sup>4</sup> *-tus added.*

*The deposition of Lambret, squire, who stated that [he and] Peter William of Roqueville had taken a chasuble and the cross of a crucifix from the church of Pampelonne, and that he had handed it all over | to Aimery of Castelnau 243<sup>r</sup> to return it to the seneschal.*

*From the year 1276.*

In the same year and on the same day as immediately above,<sup>1</sup> Bernard of Lambès,<sup>2</sup> squire, from Lambès near Endoufielle,<sup>3</sup> sworn in as a witness and questioned about the robbery of the church of Pampelonne,<sup>4</sup> if he knows that anyone, having a penance for heresy, took anything from it, said that Peter William of Roqueville, in the church of Pampelonne, gave to the same witness, as to his companion, a certain mass cape of purple, folded, to be carried to [his] lodging, and when they were in the lodging, and he saw it unfolded, and recognised that it was a mass | cape, he left it 243<sup>v</sup> to him and wanted no more part in it.

Item, he said that he had heard it said that he had had the crown of the crucifix of the aforesaid church.

After this he heard it said that the said Peter William had given up the said cape to Aimery of Castelnau, for him to restore it to the seneschal who was asking for it back, and received the restitution of the aforesaid robbery.

Asked if he saw the said Peter William taking the said cape from the altar or near it, he said no, but he saw him going out of the chancel with it.

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<sup>1</sup> See the deposition immediately above. Again, a date after October 11 1276 seems most probable.

<sup>2</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Empeaux, cant. Saint-Lys, arrond. Muret; Font-Réaulx, p. 780.

<sup>3</sup> Gers, cant. l'Isle-Jourdain, arrond. Auch; Font-Réaulx, p. 780.

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Albi; *DTF*.

*Deposition de Bernard Escolani, qui declara avoir veu Pierre Escolani de Saint Paul de Cadaiovis en Lombardie dans Pavie, et plusieurs autres*  
 244<sup>r</sup> *hereti|ques y nommés, et entre autres Bernard Oliba, eveque des hereti-ques de Tholouse, et Pons Oliba son frere, qui luy avoient enseigné<sup>1</sup> l'oraison dominicale avec les additions qu'ils y faisoient, et la confession qu'ils apel-  
 lent service.*

*18° kalendas Madii 1277.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo septimo, decimo  
 octavo kalendas Maii, Bernardus Escolani, filius spurius Petri Escolani  
 244<sup>v</sup> de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, et Astrugæ | de Pradis, testis iuratus<sup>2</sup> et  
 requisitus<sup>3</sup> etcetera, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos nec adoravit eos,  
 nec dedit<sup>4</sup> eis aliquid nec misit, nec spem nec fidem in illo habuit, nec  
 aliquid scit de facto hæresis de se nec de aliis, vivis aut defunctis.

Dixit tamen quod ivit ad Petrum Escolani, patrem suum, fugitivum  
 propter hæresim, in Lombardiam, de quo sunt quinque anni vel circa.  
 Et duxit eundem testem<sup>5</sup> in Lombardiam Petrus Maurelli, qui fuit de  
 Auriaco, sicut ipse testis audivit dici, pro quadraginta solidis Turonen-  
 sibus, quos solvit ei dictus pater eius.

Et dixit quod pater suus moratur in Lombardia in civitate Papiæ, et  
 ipse testis fuit cum eo in Lombardia per quatuor annos vel circa.

245<sup>r</sup> Anno quo supra, sexto nonas Maii, prædictus testis | adhuc<sup>6</sup> deten-  
 tus in carcere, testis iuratus et requisitus<sup>7</sup> ut supra, adiecit confessioni  
 suæ, dicens quod apud Papiam in Lombardia vidit Raymundum Lom-  
 bardi et Guillelmum Pontii, hæreticos, in carreria<sup>8</sup> dicta de Bruelh, in  
 quodam sotulo; ad quos duxit<sup>9</sup> eum supradictus pater ipsius testis. Et

<sup>1</sup> le Pater noster *deleted*.

<sup>2</sup> -s *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -us *altered, possibly from -a*.

<sup>4</sup> *ms credit*.

<sup>5</sup> -em *added*.

<sup>6</sup> *ms ad huc*.

<sup>7</sup> -us *added*.

<sup>8</sup> *ms carceria*.

<sup>9</sup> *ms dixit*.

*The deposition of Bernard Escolau, who stated that he had seen Peter Escolau of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux in Lombardy in Pavia, and several other heretics | named here, and among others Bernard Oliba, bishop of the heretics of Toulouse, and Pons Oliba his brother, who had taught him the Lord's prayer with the additions which they made to it, and the confession which they call 'service'.* 244<sup>r</sup>

*18 days before the kalends of May 1277.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven, eighteen days before the kalends of May,<sup>1</sup> Bernard Escolau, illegitimate son of Peter Escolau of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, and of Astruga | of Prades, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that he never saw heretics or adored them, nor did he give or send them anything, nor did he have any hope or faith in that matter, nor does he know anything about the matter of heresy, about himself or about others, living or dead. 244<sup>v</sup>

He said however that he went to Peter Escolau, his father, a fugitive for heresy, in Lombardy, about five years ago or thereabouts. And Peter Maurel, who was from Auriac, as the same witness heard said, took the same witness into Lombardy for forty shillings Tournois, which his said father paid him.

And he said that his father lives in Lombardy in the city of Pavia, and the same witness was with him in Lombardy for four years or thereabouts.

In the same year as above, six days before the nones of May,<sup>2</sup> the aforesaid witness, | still held in prison, took an oath as a witness and, questioned as above, added to his confession, saying that at Pavia in Lombardy he saw Raymond Lombard and William Pons,<sup>3</sup> heretics, in the street called 'Bruehl', in a certain cellar; to whom the same witness's aforesaid father 245<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> April 14 1277.

<sup>2</sup> May 2 [1277].

<sup>3</sup> During the enquiries launched in 1233 into the brothers Bernard and Guiraud Oth of Niort (Guiraud, *Histoire*, ii.24–34), one witness said 'he saw Bernard Oth keeping the heretic William Pons in his house' (vidit B[ernardum] Otonem tenentem in domo sua G[uillelmum] Pontii hæreticum); D21, f. 46<sup>v</sup>. This is a possible rather than probable identification, because the name was not rare.

ibi idem pater et ipse testis, instructus a dictis hæreticis, adoravit ipsos hæreticos, flexis genibus et palmis in terra positus, dicendo, 'Benedicite': et prædicto Guillelmo, maiore hæretico, respondente, 'Deus vos benedicat'. Et audiverunt ibi verba et monitiones eorum.

Hæreticos prædictos credidit esse bonos homines, et veraces, et amicos Dei, et quod haberent bonam fidem; et fuit in illa credentia per octo dies vel circa. Et sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

245<sup>v</sup> Postea rediit de Lombardia solus, et venit usque ad villam de Apela prope Podium | Laurentium. Et non fuit ausus venire ad castrum Sancti Pauli, ubi morabatur prædicta mater ipsius testis, sed dimisit ibi triginta quinque Turonenses grossos Guiberto de Apela, dandos prædictæ matri suæ ex parte prædicti patris ipsius testis. Et ipse testis statim rediit versus Montempessullanum, ubi stetit per mensem; deinde rediit in Lombardiam ad patrem suum prædictum, cum quo fuit moratus postea per tres annos, in Papia et in aliis locis. Sed in illo temporis spacio non vidit hæreticos; vidit tamen apud Terconam Berengarium de Monte Acuto, et apud Papiam Petrum de Buevilla, et Raymundum Paperii de Avinione, Bertrandum de Castris, Guillelmum Belissen de Fanoiovis, et Raymundum filium eius, et Petrum Marvadam de Caturcino, quem vidit in Alexandria, 246<sup>r</sup> sed nullum istorum vidit cum hæreticis.

Item dixit quod modo est annus elapsus quod ipse testis dimisit patrem suum, male pacatus de ipso, et rediit ad terram istam.

Item, interrogatus, quod nullam litteram vel nunciationem aportavit cuiquam de Lombardia.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ in iudicio coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore, in præsentia et testimonio fratris Peregrini, et fratris Petri Feltrerii, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et mei Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, prædictus testis, eductus de carcere, testis iuratus constitutus in iudicio, dixit quod ipse testis fuit in castro Sermimonis, et fuit ibi moratus cum hæreticis per duos menses vel circa. Et vidit ibi

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<sup>6</sup> Peregrine the Toulousan, of Saint-Gaudens, was prior of Orthez (1262–1264), designated to prepare the foundation of the new convent at Pamiers (1269, 1270) and to be a convent visitor (1273), and assigned to the convent of Marseilles. He died in Toulouse in 1286. *ACP*, pp. 142, 152, 177, 254; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 118, 180; 'Mort des prieurs', no. 122, pp. 184–185.

<sup>7</sup> Assigned to study natural philosophy in Narbonne (1273); *ACP*, p. 175.

<sup>8</sup> Date unclear: 1277, after May 2.

took him. And there the same father and the same witness, instructed by the said heretics, adored the same heretics, genflecting and putting their palms on the ground, saying, 'Bless us': and the aforesaid William, the senior heretic, answered, 'May God bless you.' And they heard there their words and admonitions.

He believed that the aforesaid heretics were good men, and truthful, and friends of God, and that they had a good faith; and he was in that belief for eight days or thereabouts. And this was four years ago or thereabouts.

Afterwards he returned from Lombardy alone, and came to the village of Appelle<sup>4</sup> near Puylaurens. | And he did not dare to come to the stronghold of Saint-Paul, where the same witness's aforesaid mother was living, but he left thirty-five groats Tournois there with Guibert of Appelle, to give to his aforesaid mother on behalf of the same witness's aforesaid father. And the same witness immediately returned to Montpellier, where he stayed for a month; then he returned to Lombardy to his aforesaid father, with whom he afterwards lived for three years, in Pavia and in other places. But in that period of time he did not see heretics; however he saw at *Tercona*<sup>5</sup> Berengar of Montégut, and at Pavia Peter of Beauville, and Raymond Papier of Avignonet, Bertrand of Castres, William Belissen of Fanjeaux, and Raymond his son, and Peter Marvada of Quercy, whom he saw in Alessandria; but he did not see any of these | with heretics. 245<sup>v</sup> 246<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that a year has now passed since the same witness left his father, displeased with him, and returned to this land.

Item, questioned, that he carried no letter or message to anyone in Lombardy.

These things he attested at Toulouse, in court, before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor, in the presence and testimony of brother Peregrine,<sup>6</sup> and brother Peter Feltrier,<sup>7</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above,<sup>8</sup> the aforesaid witness, brought out from prison, sworn in as a witness, brought into court, said that the same witness was in the castle of Sirmione, and had stayed there with the heretics

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, cant. Puylaurens, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 776.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Tortona, in Piedmont.



246<sup>v</sup> commorantes Bernardum Oliba, episcopum hæreticorum Tholosæ, et Pontium | Oliba, fratrem eius, et Bernardum Barbam, Raymundum de Bautoa,<sup>1</sup> et Bernardum Prim, omnes hæreticos de partibus istis, commorantes simul in eodem hospitio. Et ipse testis morabatur cum eis, et multotiens adoravit eos, audivit verba et monitiones eorum, multotiens comedit cum eis ad eandem mensam, et de pane benedicto ab eis. Et docuerunt ipsum testem pater noster, et orationem quam faciunt, et evangelium Sancti Iohannis,—‘In principio erat verbum’—et confessionem quam apellant ‘servitium’. Quæ omnia dixit secundum quod ipsi docuerunt eum, dicendo in oratione pater noster, ‘panem nostrum super-substantialem’,<sup>2</sup> et addendo in fine evangelii Sancti Iohannis verba quæ hæretici addunt.

247<sup>r</sup> Dixit etiam, interrogatus, quod tunc temporis credebat ipse testis hæreticos esse bonos homines, et veraces, et habere bonam | fidem, et posse salvari per eos; et fuit in illa credentia per quatuor menses vel circa. Et sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit apud Sermimonem multos alios hæreticos de Lombardia, commorantes ibi.

Item vidit apud Sermimonem Guillelmum de Podio et Bernardum de Podio, de Sancto Martino de Landa, adorantes prædictos Bernardum Olibam et socios eius, hæreticos, et audientes verba et monitiones eorum.

Item vidit Arnaldum, compatrem Fogaceriorum, cuius cognomen nescit—et est de Tholosa—et Arnaldum de Covizano, adorantes<sup>3</sup> eosdem hæreticos, et audientes verba et monitiones eorum. Et fuit tempore supradicto.

247<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod vidit apud Papiam in Lombardia, in domo Raymundi Paperii de Avinione, fratrem Bernardum et fratrem Petrum, ordinis Sanctæ Crucis, et Pontium de Gomer|villa, et Gordonam uxorem eius; sed non vidit eos cum hæreticis.

Item dixit quod vidit Arnaldum Fogacerii et Raymundum Fogacerii, de Tholosa, apud Cuneum in Lombardia; sed non vidit eos cum hæreticis. Et interrogaverunt eum si fuerat in Sermimone, et respondit eis quod sic.

<sup>1</sup> -oa perhaps written over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> ms super substantialem; -b- altered.

<sup>3</sup> altered, perhaps from adoravit.

for two months or thereabouts. And he saw living there Bernard Oliba, the bishop of the heretics of Toulouse, and Pons | Oliba, his brother, 246<sup>v</sup> and Bernard Barba, Raymond of Vaux,<sup>9</sup> and Bernard Prim, all heretics from these parts, living together in the same lodging. And the same witness lived with them, and often adored them, heard their words and admonitions, often ate with them at the same table, and of bread blessed by them. And they taught the same witness the Our Father, and the prayer which they say, and the gospel of St John—'In the beginning was the word'—and the confession which they call 'service'. All of which he said as they taught him, saying in the prayer Our Father, 'our supersubstantial bread', and adding at the end of the gospel of St John the words which the heretics add.

He also said, questioned, that at that time the same witness believed that the heretics were good men, and truthful, and that they had a good | 247<sup>r</sup> faith, and that one could be saved through them; and he was in that belief for four months or thereabouts. And this was four years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he saw many other heretics from Lombardy at Sirmione, living there.

Item, he saw at Sirmione William of Puy and Bernard of Puy, of Saint-Martin-Lalande, adoring the aforesaid Bernard Oliba and his companions, heretics, and hearing their words and admonitions.

Item, he saw Arnold, a godfather of the Fogassiers, whose surname he does not know—and he is from Toulouse—and Arnold of Couiza, adoring the same heretics, and hearing their words and admonitions. And this was at the aforesaid time.

Item, he said that at Pavia in Lombardy, in the house of Raymond Papier of Avignonet, he saw brother Bernard and brother Peter, of the order of the Holy Cross, and Pons of | Gomerville, and Gordona his wife; 247<sup>v</sup> but he did not see them with heretics.

Item, he said that he saw Arnold Fogassier and Raymond Fogassier of Toulouse at Cuneo in Lombardy; but he did not see them with heretics. And they asked him if he had been in Sirmione, and he answered them that he had.

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<sup>9</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Revel, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1100. William Dural of Poulan had confessed seeing the heretic Raymond of Vaux to the inquisitors Stephen of Gâtine and Hugh of Bouniols, March 30, 1276; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, ii.1104.

Item quæsiverunt ab eo si viderat alios duos fratres eorum, et dixit eis quod viderat eos apud Veronam in Lombardia, sicut verum erat; sed non vidit eos cum hæreticis.

Item quæsiverunt ab eo si viderat Guillelmum Prunelli, hæreticum, et si sciebat ubi morabatur; qui respondit quod non.

248<sup>r</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore, in præsentia et testimonio fratrum Ordinis Prædicatorum *Petri Raymundi* Baranhonis, Arnaldi Iohannis, Aymerici Barravi, et | mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

Item, they asked him if he had seen their other two brothers, and he told them that he had seen them at Verona in Lombardy, as was true; but he did not see them with heretics.

Item, they asked him if he had seen William Prunel, heretic, and if he knew where he was staying; and he answered that he had not.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor, in the presence and testimony of the brothers of the Order of Preachers Peter Raymond Baranhon, Arnold John,<sup>10</sup> Aimery Barrau,<sup>11</sup> and | of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things. 248<sup>r</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Possibly either Arnold John of Cahors or Arnold John of Toulouse. The former became a Dominican in 1263, was prior of Cahors (1285–1287), Montauban (1296–1298) and Prouille (1299–1319), and was vicar of the province in 1301, dying 1319. *ACP*, pp. xxxix–xl, 158, 163, 359, 365, 378, 402, 409, 419, 423, 455, 457; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 27–29, 77, 79, 125; ‘Mort des prieurs’, no. 9, p. 159. The latter was prior of Orthez (1301–1302), and designated a visitor of convents in 1302; *ACP*, p. 474; Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 121.

<sup>11</sup> Assigned to Condom and to Alès to study arts (1272, 1273), and to Tarascon to study natural philosophy (1276), *ACP*, pp. 164, 176, 208.

*Depositions de Pierre Pictavini de Soreze, contenant qu'il avoit ouy la Predication de Raymond de Manso, Diacre des heretiques, vers lequel Guillaume de Cornelhan, Chevalier de Toelhis, l'avoit mené, et qu'ils l'avoient adoré trois fois a genoux, et qu'il avoit ouy dire que plusieurs y nommés s'estoient rendus heretiques ou les avoient adorés, et entre autres Pierre Raymond de Drulhe, Chevalier, de Soreze, | et Arnaud Raymond Gaieti, Chevalier, qui fut bruslé a Montsegur.*

*Des années 1277, 1278 et 1279.*

Anno quo supra, in crastinum Sancti Georgii, Petrus Pictavini de Soricino, senior, testis iuratus et interrogatus super facto criminis hæresis et Valdesiæ, [ut] diceret veritatem de se quam de aliis, vivis aut defunctis, dixit quod cum Arnaldus Bernardi<sup>1</sup> de Soricino infirmaretur graviter quadam vice, ipse testis vidit quod Raymundus Bernardi, frater dicti Arnaldi Bernardi, adduxit ad dictum infirmum Guillelmum Bernardi de Ayresio, hæreticum, et, ipso teste vidente, intremisit dictum hæreticum in domum in qua dictus Arnaldus Bernardi infirmabatur, scilicet iuxta portam Sarracinii.<sup>2</sup> Et audiebat tunc dici ibidem quod dictus hæreticus fuerat adductus causa curandi dictum infirmum, quia medicus erat bonus, ut dicebatur.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> quotiens vidit dictum hæreticum intrare dictam domum infirmi, dixit quod bis tantum, et qualibet vice ducebat eum prædictus frater infirmi, et ultima vice erat cum eis quidam alius, socius dicti hæretici, cuius nomen nescit.

Dixit etiam quod postquam dictus infirmus fuit curatus, ipse testis audivit eum dicentem quod dictus hæreticus, cum Deo, curaverat eum de sua infirmitate.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Bernardus.

<sup>2</sup> *second -r- altered.*

<sup>3</sup> *-tus added.*

*The depositions of Peter Pictavin of Sorèze, containing that he had heard the preaching of Raymond of Mas, deacon of the heretics, to which William of Corneilhan, knight of Las Touzeilles, had brought him, and that they had adored him three times on their knees, and that he had heard it said that many named here had become heretics or had adored them, and among others Peter Raymond of Dreuilhe, knight, of Sorèze, | and Arnold Raymond Gaiet, knight, who was burnt at Montségur.* 248<sup>v</sup>

*From the years 1277, 1278 et 1279.*

In the same year as above, on the morrow of St George,<sup>1</sup> Peter Pictavin<sup>2</sup> of Sorèze, the elder, sworn in as a witness and asked about the matter of the crime of heresy and Waldensianism, to tell the truth both about himself and about others, living or dead, said that once, when Arnold Bernard of Sorèze was seriously ill, the same witness saw that Raymond Bernard, brother of the said Arnold Bernard, brought to the said sick man William Bernard of Airoux,<sup>3</sup> heretic, and in the sight of the same witness, | introduced the said heretic into the house in which the said Arnold Bernard was ill, that is, by the Saracen Gate. And he heard it said there then that the said heretic had been brought there in order to cure the said sick man, because he was a good doctor, so it was said. 249<sup>r</sup>

Asked how many times he saw the said heretic enter the said house of the sick man, he said twice only, and on each occasion the aforesaid brother of the sick man brought him, and on the last occasion there was with them another man, the companion of the said heretic, whose name he does not know.

He also said that after the said sick man was cured, the same witness heard him saying that the said heretic, with God, had cured him of his illness.

<sup>1</sup> April 24 [1277].

<sup>2</sup> Peter's confiscated goods left many traces in the royal accounts: *Comptes royaux*, nos. 9595, 9648, 9671, 9716–9720, 11669, 11742, 11755 (i.456, 460, 462, 466, 554, 559); no. 17106 (ii.200). His wealth is discussed in the introduction above, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 857.

Interrogatus si ipse testis cognoverat dictum hæreticum antequam videret eum in dicto loco, dixit quod non, sed pluries audiverat eum  
 249<sup>v</sup> nominari<sup>1</sup> | nomine suo, et quod hæreticus erat. Audivit etiam dictum hæreticum nominari ab ipso infirmo, qui dixit ipsi testi quod hæreticus erat, et quod vocabatur Guillelmus Bernardi de Ayros.

Dixit etiam quod frater dicti infirmi prædictus eduxit ipsum hæreticum, ipso teste vidente, de domo cuiusdam mulieris de Soricino, quæ vocabatur Rixendis Baussana, quæ fuit postea combusta, cum qua dictus hæreticus hospitabatur. Et inde<sup>2</sup> adducebat eum ad dictum infirmum.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> si dictus infirmus decessit in illa infirmitate, dixit quod non, imo vixit postea per viginti annos et amplius.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> si ipse testis intravit aliqua<sup>5</sup> de dictis vicibus, cum<sup>6</sup> dicto hæretico, domum prædicti infirmi, dixit quod non.

Interrogatus si scit quid fecit dictus hæreticus supradicto infirmo, dixit  
 250<sup>r</sup> quod | nescit, nisi quod curavit eum ab infirmitate prædicta, sicut ipse testis audivit postea ab ipso infirmo.

Interrogatus<sup>7</sup> de tempore quo prædicta fuerunt, dixit quod quadraginta anni sunt elapsi, sicut credit, vel circa.

Interrogatus de personis, dixit se non recordari.

Interrogatus si ipse testis vidit postea<sup>8</sup> dictum hæreticum nisi sicut supra dixit, respondit quod non; nec locutus fuit cum eodem—nec tunc, nec ante, nec post.

Dixit etiam quod quadam vice, quasi in crepusculo noctis, ipse testis veniebat cum equo suo, quem duxerat ad aquam, et redibat versus domum suam apud Soricinum, et obviavit cuidam homini, nomine Pontio Ramfre, postea defuncto, et duobus aliis hominibus qui cum illo ibant: quos ipse testis non cognovit. Et cum ipse testis præteriret, ita etiam<sup>9</sup>  
 250<sup>v</sup> quod non salutabat eos, dictus Pon|tius sequutus fuit ipsum testem, et dixit ei, ‘Domine,<sup>10</sup> velletis videre istos homines in nocte ista?’ Et ipse testis respondit, ‘Et cuiusmodi homines sunt?’ Et dictus Pontius respondit

<sup>1</sup> *ms* nominati.

<sup>2</sup> *-e altered.*

<sup>3</sup> *-us added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-tus added.*

<sup>5</sup> *ms* aliquando, *perhaps altered.*

<sup>6</sup> *de deleted.*

<sup>7</sup> *-tus added.*

<sup>8</sup> *ms* post ea.

<sup>9</sup> *ms* etiam.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* Dominus.

Asked if the same witness had known the said heretic before he saw him in the said place, he said no, but he had often heard him referred to | by his name, and that he was a heretic. He also heard the said heretic 249<sup>v</sup> named by the same sick man, who told the same witness that he was a heretic, and that he was called William Bernard of Airoux.

He also said that the aforesaid brother of the said sick man brought the same heretic, in the sight of the same witness, out of the house of a certain woman of Sorèze who was called Rixendis Baussan, who was later burnt, with whom the said heretic was being lodged. And from there he took him to the said sick man.

Asked if the said sick man died in that illness, he said no, but that he lived afterwards for twenty years and more.

Asked if on any of the said occasions the same witness entered the house of the aforesaid sick man with the said heretic, he said no.

Asked if he knows what the said heretic did to the aforesaid sick man, he said that he does not know, | except that he cured him of the aforesaid 250<sup>r</sup> illness, as the same witness heard afterwards from the same sick man.

Asked about the time when the aforesaid things happened, he said that forty years have passed, so he believes, or thereabouts.

Asked about people, he said he does not remember.

Asked if the same witness saw the said heretic afterwards, apart from what he said above, he answered no, nor did he speak with him—either then, or before, or after.

He also said that on one occasion, almost at dusk, the same witness was coming along with his horse, which he had taken to the water, and he was returning towards his house at Sorèze, and he met a certain man called Pons Ramfre, later dead, and two other men who were going along with him, whom the same witness did not know. And as the same witness was passing by, and in such a way that he did not greet them, the said Pons | came after the same witness, and said to the same 250<sup>v</sup> 'Sir, would you like to see these men tonight?'. And the same witness replied, 'And what sort of men are they?' And the said Pons replied that



quod erant homines boni, per quod ipse testis intellexit quod essent hæretici, et respondit quod nolebat eos videre.

Interrogatus si vidit eos postmodum, dixit quod non, nec etiam audivit eos ab aliquo postea nominari; nec fuit postmodum loquutus de illis cum dicto Pontio.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> de tempore, dixit quod fuit per duos menses, vel circa, post interfectionem factam apud Avinionem Fratrum Prædicatorum.

Interrogatus de personis, dixit quod nullus alius nisi ut supra dixit.

Item dixit quod ipse testis audivit dici a Raymundo Bernardi de Soricino, postea defuncto, quod ipse Raymundus Bernardi, qui tunc erat  
 251<sup>r</sup> baiulus de | Soricino, viderat quendam hominem qui vocabatur Arnaldus Danielis, infirmantem apud Soricinum in domo sua, et cum eo Adam Barcam de Soricino, postea defunctum. Ipse vero Raymundus Bernardi erat absconditus<sup>2</sup> retro quoddam dolium, et dictus infirmus interrogavit dictum Adam si erat aliquis alius in domo præter eum; qui respondit quod non. Et dictus infirmus, ostendens dicto Adæ<sup>3</sup> quandam trabem, dixit ei, 'Super illam trabem invenietis trecentos solidos, et detis eos bonis hominibus, et adducatis eos ad me in nocte sequenti.' Quod audiens, dictus Raymundus Bernardi retinuit in mente sua, et post recessum dicti Adæ<sup>4</sup> accepit dictos denarios, et eos secum asportavit, ipso infirmo vidente; et statim dictus infirmus decessit.

Interrogatus si unquam abiuravit hæresim, respondit quod sic, semel  
 251<sup>v</sup> apud Soricinum coram fratre Guil|lelmo Arnaldi, inquisitore, cum aliis hominibus de Soricino, et hæc per octo dies vel circa ante interfectionem dicti inquisitoris;<sup>5</sup> et iterum coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore, in Quadragesima proxime præterita. Et recognovit quod malefecit, quia nihil confessus fuit propredicto inquisitori<sup>6</sup> de omnibus supra dictis.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Hugone Amelii, priore Fratrum Prædicatorum Tholosæ, et fratre Petro Arsionis, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, tenentibus vicem fratris Pontii de Parnaco et fratris Hugonis

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> added.

<sup>3</sup> -æ perhaps altered from -e.

<sup>4</sup> -æ perhaps altered from -e.

<sup>5</sup> -is perhaps added.

<sup>6</sup> -i altered from -e.

they were good men, by which the same witness understood that they were heretics, and he replied that he did not want to see them.

Asked if he saw them afterwards, he said no, nor furthermore did he hear them being named afterwards by anyone; nor did he speak about them afterwards with the said Pons.

Asked about the time, he said it was around two months or thereabouts after the killing of the Brother Preachers which took place at Avignonet.<sup>4</sup>

Asked about people, he said no-one else except as he has said above.

Item, he said that the same witness heard it said by Raymond Bernard of Sorèze, later dead, that the same Raymond Bernard, who was then *bailli* of Sorèze, | had seen a certain man who was called Arnold Daniel 251<sup>r</sup> sick at Sorèze in his house, and with him Adam Barta of Sorèze, later dead. Indeed the same Raymond Bernard was hidden behind a certain cask, and the said sick man asked the said Adam if there was anyone else in the house apart from him; who replied no. And the said sick man, pointing out to the said Adam a certain beam, said to him, 'On that beam you will find three hundred shillings, and you are to give them to the good men, and you are to bring them to me tomorrow night'. Hearing this, the said Raymond Bernard kept it in his mind, and after the said Adam's departure he took the said pennies and carried them away with him, in the sight of the same sick man; and the sick man died immediately.

Asked if he has ever abjured heresy, he replied yes, once at Sorèze before brother William | Arnold, inquisitor, with other men of Sorèze, 251<sup>v</sup> and this was around eight days or thereabouts before the killing of the said inquisitor;<sup>5</sup> and again before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor, during last Lent. And he acknowledged that he had done wrong, because he confessed nothing about all the aforesaid things to the aforementioned inquisitor.

These things he attested before brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse, and brother Peter Arsieu of the Order of Brothers Preacher, acting in place of brother Pons of Parnac and brother

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<sup>4</sup> On the killing of the inquisitor William Arnold and others, which took place May 28 1242, see below, 298<sup>v</sup> n. 5. The fact that William Arnold was in Sorèze just before he met his death (see 251<sup>r-v</sup> below) will have made the event even more memorable to its inhabitants.

<sup>5</sup> Around May 20, 1242, since the killing took place on May 28; see below, 298<sup>v</sup> n. 5.

de Boniolis, inquisitorum<sup>1</sup> hæresis, in præsentia et testimonio fratrum Petri Raymundi Baranhonis, Arnaldi Mantrini,<sup>2</sup> Ordinis Prædicatorum, et mei, Petri de Vaqueriis, publici notarii Tholosæ, qui hæc scripsi.

252<sup>r</sup> Anno quo supra, die lunæ post festum Sancti Io|hannis ante Portam Latinam, prædicta confessio fuit recitata præfato Petro Pictavini coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco et fratre Hugone de Boniolis,<sup>3</sup> inquisitoribus supradictis, quam recognovit in iudicio se fecisse, et esse veram, in præsentia et testimonio fratrum Peregrini, Petri Feltrerii, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

Et tunc et ibidem prædictus testis addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod cum Raynaldetus de Soricino infirmaretur apud Soricinum in domo sua, ægritudine qua decessit, ipse testis, vocatus<sup>4</sup> a<sup>5</sup> Raimundo<sup>6</sup> Petri Sarto, magistro suo, ivit ad domum dicti infirmi, et vidit ibi ante dictum infirmum Bonetum de Quesinis et quendam socium eius, cuius nomen nescit,<sup>7</sup> hæreticos stantes. Et vidit ibi cum eis Petrum de Drulia, et dictum Raymundum Petri, Raymundum Raynaldi, et Adam Raynaldi, fratres, Raymundum Rocinerii nepotem et hæredem | dicti infirmi, Pontium Engilra, Raymundum Odonis sabaterium, et Adam Barta de Soricino, omnes defunctos, et Ermengardim, ancillam domus, quæ erat de Auriaguezio. Et audivit ipse testis dictum Bonetum, hæreticum, quærentem ibi si dictus infirmus aliquid legaverat ecclesiæ eorum, videlicet hæreticorum. Et respondit ei Raymundus Rocinerii prædictus quod sic, et quod ipse Raymundus infra quindecim dies solveret eidem Boneto, hæretico, vel Ermengaudum de Quesinis, fratri suo, pro dicto infirmo triginta solidos Tholosanos. Et tunc dictus hæreticus dixit ei quod traderet dictam pecuniam dicto Ermengaudum vel Adæ<sup>8</sup> Barta prædicto. Post hæc dictus Bonetus, hæreticus, dixit circumstantibus quod recederent a se<sup>9</sup> et socio suo, quia volebant loqui cum dicto infirmo; et tunc ipse testis reces-  
sit inde.

<sup>1</sup> -um added.

<sup>2</sup> or Manirini; originally Manhini.

<sup>3</sup> ms Bomol.

<sup>4</sup> -us added over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> added.

<sup>6</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>7</sup> altered, probably from nesciunt or nescivit.

<sup>8</sup> -æ perhaps altered from -e.

<sup>9</sup> ms crederent sibi.

Hugh of Bouniols, inquisitors of heresy; in the presence and testimony of brothers Peter Raymond Baranhon [and] Arnold Mantrini,<sup>6</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and of me, Peter of Vacquiers, public notary of Toulouse, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, on the Monday after the feast of St John | 252<sup>r</sup>  
outside the Latin Gate,<sup>7</sup> the aforesaid confession was read out to the aforesaid Peter Pictavin before brother Pons of Parnac and brother Hugh of Bouniols, the aforesaid inquisitors, which he acknowledged in court that he had made and that it was true, in the presence and testimony of brothers Peregrin [and] Peter Feltrier of the Order of Preachers, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

And then and there, the aforesaid witness added to his confession, saying that when Raynaldet of Sorèze was sick at Sorèze in his house, with the illness of which he died, the same witness, summoned by Raymond Peter the tailor (*or* Raymond Peter Sartre), his master, went to the house of the said sick man; and he saw there standing in front of the said sick man Bonet of Auvezines<sup>8</sup> and a certain companion of his whose name he does not know, heretics. And he saw there with them Peter of Dreuilhe, and the said Raymond Peter, Raymond Reynold and Adam Reynold, brothers, Raymond Rociner the nephew and heir | of the said sick man, Pons 252<sup>v</sup>  
Engilra, Raymond Odon the shoemaker (*or* Raymond Odon Sabatier), and Adam Barta of Sorèze, all dead, and Ermengardis, maidservant of the house, who was from the Auriacais.<sup>9</sup> And the same witness heard the said Bonet, heretic, enquiring there if the said sick man had bequeathed anything to their Church, that is to say, that of the heretics. And the aforesaid Raymond Rociner answered yes, and that within fifteen days the same Raymond would pay thirty Toulouse shillings on behalf of the said sick man to the same Bonet, heretic, or to Ermengaud of Auvezines, his brother. And then the said heretic said to him that he should hand over the said money to the said Ermengaud or to the aforesaid Adam Barta. After these things the said Bonet, heretic, said to the bystanders that they should leave him and his companion, because they wanted to speak with the said sick man; and then the same witness left there.

<sup>6</sup> If Arnaldus Mantrini is Arnaldus Martini, then this witness may be identified with Arnold Martin (Arnaldus Martini), assigned to study theology in Narbonne (1287, 1289, 1290); *ACP*, pp. 305, 325, 334.

<sup>7</sup> [May 10 1277].

<sup>8</sup> Tarn, comm. Montgey, cant. Cuq-Toulza, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>9</sup> Region of Auriac. On two places called Auriac, see above 18<sup>r</sup> n. 8.

253<sup>r</sup> Interrogatus, dixit quod ipse testis non adoravit ibi dictos | hæreticos, nec vidit ab aliis adorari, nec aliud ibi fieri. Sed in crastinum audivit prædictum Raymundum Petri referentem sibi quod illa nocte prædicti hæretici hæreticaverant dictum infirmum.

De tempore: dixit quod sunt quadraginta septem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum Raymundus Durandi, minor, de Soricino, infirmaretur apud Soricinum in domo sua, ægritudine qua decessit, dictus Raymundus Petri, magister illius similiter, et ipse testis cum eo,<sup>1</sup> visitaverunt dictum infirmum, condiscipulum suum. Et dictus Raymundus Petri fuit loquutus dicto infirmo de se consolando, et reperit<sup>2</sup> eum consentientem. Et tunc idem Raymundus Petri interrogavit ipsum infirmum utrum erant tunc in villa Soricini aliqui de bonis hominibus, scilicet hæreticis, qui reciperent eum si necesse esset; qui respondit quod non. Sed dixit 253<sup>v</sup> quod ibi fuerant, et promiserant ei quod reverterentur ad eum nocte sequenti. Et idem infirmus rogavit dictum Raymundum Petri quod rediret ad eum ibi mane sequenti. Et, summo diluculo, idem Raymundus Petri et ipse testis, qui iacebat cum eo, redeuntes ad domum dicti infirmi, obviaverunt Adæ<sup>3</sup> Barta, qui ducebat secum Guillelmum Bernardi de Ayros et quendam socium eius, quem<sup>4</sup> non novit, hæreticos, venientes de domo dicti infirmi. Et ibi dictus Raymundus Petri quæsit de statu dicti infirmi, et respondit ei dictus Guillelmus Bernardi, hæreticus, quod bene contigerat ei, et bene fecerat factum suum—et per hoc ipse testis perpendit et intellexit quod hæreticaverant eum. Deinde dictus Adam Barta duxit eos ad domum suam, prout dixit, et dictus Raymundus Petri et ipse testis accesserunt ad domum prædicti infirmi, ubi, cum iam obisset, Ermersendis, soror eius, percussiebat<sup>5</sup> genas suas cum palmis, non | 254<sup>r</sup> [audens]<sup>6</sup> clamare donec hæretici supradicti longe se absentassent. Et erant ibi dicta Ermersendis, et Porcellus frater eiusdem Ermersendis, de Boceta, qui dixit eis quod decesserat ante diem, et Petrus Carpini, et Raymundus Pagesii de Soricino, postea defuncti.

Interrogatus, dixit quod ipse testis non adoravit dictos hæreticos, nec vidit ab aliis adorari.

<sup>1</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>2</sup> *originally repetit.*

<sup>3</sup> *-æ perhaps altered from -e.*

<sup>4</sup> *ms quod.*

<sup>5</sup> *-ssie- written over deletion.*

<sup>6</sup> *written as catchword at foot of previous page, but omitted here.*

Questioned, he said that the same witness did not adore the said heretics there, | nor did he see them adored by others, nor anything 253<sup>r</sup> else happen there. But next day he heard the aforesaid Raymond Peter telling him that that night the aforesaid heretics had hereticated the said sick man. About the time: he said that this was forty-seven years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when Raymond Durand the younger of Sorèze was sick at Sorèze in his house, with the illness of which he died, the said Raymond Peter, his master, similarly, and the same witness with him, visited the said sick man, his fellow-apprentice. And the said Raymond Peter spoke with the said sick man about consoling himself, and he found him willing. And then the same Raymond Peter asked the same sick man whether there were then in the town of Sorèze any of the good men, that is, the heretics, who would receive him if it was necessary; who replied 253<sup>v</sup> no. But he said that they had been there, and they had promised | him that they would return to him the following night. And the same sick man asked the said Raymond Peter to return to him there the following morning. And very early in the morning, when the same Raymond Peter and the same witness, who lay with him, were returning to the house of the said sick man, they met Adam Barta, who was bringing with him William Bernard of Airoux and a certain companion of his whom he did not know, heretics, coming from the house of the said sick man. And there the said Raymond Peter enquired about the condition of the said sick man, and the said William Bernard, heretic, answered him that it had gone well with him, and that he had done his deed well—and by this the same witness deduced and understood that they had hereticated him. Then the said Adam Barta took them to his house, as he said, and the said Raymond Peter and the same witness came to the house of the aforesaid sick man, where since he had now died, Ermessendis, his sister, was hitting her cheeks with her palms, not daring | to cry out until 254<sup>r</sup> the aforesaid heretics had got a long way away. And there were there the said Ermessendis, and Porcel, the same Ermessendis's brother, from Labecède,<sup>10</sup> who told them that he had died before daybreak, and Peter Carpin, and Raymond Pagèse of Sorèze—both later dead.

Questioned, he said that the same witness did not adore the said heretics, nor did he see them adored by others.

<sup>10</sup> Labecède-Lauragais: Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 951.

De tempore dixit quod sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum Petrus Bicat de Duroforti, sororius ipsius testis, infirmaretur apud Durumfortem in domo suo, ægitudine qua decessit, ipse testis visitavit eum, et invenit ibi, in camera in qua dictus infirmus iacebat, quendam vocatum Meravilha, qui fuerat oriundus de Duroforti, et Raymundum de Gandels, socium eius, hæreticos, stantes coram dicto infirmo. Et extra cameram sedebant Petrus de Ponte, Guillelmus de Podio  
 254<sup>v</sup> et Arnaldus de Podio, | fratres, Guillelmus de Ponte, Guillelmus Bernardi de Duroforti, et Aymericus frater dicti infirmi, omnes de Duroforti, qui postea sunt defuncti. Et ipse testis audivit ibi prædictum Guillelmum de Ponte dicentem quod nocte proxime præcedenti, prædicti hæretici hæreticaverant dictum infirmum. Ipse vero testis non adoravit ibi dictos hæreticos, nec vidit alios adorantes.<sup>1</sup> Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum Guiraldus Terrerii de Soricino, iuvenis, infirmaretur ægitudine qua decessit, ipse testis et Guillelmus Piscator, nepos ipsius testis, visitaverunt ipsum infirmum in domo Raymundi de Sancto Petro de Soricino, quam tenebat conductam. Et invenerunt eum iacentem in lecto, et coram eo Pontium Ramfredi de Soricino, qui habuerat  
 255<sup>r</sup> pœnitentiam propter hæresim. Et cum ipse testis fuisset loqutus cum dicto infirmo et recedens esset, in hostio cameræ obviavit Petronæ, uxori dicti infirmi, quæ interrogavit ipsum testem quid videbatur sibi de dicto infirmo. Inter quæ verba ipse testis audivit dictum infirmum interrogantem dictum Pontium Ramfredi, et dicentem sibi, 'Habebo iam amicum qui det mihi consilium de bonis hominibus?' Qui respondit ei, dicens, 'Adeo parum potest vobis modo homo dare consilium de illis, sicut potest levare campanile monasterii Soricini ad collum. Verumtamen Guiraldus Terrerii, pater vester, deberet vobis melius dare consilium quam alius homo.' Et dictus infirmus respondit ei, dicens, 'Male sum<sup>2</sup> de ipso, et non visitavit me de tota ista infirmitate.' Post hæc ipse testis recessit inde, et mane sequenti audivit pulsari campanas pro ipso defuncto. Et ipsa die

<sup>1</sup> -ntes *written over deletion*.

<sup>2</sup> su- *written over deletion*.

<sup>14</sup> The tower still survives. Its appearance suggests that the phrase may have been 'lift the bell-tower tower by its neck'. The Black Monk (Benedictine) abbey of Our Lady of Sorèze was a Carolingian foundation; it is mentioned in 819; see Gérard, 'Sources', pp. 25, 27–28, 34, 50–51; see also *CaF* 19 (1984), index-entry, p. 414.

About the time: he said that this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when Peter Bicat of Durfort, the same witness's brother-in-law, was sick at Durfort in his house, with the illness of which he died, the same witness visited him, and he found there, in the chamber in which the said sick man was lying, a certain man called Meravilha, who was a native of Durfort, and Raymond of Gandels<sup>11</sup> his companion, heretics, standing in front of the said sick man. And sitting outside the chamber were Peter of Pont,<sup>12</sup> William of Puy and Arnold of Puy, | 254<sup>v</sup> brothers, William of Pont, William Bernard of Durfort, and Aimery the brother of the said sick man, all of Durfort, who later died. And the same witness heard there the aforesaid William of Pont saying that the night immediately before the aforesaid heretics had hereticated the said sick man. The same witness, however, did not adore the said heretics there, nor did he see others adoring. And this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when Guiraud Terrier of Sorèze, the younger, was sick with the illness of which he died, the same witness and William Pêcheur (*or* William, fisherman), the same witness's nephew, visited the same sick man in the house of Raymond of Saint-Pierre<sup>13</sup> of Sorèze, which he was renting. And they found him lying in bed, and in front of him Pons Ramfred of Sorèze, who had had penance for heresy. And when the same witness had spoken | with the said sick man and was leaving, he 255<sup>r</sup> met Petrona, the said sick man's wife, in the doorway of the chamber, who asked the same witness how the said sick man seemed to him. During these words the same witness heard the said sick man questioning the said Pons Ramfred, and saying to him, 'Will I still have a friend who'll give me advice about the good men?' Pons answered him, saying, 'A man could now give you advice about them as little as he could lift the bell-tower of the monastery of Sorèze to his neck.'<sup>14</sup> However, Guiraud Terrier, your father, ought to give you advice better than any other man. And the said sick man answered him, saying, 'I am in a bad way with him, and he has not visited me throughout this whole illness.' After these things the same witness left there, and the following morning he heard the bells being rung for the same dead man. And on the same day

<sup>11</sup> Tarn, comm. Garrevacques, cant. Dourgne, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 935.

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps Pont Crouzet, 1 km from Durfort.

<sup>13</sup> Very common place-name; *DTF*.



255<sup>v</sup> idem testis interrogavit dictum Pontium Ram|fredi si potuit aliquid fieri de eo de quo rogaverat eum dictus Guiraudus die præcedenti—quod ipse testis intelligebat si fuerat hæreticatus—qui respondit quod non. Et sunt sexdecim anni vel circa.

Interrogatus utrum ipse testis credidit unquam prædictos hæreticos esse bonos homines, dixit quod non.

Interrogatus de ætate sua, dixit quod est quadraginta quinque annorum vel circa.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco et fratre Hugone de Boniolis, inquisitoribus supradictis, in iudicio constitutus; in præsentia et testimonio fratrum Peregrini et Petri Feltrerii, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, die mercurii ante festum Sancti Barnabæ Apostoli, 256<sup>r</sup> prædictus testis, iuratus et requisitus ut supra, addidit con|fessionem suam, dicens quod cum Guillelmus Raymundi Frances infirmaretur apud Soricinum ægritudine qua decessit, ipse testis, qui cum Raymundo Petri, magistro suo, venerat ibi ad dandam caritatem panis pro eo, audivit ipsum infirmum referentem dicto Raymundo Petri quod de quingentis solidis quos habebat, facta divisione cum fratribus suis, ordinaverat tali modo quod centum solidos dabat inter caritatem, filiolos, et sepulturam, et quadringentos dederat iam bonis hominibus, videlicet hæreticis. Et erant ibi præsentibus, et hoc idem audientes, Raymundus Rich de Soricino quondam, et Arnaldus Durandi, tunc condiscipuli sui de Soricino. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Dixit etiam prædictus infirmus, prædictis præsentibus et audientibus, quod dominus Arnaldus Hugonis, qui tunc erat diachonus hæreticorum 256<sup>v</sup> Veteris Mo|resii, et socius eius receperant eum in sectam suam, et illi habuerant dictam peccuniam, et quod erant redituri ad eum sequenti

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<sup>18</sup> Vielmorès was also a Catholic archdeaconry, surrounding Vielmur (Tarn, cant. and arrond. Castres); Font-Réaulx, p. 1103. Arnold High was Deacon 1242–1252; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, pp. 285, 300, 303, 350; see also Guiraud, *Histoire*, i.214. He is attested frequently in depositions from the 1240s. Deponents in Toulouse 609 had seen him in Mas-Saintes-Puelles and Sorèze around 1220 (64<sup>v</sup>, 216<sup>v</sup>), at Durfort along with many other heretics in the ‘heretics’ own houses’ (*in domis propriis hereticorum*) also around 1220 (229<sup>v</sup>), and at Montgey around 1232 (175<sup>v</sup>).

the same witness asked the said Pons Ramfred | if anything had been able 255<sup>v</sup>  
to be done about what the said Guiraud had asked him the previous day—  
which the same witness understood to mean if he had been hereticated—  
and he replied no. And this was sixteen years ago or thereabouts.

Asked if the same witness ever believed that the aforesaid heretics were  
good men, he said no.

Asked about his age, he said that he is forty-five years old or there-  
abouts.<sup>15</sup>

He attested these things at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac and  
brother Hugh of Bouniols, the aforesaid inquisitors, brought into court,  
in the presence and testimony of brothers Peregrine and Peter Feltrier, of  
the Order of Preachers, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary,  
who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, on the Wednesday before the feast of St  
Barnabas the Apostle,<sup>16</sup> the aforesaid witness, sworn in as a witness and  
questioned as above, added to his confession, | saying that when William 256<sup>r</sup>  
Raymond the Frenchman<sup>17</sup> was sick at Sorèze with the illness of which  
he died, the same witness, who with Raymond Peter his master had come  
there to give the charity of bread on his behalf, heard the same sick man  
telling the said Raymond Peter that of the five hundred shillings which he  
had, after dividing with his brothers, he had made such an ordinance that  
he was giving a hundred shillings for charity, god-children, and burial,  
and he had now given four hundred to the good men, that is, to the  
heretics. And there were present there, and hearing this same thing, the  
late Raymond Rich of Sorèze, and Arnold Durand, at that time his fellow-  
apprentices of Sorèze. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

The aforesaid sick man also said, in the presence and hearing of the  
aforesaid people, that lord Arnold Hugh, who was then deacon of the  
heretics of Vielmorès,<sup>18</sup> | and his companion had received him into their 256<sup>v</sup>  
sect, and they had had the said money, and that they were going to return

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<sup>15</sup> Questions about years are usually about the date of an event, and not about  
a deponent's age. The responses to the two previous questions about date were  
'forty-five years ago'; 254<sup>r</sup> and 254<sup>v</sup> above. It is clear that the question about date  
has been mistakenly turned into a question about Peter's age, but it is not possible  
to establish at what stage of editing and copying this happened.

<sup>16</sup> [June 9 1277].

<sup>17</sup> From northern France. Another possibility is 'William Raymond French'.  
*Francès* is taken as a family name by Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 153.

nocte, et quod non comedebat sine ipsis. Ipse vero testis nec ibi nec alibi vidit propredictos hæreticos, quod ipse sciat.

Item dixit quod cum Arnaldus de Cave<sup>e</sup>, frater Guillelmæ Pictavinæ, matris ipsius testis, infirmaretur apud Soricinum ægritudine qua decessit, in domo Petri Boneti, quam tenebat conductam, ipse testis et prædicta mater ipsius testis venerunt ad dictum infirmum. Et, ipso teste audiente, mater eius prædicta interrogavit dictum infirmum qui erant duo homines quos Pontius Ramfredi duxerat inde, et cuiusmodi peccuniam extraxerant de archa—quia ipsa viderat. Et tunc prædictus infirmus respondit ei  
 257<sup>r</sup> quod illi erant de illis qui vocabantur hæretici, et quod | Pontius Ramfredi dederat sibi intelligi quod non poterat salvari nisi per eos: et ideo promiserat eis se reddere sibi, et dederat illis sexaginta solidos Tholosanos quos habebat in archa—et quod si plures haberet, plures daret eis—et quod debebant redire ad eum in crastinum et recipere ipsum in secta sua.

Dixit etiam prædictus testis quod dum prædicti hæretici fuerant cum dicto infirmo, ipse testis, transiens per carreriam, vidit prædictam matrem suam sedentem ad pedem scalæ<sup>1</sup> infra hostium, quæ dixit ipsi testi quod Pontius Ramfredi erat superius cum infirmo, et cum eis duo homines extranei, et quod dictus Pontius Ramfredi dixerat prædictæ matri ipsius testis quod non recederet inde nec permetteret aliquem ascendere<sup>2</sup> ad dictum infirmum, sed si venirent aliqui diceret eis quod  
 257<sup>v</sup> infirmus dormiebat. Et dictus infirmus obiit in cras|tinum infra horam tertiam.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> si scivit ipse testis quod dictus infirmus fuerit hæreticus, dixit quod non, sed audivit matrem suam prædictam dicentem quod Pontius Ramfredi duxerat dictos hæreticos ad domum suam, quæ erat propinqua domui prædictæ in qua iacebat dictus infirmus—duabus domibus tantum intermediis<sup>4</sup>. Et sunt triginta octo anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quadam die ivit ipse testis spatiatum in ortis Soricini cum supradicto Raymundo Petri de<sup>5</sup> Soricino, et tunc ipse Raymundus Petri retulit ipsi testi quod quando Petrus Raymundi de Druvia, miles, de Soricino, infirmabatur apud Soricinum ægritudine qua decessit, idem Raymundus Petri et Adam Olerii de Soricino adduxerunt ad eum, de terra molendini Guiraudi<sup>6</sup> Terresii de Soricino, Bonetum

<sup>1</sup> -æ altered.

<sup>2</sup> second -e- altered, perhaps from -o-.

<sup>3</sup> -tus added.

<sup>4</sup> ms inter mediis.

<sup>5</sup> Ri- or more probably R- and the start of another letter, deleted.

<sup>6</sup> ms Guiraudum.

to him the following night, and that he was not eating without them. The same witness, however, did not see the aforementioned heretics there or elsewhere, so far as he knows.

Item, he said that when Arnold of Cave,<sup>19</sup> brother of Guillelma Pic-tavin, the same witness's mother, was sick at Sorèze with the illness of which he died, in Peter Bonet's house, which he was renting, the same witness and the same witness's aforesaid mother came to the said sick man. And in the same witness's hearing, his aforesaid mother asked the said sick man who were the two men whom Pons Ramfred had brought out of there, and what kind of money had they taken from the chest—because she had seen. And then the aforesaid sick man answered her that they were of those who were called heretics, and that | Pons Ramfred had given 257<sup>r</sup> him to understand that one could not be saved except through them; and therefore he had promised them that he would surrender himself to them, and he had given them the sixty Toulouse shillings that he had in the chest—and if he had had more he would have given them more—and that they ought to return to him the following day and receive him into their sect.

The aforesaid witness also said that while the aforesaid heretics were with the said sick man, the same witness, passing along the street, saw his aforesaid mother sitting at the foot of the stairs inside the doorway, who told the same witness that Pons Ramfred was above with the sick man, and with them two strange men, and that the said Pons Ramfred had said to the same witness's aforesaid mother that she should not leave there nor allow anyone to go up to the sick man, but that if any people came she was to say to them that the sick man was asleep. And the said sick man died the following day, | before the third hour. 257<sup>v</sup>

Asked if the same witness knew that the said sick man was hereticated, he said no, but he heard his aforesaid mother saying that Pons Ramfred had taken the said heretics to his own house, which was near the aforesaid house in which the sick man lay, with only two houses in between. And this was thirty-eight years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that one day the same witness went for a walk in the gardens of Sorèze with the aforesaid Raymond Peter of Sorèze, and then the same Raymond Peter recounted to the same witness that, when Peter Raymond of Dreuilhe, knight, of Sorèze, was sick at Sorèze with the illness of which he died, the same Raymond Peter and Adam Olier of Sorèze brought to him from the land of the mill of Guiraud Terrier of Sorèze

<sup>19</sup> Tarn, comm. Dourgne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres; DTF.

258<sup>r</sup> de Ovezinis et | socium eius, hæreticos. Et cum essent in introitu<sup>1</sup> villæ, ad rivum qui vocatur de Villanova, prædictus Bonetus interrogavit socium suum si habebat librum; qui respondit quod non, sed dimiserat eum ad caputium lecti. Et tunc prædictus Adam Olerii dixit dicto Raymundo Petri quod rediret pro dicto libro, et quod ipse introduceret eos, et quod inveniret eos in domo Hugonis den Galhard, quæ erat contigua domui dicti militis infirmi. Et ivit pro libro et apportavit illum, et reddidit eum prædictis hæreticis, quos invenit in domo prædicti Hugonis Galhardi; et quod dimisit eos ibi. Et sunt triginta et octo anni,<sup>2</sup> vel circa, quod obiit dictus miles, et sunt octo anni vel circa quod hæc retulit ipsi testi dictus Raymundus Petri.

Interrogatus si ipse testis scivit quod dictus miles fuisset hæreticatus, dixit quod *non*.

Interrogatus si credit ipse testis quod fuerit hæreticatus, dixit quod sic, 258<sup>v</sup> quia | audivit dici.

Interrogatus a quo vel a quibus audivit hoc dici, dixit quod a<sup>3</sup> Raymundo<sup>4</sup> Petri prædicto—non quod ipse interfuisset, sed quod audiverat hoc dici a prædicto Adam Olerii—videlicet quod dictus miles fuerat hæreticatus. Et sunt octo anni vel circa quod dictus Raymundus Petri retulit ei prædicta.

Requisitus si tunc vivebant Adam Olerii et Guiraudus Terrerii, quando Raymundus Petri retulit ipsi testi prædicta, dixit quod sic.

Item dixit quod cum Bernardus Costa, sororius quondam ipsius testis, infirmaretur quadam vice apud Soricinum, quadam infirmitate de qua convaluit,<sup>5</sup> Raymundus Rocinerii de Soricino, macellarius, ipso teste præsentem et audientem, ammonuit eum quod provideret sibi de salute animæ suæ, et quod idem dixerat ei bene erant quatuor dies—videlicet 259<sup>r</sup> quod haberet bonos homines, scilicet hæreticos, qui reciperent | eum: ad quod dictus infirmus respondit quod non poterat fieri. Ad quod respondit Raymundus Rocinerii quod imo bene poterat fieri, quia Bernardus Albarelli dixerat ipsi Raymundo Rocinerii quod habebat quendam amicum apud Druliam qui daret ei consilium de bonis hominibus, scilicet hæreticis, si dictus infirmus vellet eos habere. Et tunc ipse testis dixit prædicto Raymundo Rocinerii quod malum consilium dabat ei, et quod

<sup>1</sup> -s deleted.

<sup>2</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> added.

<sup>4</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> originally written qua convaluit then wrongly joined into one word.

Bonet of Auvezines | and his companion, heretics. And when they were 258<sup>r</sup>  
 at the entrance to the town, at the stream which is called 'from the New  
 Town', the aforesaid Bonet asked his companion if he had the book; who  
 replied no, but he had left it at the head of the bed. And then the aforesaid  
 Adam Olier said to the said Raymond Peter that he should go back for  
 the said book, and that he would bring them in, and that he would find  
 them in the house of Hugh den Galhard, which was next to the house of  
 the said sick knight. And he went for the book, and he brought it, and he  
 handed it over to the aforesaid heretics whom he found in the house of  
 the aforesaid Hugh Galhard; and [he said] that he left them there. And  
 this was thirty-eight years ago or thereabouts that the said knight died,  
 and it was eight years ago or thereabouts that the said Raymond Peter  
 recounted these things to the same witness.

Asked if the same witness knew that the said knight had been hereti-  
 cated, he said no.

Asked the same witness believes that he was hereticated, he said yes,  
 because | he heard it said. 258<sup>v</sup>

Asked by which person or persons he heard this said, he said by the  
 aforesaid Raymond Peter—not that he himself had been present, but that  
 he had heard this said by the aforesaid Adam Olier, that is, that the said  
 knight had been hereticated. And it was eight years ago or thereabouts  
 that the said Raymond Peter recounted to him the aforesaid things.

Questioned if Adam Olier and Guiraud Terrier were alive then, when  
 Raymond Peter recounted the aforesaid things to the same witness, he  
 said yes.

Item, he said that when Bernard Costa, the same witness's late brother-  
 in-law, was sick once at Sorèze, with an illness from which he recovered,  
 Raymond Rociner of Sorèze, butcher, in the presence and hearing of the  
 same witness, admonished him to provide for the salvation of his soul,  
 and said that he had said the same thing to him for a good four days,  
 that is to say, that he should have the good men, that is, the heretics, to  
 receive | him: to which the said sick man replied that it could not be done. 259<sup>r</sup>  
 To which Raymond Rociner replied that in fact it could easily be done,  
 because Bernard Albarel had told the same Raymond Rociner that he had  
 a certain friend at Dreuilhe who would give him advice about the good  
 men, that is the heretics, if the said sick man wanted to have them. And

ipse testis nolebat hoc videre nec audire: ad quod dictus Raymundus Rocinerii dixit quod melius consilium dabat ei quam ipse testis dederat unquam. Et sequenti nocte sudavit et convaluit, et vixit postea duodecim annis vel circa. Et sunt octodecim anni vel circa quod hoc fuit.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore, in præsentia et testimonio fratrum Peregrini, Arnaldi Talharici,<sup>1</sup> *Petri* 259<sup>v</sup> Fal|trerii, *Petri Raymundi* Baranhonis, Raymundi Aymerici, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo octavo, decimo septimo kalendas Iunii, prædictus Petrus Pictavini, senior, de Soricino, recepta pœnitentia, præcedenti die obtenta gratia de confitendis impostorum usque ad instantem diem iovis, scilicet decimo octavo kalendas Maii—*immunitatis*<sup>2</sup> personæ suæ et bonorum suorum, et ne pœnitentia sua prædicta debeat aggravari<sup>3</sup> si plene et pure confiteatur omnia quæ scit de crimine hæresis, tam de se quam de omnibus aliis, vivis et defunctis, testis iuratus et requisitus, dixit quod Guillelmus de Corneliano, miles, 260<sup>r</sup> de Toellis,<sup>4</sup> duxit ipsum testem | quadam die de Soricino versus Toelhas, ad domum ipsius Guillelmi. Et postea de dicta domo duxit eum ad quoddam nemus sive batudum suum, iuxta villam de Thoelhis. Et cum essent ibi<sup>5</sup> dictus Guillelmus sibilavit ter, et statim venerunt ibi ad eos Raymundus de Manso, tunc diachonus hæreticorum Veteris Moresii, et Guillelmus Carrerie, socius eius, hæretici. Et ibi ipse testis et dictus Guillelmus de Corneliano, miles, audierunt verba et monitiones dicti Raymundi de

<sup>1</sup> first -a- altered.

<sup>2</sup> -u- altered.

<sup>3</sup> a- perhaps altered.

<sup>4</sup> ms Tholosa.

<sup>5</sup> altered, perhaps from sibi.

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had been a clothed heretic before the crusade (1209), left heresy, and then returned to it around 1238 or 1239. Another uncle, Bec of Roquefort, was a heretic, and heretics had been with his brother Peter of Roquefort when he was ill; D23, f. 76<sup>r</sup>–79<sup>r</sup>; below, 9<sup>r</sup> n. 3. On William, see *Saisimentum*, p. 94 n. 1. He had died by February 1268, at which date his widow Aicelina was demanding the restitution of her dowry. On his sons and uncle, see below, 6<sup>r</sup> n. 2 and 9<sup>r</sup> n. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Large fragments survive of the depositions made by William, after his conversion, June 8 and 25 1254; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 34–52.

then the same witness told the aforesaid Raymond Rociner that he was giving him bad advice, and that the same witness did not want to see or hear this: to which the said Raymond Rociner said that he was giving him better advice than the same witness had ever given. And the following night he sweated and recovered, and lived afterwards for twelve years or thereabouts. And it was eighteen years ago or thereabouts that this took place.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor, in the presence and testimony of brothers Peregrine, Arnold Talharic,<sup>20</sup> Peter Feltrier, | Peter Raymond Baranhon, [and] Raymond 259<sup>v</sup>  
Aimery of the Order of Preachers, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-eight, seventeen days before the kalends of June,<sup>21</sup> the aforesaid Peter Pictavin the elder of Sorèze, having received penance, and having on the preceding day obtained grace concerning the things to be confessed henceforward up to the next Thursday, that is to say, eighteen days before the kalends of May—immunity of his person and his goods, and that his aforesaid penance should not be made heavier if he fully and purely confessed all the things which he knew concerning the crime of heresy both about himself and about all others, both living and dead, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said that William of Corneilhan, knight of Las Touzeilles,<sup>22</sup> brought the same witness | one day from Sorèze towards Las 260<sup>r</sup>  
Touzeilles to the same William's house. And afterwards he brought him from the said house to a certain wood or wasteland of his by the village of Las Touzeilles. And when they were there the said William whistled three times, and immediately there came to them there Raymond of Mas, then deacon of the heretics of Vielmorès, and William Carrier<sup>23</sup> his companion, heretics. And there the same witness and the said William of Corneilhan, knight, heard the words and admonitions of the said Raymond of

<sup>20</sup> Assigned to the convents of Pamiers (1270) and Montauban (1272); ACP, pp. 152, 171, and Gui, *De fundatione*, 180.

<sup>21</sup> May 16 1278.

<sup>22</sup> Corneilhan: disappeared place near Las Touzeilles; *Saisimentum*, p. 380. The knight William of Corneilhan of Montgey, who lives at Las Touzeilles (Guillelmus de Corneliano miles de Montioi qui manet a las Thoellas) was questioned November 14 1243. He admitted seeing heretics living openly at Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux around 1203. His uncle Arnold Raymond of Roquefort



Manso, diachoni dictorum hæreticorum, adoraveruntque eos, ter flexis genibus, dicendo 'Benedicite'. Post hæc cum vellent recedere, prædictus Guillelmus de Corneliano, in præsentia dictorum hæreticorum, dixit ipsi testi, 'Vos remanebitis hac nocte<sup>1</sup> in domo nostra, et ibi audietis eum—scilicet dictum diachonum—spatiosius.' Et ipse testis respondit  
 260<sup>v</sup> quod non po|terat remanere, et, dato comeato hæreticis, dimittentes eos ibi, redierunt dictus Guillelmus de Corneliano, et ipse testis cum eo, ad dictam domum Guillelmi de Corneliano, militis, ubi tunc ipse testis pransus fuit cum dicto Guillelmo de Corneliano. Et erant ibi tunc cum dicto Guillelmo de Corneliano, Arnaldus de Corneliano et Isarnus de Corneliano, filii dicti Guillelmi de Corneliano, militis.

Dixit etiam quod dictus Guillelmus de Corneliano in ipsa domo sua fuit loqutus cum supradictis filiis suis seorsum quando voluit ipsum testem ducere ad dictum nemus ut viderent ibi prædictos hæreticos. Et statim post dictum colloquium, duxit ipsum testem ad dictos hæreticos ut præmissum est, et ex hoc ipse testis suspicatur quod prædicti<sup>2</sup> filii dicti Guillelmi de Corneliano sciebant dictos hæreticos ibi esse. Et sunt  
 261<sup>r</sup> triginta sex anni vel | circa quod hoc fuit.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo Bernardi Trulie, cum idem Bernardus infirmaretur ægritudine<sup>3</sup> qua decessit, vidit ipse testis Bonetum de Ovezinis et socium eius, cognominatum Natalem, hæreticos, stantes coram dicto infirmo, et tenentes librum apertum super caput dicti infirmi, et hæreticantes ipsum infirmum secundum modum hæreticorum. Cui hæreticationi interfuerunt ipse testis, et Fabrisa, filia dicti infirmi, postea uxor ipsius testis, et Raymunda Boeria, uxor dicti infirmi, quæ absolvit dictum virum suum Deo et ipsis hæreticis, et Guillelmus Trillia, consanguineus dicti infirmi, et Raymundus Trilia, nepos eiusdem infirmi, Guillelmus Bernardi sartre, et Pontius Ramfredi, omnes de Soricino—qui omnes, et ipse testis, adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos,  
 261<sup>v</sup> facta<sup>5</sup> hæreticatione, et rece|perunt pacem iuxta morem hæreticorum. Et dictus infirmus legavit dictis hæreticis triginta solidos Tholosanos, quos statim solvit eis prædicta Raymunda Boeria, uxor prædicti infirmi.

<sup>1</sup> -e altered from -æ.

<sup>2</sup> hæretici deleted.

<sup>3</sup> æ- perhaps altered from e-.

<sup>4</sup> -unt supercript; originally adoravit.

<sup>5</sup> -a perhaps altered.

Mas, deacon of the said heretics, and they adored them, genuflecting three times, saying, 'Bless us'. After these things, when they wanted to leave, the aforesaid William of Corneilhan said to the same witness in the presence of the said heretics, 'You will stay tonight in our house, and there you will hear him—that is, the said deacon—at greater length'. And the same witness replied that he could not | stay, and after bidding the heretics farewell, the said William of Corneilhan, and the same witness with him, leaving them there, returned to the said house of William of Corneilhan, knight, where the same witness then ate with the said William of Corneilhan. And there were there then, with the said William of Corneilhan, Arnold of Corneilhan and Isarn of Corneilhan, sons of the said William of Corneilhan, knight. 260<sup>v</sup>

He also said that the said William of Corneilhan spoke apart with his aforesaid sons in his own house, when he wanted to take the same witness to the said wood to see the aforesaid heretics there. And he took the same witness to the said heretics, as stated above, immediately after the said conversation, and from this the same witness suspects that the aforesaid sons of the said William of Corneilhan knew that the said heretics were there. And it was thirty-six years ago or | thereabouts that this took place. 261<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that in the house of Bernard Trilha at Sorèze, when the same Bernard was sick with the illness of which he died, the same witness saw Bonet of Avezines and his companion, surnamed Natal,<sup>24</sup> heretics, standing in front of the said sick man, and holding a book open above the head of the said sick man and hereticating the same sick man according to the manner of the heretics. Present at this heretication were the same witness, and Fabrissa the daughter of the said sick man, later the same witness's wife, and Raymonda Boer, wife of the said sick man, who released her said husband to God and to the same heretics, and William Trilha, kinsman of the said sick man, and Raymond Trilha, nephew of the same sick man, William Bernard, tailor (*or* William Bernard Sartre), and Pons Ramfred, all from Sorèze—all of whom, and the same witness, adored the said heretics there, after the heretication, and received | the peace according to the usage of the heretics. And the said sick man bequeathed to the said heretics thirty Toulouse shillings, which the aforesaid Raymonda Boer, wife of the aforesaid sick man, immediately paid to them. 261<sup>v</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Referred to as Bernardus Natalis or Nathalis of Vaudreuille in Toulouse 609, he was seen by a parishioner of Issel hereticating an ill man around 1238, and by a parishioner of Vaudreuille in Vaudreuille about 1243; Toulouse 609, f. 126<sup>v</sup>, 232<sup>r</sup>. See above, 28<sup>r</sup> n. 6.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo Guillelmi Espanhol, in solario, vidit Bonetum de Ovizinis et Natalem socium eius, hæreticos, qui prædicaverunt ibi. Et interfuerunt illi prædicationi dictus Guillelmus Espanhol, et Raymunda uxor eius, Guillelmus Bernardi sartre, Raymundus de Mazers, frater eius, Raymundus Petri sartre, qui adduxit ibi ipsum testem, Raymundus Rocinerii, Guiraudus Terrerii, Adam Raynaldi, Adam Olerii, Arnaldus Cota, Fortius Sabaterii, Adam Barta, *Petrus* de Bosauela, Hugo den Galhard; et ibi ipse testis et omnes supradicti de Soricino adoraverunt<sup>1</sup> dictos hæreticos, et audiverunt<sup>2</sup> prædicationem eorum.

262<sup>r</sup> Dixit etiam quod ibi fuit Raymundus de la Sorda de Soricino, qui similiter adoravit ibi dictos hæreticos, et audivit prædicationem eorum.

Adiecit etiam quod Guiraldus Terrerii senior adduxit ibi prædictos hæreticos, et reduxit eos secum. Et tunc, sicut dixit, tenebat eos in domo sua extra Soricinum. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum Bernardus Costa de Soricino infirmaretur quadam alia ægitudine de qua convaluit, ad suggestionem Raymundi Rocinerii de Soricino dictus infirmus petiit sibi adduci hæreticos. Et idem Raymundus Rocinerii adduxit ei prædictos Bonetum de Ovezinis et Natalem, hæreticos, de nocte.<sup>3</sup> Et ibi dictus infirmus fecit reverentiam de lecto<sup>4</sup> eisdem hæreticis, iunctis manibus, dicendo 'Benedicite', faciendo  
262<sup>v</sup> pactum cum eis de se hæreticando si de dicta infirmitate contingeret eum mori, et rogando prædictos hæreticos quod si adeo<sup>5</sup> invenirent eum gravatum quod non posset loqui, similiter reciperent eum ac si esset loquens. Et his omnibus interfuerunt ipse testis et Fabrisa, soror ipsius testis, uxor dicti infirmi, quæ absolvit eum prædictis hæreticis si contingeret eum mori, et prædictus Raymundus Rocinerii et Pontius Ramfredi de Soricino, qui adduxerunt ibi dictos hæreticos. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti adoraverunt<sup>6</sup> dictos hæreticos. Fuit etiam ibi Bernardus Albarelli de Soricino, olim<sup>7</sup> de Duroforti, gener

<sup>1</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>2</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>3</sup> -e altered from -æ.

<sup>4</sup> ms lento.

<sup>5</sup> eo deleted here.

<sup>6</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>7</sup> ms Olim.

<sup>28</sup> On this pact to receive the consolamentum, *convenientia* or *convenenza*, see Borst, *Katharer*, p. 199, and Duvernoy, *Religion*, pp. 159–160.

Item, he said that at Sorèze, in the house of William Espanhol, in the solar, he saw Bonet of Avezines and Natal his companion, heretics, who preached there. And present at this preaching were the said William Espanhol, and Raymonda, his wife, William Bernard, tailor, Raymond of Mazères,<sup>25</sup> his brother, Raymond Peter, tailor (*or* Raymond Peter Sartre), who took the same witness there, Raymond Rociner, Guiraud Terrier, Adam Reynold, Adam Olier, Arnold Cota, Fort Sabatier (*or* Fort, shoemaker), Adam Barta, Peter of Bauzelle,<sup>26</sup> [and] Hugh den Galhard. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid people of Sorèze adored the said heretics and heard their preaching.

He also said that Raymond of La Sourde<sup>27</sup> of Sorèze was there, and he 262<sup>r</sup> likewise adored the said heretics there, and heard their preaching.

He added also that Guiraud Terrier the elder brought the aforesaid heretics there, and took them away with him. And at that time, so he said, he was keeping them in his house outside Sorèze. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when Bernard Costa of Sorèze was sick with some other illness from which he recovered, on the suggestion of Raymond Rociner of Sorèze the said sick man asked for heretics to be brought to him. And the same Raymond Rociner brought to him the aforesaid Bonet of Avezines and Natal, heretics, by night. And there the said sick man made reverence from his bed to the same heretics, with his hands joined together, saying, 'Bless me', making a pact with them about being hereticated if he should happen to die from the said illness, | and asking 262<sup>v</sup> the aforesaid heretics that, if they found him so much worsened that he could not speak, they would receive him just as if he were speaking.<sup>28</sup> And present at all these things were the same witness, and Fabrissa, the same witness's sister, the wife of the said sick man, who released him to the aforesaid heretics if he should happen to die, and the aforesaid Raymond Rociner and Pons Ramfred of Sorèze, who brought the said heretics there. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid adored the said heretics. Also there was Bernard Albarel of Sorèze, formerly of Durfort,

<sup>25</sup> A quite common place-name in Haute-Garonne, Lot-et-Garonne and Tarn-et-Garonne; *DTF*; *Saisimentum*, p. 425.

<sup>26</sup> Tarn, cant. St Paul-cap-de-Joux, comm. Damiatte, arrond. Castres; *Saisimentum*, p. 357. Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 156, casts doubt on this identification, preferring a place-name, Besaucèle, not found in *DTF*.

<sup>27</sup> Common place-name; *DTF*.

dicti infirmi, qui similiter adoravit eos. Et idem *Bernardus* et Raymundus, filius spurius Raymundi Rocinerii adduxerunt dictos hæreticos de Drulia, sed prædicti Raymundus Rocinerii et Pontius Ramfredi introduxerunt eos ad dictum infirmum, ut supradictum est.

263<sup>r</sup> Dixit etiam quod dictus infirmus lega|vit hæreticis supradictis quinquaginta solidos<sup>1</sup> Melgorienses,<sup>2</sup> quos statim mandavit eis solvi quidquid de ipso contingeret. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum prædictus *Bernardus Costa* infirmaretur ægritudine qua decessit, apud Soricinum in domo sua, rogavit ipsum testem et Raymundum Rocinerii de Soricino quod darent sibi consilium de bonis hominibus, scilicet hæreticis, qui reciperent eum. Et respondit ei Raymundus Rocinerii quod tarde dixerat, quia ipse nullos sciebat tunc; sed si posset scire libenter daret opem et operam quod haberet eos. Mandavit etiam idem infirmus ipsi testi, præsentem Raymundo Rocinerii, tantum quod daret hæreticis centum solidos<sup>3</sup> Tholosanos,<sup>4</sup> et quod rogarent Dominum pro eo. Ipse vero testis non solvit prædictam peccuniam. Mandavit etiam idem infirmus ipsi testi—quem di|mittebat hæredem in bonis suis—quod cum fratre<sup>5</sup> ipsius<sup>6</sup> testis Guillelmo Pictavini, quod ambo darent pauperibus pro anima sua triginta tunicas de panno albo, quisque eorum quindecim. Ipse vero testis nondum<sup>7</sup> dedit nisi<sup>8</sup> duas, quas tradidit Grazidæ<sup>9</sup> uxori Petri de Sancto Michaeli de Thoellis, dicens ei quod daret eas duobus bonis hominibus, scilicet hæreticis, qui primo essent in domo ipsius Grazidæ.<sup>10</sup> Ipsa vero quærebat duas pro duabus filiis suis, sed ipse testis noluit dare—sed quod hæretici si vellent darent eis. Audivit tamen postea dicentem dictam Grazidam quod Raymundus, filius dictæ Grazidæ, habuerat unam et hæretici aliam. De aliis quindecim audivit ipse testis prædictum Guillelmum Pictavini, fratrem suum, dicentem quod ipse dederat eas omnes—sed non ipsi dixit testi quibus personis dedit eas. Et sunt quatuor|decim anni vel circa quod dictus *Bernardus Costa* obiit, et sunt decem anni vel circa quod ipse testis

<sup>1</sup> -os *perhaps added*.

<sup>2</sup> -o- altered; -es *perhaps added*.

<sup>3</sup> -os *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -os *added*.

<sup>5</sup> *deletion*.

<sup>6</sup> ips- *written over deletion*.

<sup>7</sup> *originally non dum*.

<sup>8</sup> *written over deletion*.

<sup>9</sup> -æ *perhaps altered from -e*.

<sup>10</sup> -æ *perhaps altered from -e*.

son-in-law of the said ill man, who likewise adored them. And the same Bernard and Raymond, the illegitimate son of Raymond Rociner, brought the said heretics from Dreuilhe, but the aforesaid Raymond Rociner and Pons Ramfred brought them to the said sick man, as has been said above.

He also said that the said sick man bequeathed | to the aforesaid 263<sup>r</sup>  
heretics fifty Melgueil shillings, which he immediately ordered to be paid to them regardless of what happened to him. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when the aforesaid Bernard Costa was sick with the illness of which he died, at Sorèze in his house, he asked the same witness and Raymond Rociner of Sorèze to give him advice about good men, that is to say heretics, who would receive him. And Raymond Rociner answered him that he had spoken too late, because he knew of none of them then, but if he could find out, he would willingly put in effort and work so that he could have them. The same sick man also instructed the same witness, in the presence of Raymond Rociner, only that he should give the heretics a hundred Toulouse shillings, and that they should pray to the Lord on his behalf. The same witness, however, did not pay the aforesaid money. The same sick man also instructed the same witness, whom he left | as heir to his goods, that with the same witness's brother 263<sup>v</sup>  
William Pictavin, the two of them should give to the poor on behalf of his soul thirty tunics of white cloth, each of them fifteen. The same witness, however, has not yet given them, apart from two which he handed over to Grazida the wife of Peter of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles, telling her that she should give them to the two good men, that is to say the heretics who were first in the house of the same Grazida. She, however, was asking for two [tunics] on behalf of two daughters of hers, but the same witness did not want to give them [for that], but that the heretics if they wanted should give them to them. Afterwards, however, he heard the said Grazida saying that Raymond, son of the said Grazida, had had one and the heretics the other. About the other fifteen, the same witness heard the aforesaid William Pictavin, his brother, saying that he had given them all away, but he did not say to the same witness to which persons he gave them. And it was fourteen | years ago or thereabouts that the 264<sup>r</sup>  
said Bernard Costa died, and it was ten years ago or thereabouts that

tradidit prædictas duas tunicas supradictæ Grasiðæ;<sup>1</sup> et sunt duodecim anni vel circa quod prædictus Guillelmus Pictavini retulit ipsi testi quod ipse iam dederat omnes prædictas quindecim tunicas.

Item dixit quod quando vidit Raymundum de Manso, hæreticum, apud Toellas, in nemore Guillelmi de Corneliano, ut supradictum est, idem Raymundus de Manso rogavit ipsum testem quod trecentos viginti solidos Tholosanos quos mitteret sibi per Petrum de Sancto Michaeli de Toellis cambiret ei pro sterlinchis,<sup>2</sup> quia, sicut dixit, volebat eos mittere in Lombardiam. Et in crastinum prædictus Petrus de Sancto Michaeli apportavit ipsi testi apud Soricinum prædictos denarios Tholosanos, et ipse testis remisit dicto hæretico decem marchas sterlinchorum per eundem Petrum de Sancto Michaeli.

264<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod quando Arnaldus | Bernardi de Soricino infirmabatur, sicut dixit in principio istius confessionis, ipse testis ivit cum Raymundo Bernardi, fratre ipsius, ad Durum Fortem, ad domum Arnaldi Raymundi Gaieti, militis, pro Guillelmo Bernardi de Ayros et socio suo, hæreticis, adducendis ad dictum infirmum. Et invenerunt eos in domo dicti militis, et cum eis ipsum Arnaldum Raymundi, qui postea fuit hæreticus combustus apud Montem Securum,<sup>3</sup> et Brunam, ancillam eius, quæ postea fuit uxor Guillelmi de Biulés de Soricino. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> dictos hæreticos. Et eadem die dicti hæretici in sero venerunt ad dictum infirmum, et prædictus Raymundus Bernardi et ipse testis exiverunt eis obviam extra villam in hortis, et introduxerunt eos in villam Soricini et in domum ipsius infirmi, et usque ad lectum. Et, iunctis  
265<sup>r</sup> manibus, dictus infirmus exhibuit reverentiam quam<sup>5</sup> | potuit dictis hæreticis.

Item dixit quod ipse testis audivit pluries Guiraudum Sartre et Aladai-ciam, uxorem eius, de Podio Laurentio, commendantes hæreticos et sectam eorum, etiam postquam pœnitentias habuerunt propter hæresim.

Item quod Fabrissam, uxorem ipsius testis, audivit aliquando dicentem quod hæreticos reputabat bonos homines. Et sunt viginti anni vel amplius.

Prædictos hæreticos credidit esse bonos homines, et veraces, et habere bonam fidem, et posse salvari per eos. Et fuit in ista credentia ex quo

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Gasidæ.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* Ster Linch'; Ster- *written over deletion*, -c- *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -um *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -unt *superscript*; *altered from* adoravit.

<sup>5</sup> *written over deletion*.

the same witness handed over the aforesaid two tunics to the aforementioned Grazida; and it was twelve years ago or thereabouts that the aforesaid William Pictavin recounted to the same witness that he had now given away all the aforesaid fifteen tunics.

Item, he said that when he saw Raymond of Mas, heretic, at Las Touzeilles in William of Corneilhan's wood, as was said above, the same Raymond of Mas asked the same witness to change into sterling for him the three hundred and twenty Toulouse shillings which he would send to him through Peter of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles, because, as he said, he wanted to send them into Lombardy. And the following day the aforesaid Peter of Saint-Michel brought to the same witness at Sorèze the aforesaid Toulouse coins, and the same witness sent to the said heretic ten marks sterling via the same Peter of Saint-Michel.

Item, he said that when Arnold | Bernard of Sorèze was sick, as he said 264<sup>v</sup> at the beginning of this confession, the same witness went with Raymond Bernard, his brother, to Durfort to the house of Arnold Raymond Gaiet, knight, in order to bring William Bernard of Airoux and his companion, heretics, to the said sick man. And they found them in the house of the said knight, and with them Arnold Raymond, who was later burnt as a heretic at Montségur, and Bruna, his maidservant, who was later the wife of William of *Biulés*<sup>29</sup> of Sorèze. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid adored the said heretics. And in the evening on the same day the said heretics came to the said sick man, and the aforesaid Raymond Bernard and the same witness went out to meet them in the gardens outside the town, and they brought them into the town of Sorèze, and into the house of the same sick man, and right up to the bed. And with his hands joined together the said sick man showed what reverence | he 265<sup>r</sup> could to the said heretics.

Item, he said that the same witness often heard Guiraud Sartre (*or* Guiraud, tailor), and Aladaicia, his wife, of Puylaurens commending the heretics and their sect, even after they had penances for heresy.

Item, that he sometimes heard Fabrissa, the same witness's wife, saying that she thought that the heretics were good men. And this was twenty years ago and more.

He believed that the aforesaid heretics were good men and truthful, and that they had a good faith, and that one could be saved through

<sup>29</sup> Not identified. Possibly Bioulle, Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Négrepelisse, arrond. Montauban; *Saisimentum*, p. 368.



primo novit eos usque ad tempus necis fratrum inquisitorum<sup>1</sup> perpetratae apud Avinionem, sed ex tunc dimisit illam credentiam: de quo sunt triginta anni vel circa.

Interrogatus,<sup>2</sup> dixit se nihil amplius scire.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone de Boniolis et fratre Petro Arsivi, inquisitoribus,<sup>3</sup> in præsencia et testimonio fratris *Bernardi* de  
265<sup>v</sup> Insula, fratris Iohannis Falgesii, fratris | Iohannis de Aspero Monte, et fratris *Bernardi* de Monte Cathedræ, Ordinis Prædicatorum, magistri Berengarii de Vernetto, *Petri* de Vaqueriis, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

In crastinum prædictus testis addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod Petrus Stephani Trulherii, de Podio *Laurentio*, dixit ipsi testi apud Podium *Laurentium* in domo sua, quod vellet videre bonos homines, scilicet hæreticos, si posset, sin autem mittere eis quinquaginta solidos<sup>4</sup> Tholosanos vel valorem. Et fuit sibi loquutus bis de ista materia. Et sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod Arnaldus Terrerii de Soricino dixit ipsi testi quod si vellet aliquid mittere hæreticis in Lombardiam, paratum esset ipsi testi, quia ipse Arnaldus Terrerii et Iohannes Bruni de Duroforti, sororius eius,  
266<sup>r</sup> viderant a quindecim diebus citra homines qui noviter venerant de | Lombardia, et quod ipse testis posset videre si vellet, et mittere per eos si quid mittere vellet. Et ipse testis respondit quod tunc non habebat paratum, et renuit videre homines illos. Et hæc verba fuerunt ad fontem Auderii supra molendinum Terrerii. Et fuerunt duo anni post vindemias proxime transactas.

Item dixit quod Guillelmus den Ath de Soricino dixit ipsi testi quod multum libenter videret hæreticos; et quod Adam Olerii dixit ipsi testi quod dictus Guillelmus den Ath viderat eos in domo Adæ Barta cum

<sup>1</sup> *ms* inquisitorem.

<sup>2</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -ibus *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -i- *written over deletion*.

<sup>34</sup> Not identified.

<sup>35</sup> Not found in *ACP. Mons Cathedra* (Mount Chair) is not found in *Saisimentum* or Font-Réaulx.

<sup>36</sup> [May 17 1278].

them. And he was in this belief from when he first knew them up to the time of the killing of the brother inquisitors which was perpetrated at Avignonet,<sup>30</sup> but from then on he abandoned that belief: which was thirty years ago or thereabouts.

Questioned, he said he knew nothing more.

He attested these things at Toulouse before brother Hugh of Bouniols and brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitors, in the presence and testimony of brother Bernard of L'Isle,<sup>31</sup> brother John Falgous,<sup>32</sup> brother | John of 265<sup>v</sup> Aspremont,<sup>33</sup> and brother Bernard of *Monte Cathedra*<sup>34</sup> of the Order of Preachers,<sup>35</sup> Master Berengar of Vernet, Peter of Vacquiers, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

On the following day<sup>36</sup> the aforesaid witness added to his confession, saying that Peter Stephen Trulhier of Puylaurens said to the same witness, in his house at Puylaurens, that he would like to see the good men, that is, the heretics, if he could, but if not to send them fifty Toulouse shillings or their equivalent value. And he spoke to him twice on this matter. And this was four years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that Arnold Terrier of Sorèze told the same witness that if he wanted to send anything to the heretics in Lombardy, it would be arranged for the same witness, because the same Arnold Terrier and John Brun of Durfort, his brother-in-law, had within the last fifteen days seen men who had recently come | from Lombardy, and that the same witness 266<sup>r</sup> could see them if he wanted, and if he wanted to send something he could send it through them. And the same witness replied that he did not then have anything ready, and he did not agree to see these men. And these words were at Auderius's spring above Terrier's mill. And, after the last grape-harvest, this was two years ago.

Item, he said that William den Ath of Sorèze told the same witness that he would very much like to see the heretics; and that Adam Olier told the same witness that the said William den Ath had seen them in Adam

<sup>30</sup> See below, 298<sup>v</sup> n. 5.

<sup>31</sup> Not found in ACP; Douais, *Documents*, p. cxxxvii, n. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Falgous: Aude, comm. Saissac. Seen acting as a witness in Carcassonne, 54<sup>r</sup> below, and (as John *de Falgosio*) witnessing an act of the inquisitor John Galand in Carcassonne in 1282 (Douais, *Documents*, p. cxc), he appears frequently in the Carcassonne depositions of 1284–1295 in D26: f. 111<sup>v</sup>, 141<sup>v</sup>, 153<sup>r</sup>, 154<sup>v</sup>, 156<sup>f</sup>, 192<sup>v</sup>, 194<sup>v</sup>, 195<sup>v</sup>, 236<sup>v</sup>, 242<sup>v</sup>, 244<sup>r</sup>, 254<sup>r-v</sup>, 276<sup>r</sup>, 280<sup>r</sup>, 286<sup>r</sup>, 288<sup>v</sup>, 313<sup>f</sup>, 316<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Roquecor, cant. Montagu-de-Quercy, arrond. Castelsarrasin. Not found in ACP.

eodem Adam Olerii de Soricino. Et de his fuit sibi loquutus dictus Guillelmus den Ath semel, in via veniendo de Podio Laurentio, et iterum, in operatorio dicti Guillelmi den Ath, et tertio, super tabulam operatorii eiusdem Guillelmi. Et sunt viginti anni vel circa.

266<sup>v</sup> Item Raymundus Riberia de | Soricino, filius *Petri* Riberiæ, fuit locutus cum ipso teste<sup>1</sup> de facto hæreticorum, commendando eos et sectam eorum—et hoc in operatorio patris illius. Et sunt tres anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod Raymundus de Sancto Petro de Candels fuit multo-  
tiens loquutus cum ipso teste de facto hæreticorum in domo ipsius Ray-  
mundi, quam habet apud Soricinum, et infra rivum Soricinum, commen-  
dando hæreticos et dicendo quod valde erant boni homines, et multum  
valebat minus terra ista quia non audebant in ea morari. Et hæc fuerunt  
a quinque annis citra.

Item dixit quod Guilabertus de Foissaco, miles, quæsivit ab ipso teste  
utrum sciebat quod in vicinia sua Soricini<sup>2</sup> possent inveniri boni homi-  
nes si necesse esset; et respondit quod non. Et sunt octo anni vel circa.

267<sup>r</sup> Item,<sup>3</sup> [anno] quo supra, decimo quin|to kalendas Iunii, prædictus testis  
adiexit confessioni suæ, dicens quod audivit Petrum Mancii de Soricino  
aliquotiens loquentem de hæreticis, et dicentem quod boni homines  
erant si auderent manere—et hoc a decem annis<sup>4</sup> citra.

Item dixit quod audivit Pontium Ramfredi de Soricino refferentem  
quod Guiraudus Terrerii, senior, dixerat ei quod Petrus Guiraudi de  
Soricino habuit quod opus fuit ei in fine—videlicet hæreticos—et quod  
hoc debebat bene scire Petrus Boca de Soricino, quia habuerat inde  
pugnum ferratum, scilicet magnam pecuniam. Et sunt octodecim anni  
vel circa.

Item dixit quod ipse testis audivit Raymundum de Camis, de Monte  
Iovis, dicentem sibi, ‘Domine, quid valet nobis quidquid facimus, qui-  
dquid lucramur, si non possumus facere commodum nostrum quando  
267<sup>v</sup> necesse est, et habere in fine quod | necesse est nobis? Quidquid enim

<sup>1</sup> -s *deleted*.

<sup>2</sup> -i *added*.

<sup>3</sup> dixit *deleted*.

<sup>4</sup> -is *probably added*.

<sup>38</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Aussonne, cant. Grenade, arrond. Toulouse; *DTF*; *Saisimentum*, p. 441.

<sup>39</sup> Tarn, cant. Cuq-Toulza, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 989.

Barta's house, with the same Adam Olier of Sorèze. And the said William den Ath spoke with him once about these things, on the road coming from Puylaurens, and again in the workshop of the said William den Ath, and a third time on the bench of the said William's workshop. And this was twenty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, Raymond Riberia of | Sorèze, son of Peter Riberia, spoke with the same witness about the matter of the heretics, commending them and their sect—and this in his father's workshop. And this was three years ago or thereabouts. 266<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that Raymond of Saint-Pierre of Gandels often spoke with the same witness about the matter of the heretics in the house of the same Raymond, which he has at Sorèze, and below the stream of Sorèze, commending the heretics, and saying that they were very good men, and that this country was worth very much less because they did not dare to stay in it. And these things were within the last five years.

Item, he said that Guilabert of Foissac, knight, enquired of the same witness whether he knew that the good men could be found in his neighbourhood of Sorèze, if there was need; and he replied no. And this was eight years ago or thereabouts.

Item, in the same year as above, fifteen | days before the kalends of June,<sup>37</sup> 267<sup>r</sup> the aforesaid witness added to his confession, saying that he sometimes heard Peter Mans of Sorèze talking about the heretics, and saying that they were good men if only they dared to stay—and this was within the last ten years.

Item, he said that he heard Pons Ramfred of Sorèze reporting that Guiraud Terrier the elder had said to him that Peter Guiraud of Sorèze had what he needed at his end, that is to say, the heretics; and that Peter Boca of Sorèze ought to know this well, because he had got an iron fist from it, that is to say, a great deal of money. And this was eighteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the same witness heard Raymond of Camis<sup>38</sup> of Montgey<sup>39</sup> saying to him, 'Sir, what worth is it to us whatever we do, whatever profit we make, if we cannot do what's useful to us when it's necessary, and have at our end | what we need? For whatever good there 267<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> May 18 [1278].

boni erat in terra eiectum et extraniatum est.' Et hæc dixit ei<sup>1</sup> apud Soricinum, ante domum ipsius testis. Et sunt duodecim anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quadam vice ipse testis dixit Raymundo Textori de Monteiovis, cruce signato propter hæresim, quod multum vellet ipse testis quod inquisitores deponerent ei cruces. Et dictus Raymundus respondit ei, dicens, 'Plus vellem quod illi propter quos porto eas—scilicet hæretici—auderent manere in terra, et quod nunquam deponerentur mihi.' Et dixit apud Soricinum, in porticu domus ipsius testis. Et hoc audivit ipse testis a viginti annis citra.

Item dixit quod cum Petrus de Drulia, miles, quondam de Soricino, avunculus Petri de Drulia qui nunc est, infirmaretur ægritudine qua decessit, in infirmitate sua intravit monasterium Soricini, et ibi as-  
 268<sup>r</sup> sumpt[is] habitum monachalem. Et hoc facto, ipse testis visitavit eum ibi, et audivit eum dicentem quod ideo intraverat monasterium et assumpserat habitum, quia non poterat extra<sup>2</sup> habere<sup>3</sup> quietem, cum Arnaldus<sup>4</sup> et Isarnus,<sup>5</sup> fratres<sup>6</sup> de Corneliano, nepotes<sup>7</sup> ipsius Petri de Corneliano, adeo importune putabant eum, et rogabant quod faceret utilitatem animæ suæ, quia si vellet ipsi adducerent ei bonos homines, scilicet hæreticos, et noluit eis acquiescere. Et sunt triginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quadam die apud Soricinum, in operatorio ipsius testis, Bernardus Castelnou de Drulia interrogavit ipsum testem, 'Domine, durabitne<sup>8</sup> semper ista persecutio bonorum hominum? Valde malum est nobis, quia magnam utilitatem animarum nostrarum possemus facere cum eis si auderent.'<sup>9</sup> Et sunt viginti duo anni.

268<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod apud Auriacum, in | domo Philippi de Auriaco, audivit ipsum Philippum dicentem sibi quod valde grave erat ei quia boni homines, scilicet hæretici, erant ita fugati de terra, quia non poterat male contingere homini qui posset eos habere in fine; et quod valde malum erat omni<sup>10</sup> homini bono, quia non audebant manere. Dixit etiam ipsi testi

<sup>1</sup> *ms et.*

<sup>2</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>3</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>4</sup> *ms Arnaldo.*

<sup>5</sup> *ms Isarno.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms fratribus.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms nepotibus.*

<sup>8</sup> *ms durabit ne.*

<sup>9</sup> *gap left here.*

<sup>10</sup> *om- written over deletion.*

was in this country has been thrown out and banished'. And he said these things to him at Sorèze in front of the same witness's house. And this was twelve years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that on one occasion the same witness said to Raymond Tisserand (*or* Raymond, weaver), of Montgey, who had been marked with the cross for heresy, that the same witness would very much like the inquisitors to remove the crosses from him. And the said Raymond answered him, saying, 'I would rather that those on whose account I wear them—that is, the heretics—dared to stay in the land, and that they [the crosses] would never be removed from me'. And he said these things at Sorèze in the porch of the same witness's house. And the same witness heard this within the last twenty years.

Item, he said that when the late Peter of Dreuilhe, knight, of Sorèze, uncle of the present Peter of Dreuilhe, was sick with the illness of which he died, he entered the monastery of Sorèze in his illness, and there he took | a monk's habit. And after this happened the same witness visited 268<sup>r</sup> him there, and he heard him saying that he had entered the monastery and taken the habit for this reason, because he could not get peace outside, since Arnold and Isarn, brothers of Corneilhan, the same Peter of Corneilhan's<sup>40</sup> nephews, pestered<sup>41</sup> him so much and begged him to do what was useful for his soul, because if he wanted they would bring him the good men, that is, the heretics, and he did not want to give in to them. And this was thirty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that one day at Sorèze, in the same witness's workshop, Bernard Castelnou of Dreuilhe asked the same witness, 'Sir, will this persecution of the good men last for ever? It is very bad for us, because we could have great advantage for our souls with them, if they dared'. And this was twenty-two years ago.

Item, he said that at Auriac in | the house of Philip of Auriac he heard 268<sup>v</sup> the same Philip saying to him that it was a very grievous matter for him that the good men, that is, the heretics, had fled thus from the country, for it could not go badly with a man who could have them at his end; and that it was very bad for every good man, because they did not dare

<sup>40</sup> Peter of Corneilhan deposed before Ferrier, December 15 1243; D24, f. 19<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>v</sup>. He persisted in denying engaging in or witnessing rites, but he admitted that during the Albigenian crusade, before 1219, he had taken part in the defense of Roquefort, where three hundred heretics had taken refuge, and he had often heard them preaching. See below, 294<sup>v</sup> n. 11.

<sup>41</sup> The meaning putare = to pester is derived here from context; it is not found in dictionaries.

similia verba apud Auriacum, in operatorio *Petri* Raterii de Auriaco. Et sunt viginti anni vel circa.

Dixit etiam quod omnes prædicti qui dicebant sibi prædicta verba erant amici et familiares ipsius testis.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre *Petro* Arsivi, inquisitore. Testes: frater Arnaldus Vasconis, frater *Petrus* Vitalis, frater Raymundus AymERICI, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

- 269<sup>r</sup> Anno quo supra, kalendas Iunii, prædictus testis adiecit | confessioni suæ, dicens quod apud Soricinum, in domo Adæ Barta, vidit Arnaldum Hugonis, diachonum hæreticorum Veteris Moresii, qui sicut dicebatur, fuerat sacerdos in seculo, et socium eius, qui, sicut credit, vocabatur Castlar, vel *Petrum* Aymerici, similiter hæreticum. Et dictus Arnaldus Hugonis prædicavit ibi. Et interfuerunt<sup>1</sup> illi prædicationi dictus Adam Barta, et Fizas uxor eius, sicut credit, et Rixendis Baussana et Auteria socia eius, hæreticæ, et Petrus Baussani, frater dictæ Ricsendis hæreticæ, tunc baiulus ibi pro Gallicis, et ipse testis, et Raymundus Petri Sartre, tunc magister ipsius testis, qui adduxit ibi ipsum testem, tunc iuvenem duodecim annorum vel circa, et Arnaldus Guiraudi et Arnaldus Mitra, hæretici, Petrus de Arca, Pontius Ramfredi, qui congregabat ibi credentes, et Guillelmus Ramfredi, frater eius, et *Bernardus* de Sancta Fide, alias vocatus Taravellus, Raymundus Roci|nerii, Petrus Carpini, Stephanus Carpini castellus, Guillelmus *Bernardi* Sabaterius, Guillelmus *Bernardi* Sartre, Adam Raynaldi clericus, qui legebat in libro hæreticorum—et dictus Arnaldus Hugonis exponebat, et similiter legebat, et loquebatur de vitulo pingui—[et] *Bernardus* Chatberti—omnes de Soricino. Qui omnes, et ipse testis, audierunt ibi prædicationem hæreticorum, et adoraverunt eos, ipso teste vidente. Et sunt quinquaginta<sup>2</sup> anni vel circa quod hoc fuit.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* inter fuerunt.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* quinquaginta.

<sup>44</sup> June 1 [1278].

<sup>45</sup> *Castellus* conjecturally expanded *castell(an)us*: castellan, occupant or guardsman or governor of a castle.

<sup>46</sup> Killed for the celebration of the return of the prodigal son, in the parable related in Luke 15.23.

to stay. He also said similar words to the same witness at Auriac, in the workshop of Peter Ratier<sup>42</sup> of Auriac. And this was twenty years ago or thereabouts.

He also said that all the aforesaid who said the aforesaid words to him were friends and familiars of the same witness.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Arnold Vascon,<sup>43</sup> brother Peter Vital, brother Raymond Aimery, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, on the kalends of June,<sup>44</sup> the aforesaid witness added | to his confession, saying that at Sorèze, in the house of Adam Barta, he saw Arnold Hugh, deacon of the heretics of Vielmorès, 269<sup>r</sup> who, so it was said, had been a priest in the world, and his companion who was called Castlar, so he believes, or Peter Aymeric, likewise a heretic. And the said Arnold Hugh preached there. And present at that preaching were the said Adam Barta, and Fizas, his wife, so he believes, and Rixendis Baussan and Auteria her companion, heretics, and Peter Baussan the brother of the said Rixendis, heretic, who was then *bailli* there for the French, and the same witness, and Raymond Peter Sartre (*or* Raymond Peter, tailor), then the same witness's master, who brought the same witness, then a youth of twelve years or thereabouts, there, and Arnold Guiraud and Arnold Mitra, heretics, Peter of Arca, Pons Ramfred, who gathered the believers there, and William Ramfred, his brother, and Bernard of Sainte-Foy, otherwise called Taravel, Raymond Rociner, | Peter Carpin, Stephen Carpin, castellan,<sup>45</sup> William Bernard 269<sup>v</sup> Sabatier (*or* William Bernard, shoemaker), William Bernard Sartre (*or* William Bernard, tailor), Adam Reynold, cleric, who was reading in the book of the heretics—and the said Arnold Hugh was expounding, and likewise reading, and he was speaking about the fatted calf<sup>46</sup>—and Bernard Chatbert, all from Sorèze. All of whom, and the same witness, heard there the preaching of the heretics, and they adored them, in the sight of the same witness. And it is fifty years ago or thereabouts that this took place.

<sup>42</sup> A Peter Ratier of Auriac, shieldbearer (*scutifer*), was among the nobles of Auriac who took the oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 and December 20–24 1271, *Saisimentum*, pp. 96 and 215.

<sup>43</sup> Assigned to the convent of Pamiers (1272); *ACP*, p. 171.



Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, cum Arnaldus de Cave' de Soricino supradictus infirmaretur ut superius dictum est, ægritudine<sup>1</sup> qua decessit, nocte præcedenti<sup>2</sup> proxime<sup>3</sup> obitum eius, Poncius Ramfredi de Soricino adduxit ad dictum infirmum Bonetum de Ovezinis et Natalem socium<sup>4</sup> eius, hæreticos, qui hæreticaverunt eum, et receperunt in sectam suam, ipso volente et consenciente expresse, ponentes librum et manus | super caput eius. Et interfuerunt illi hæreticationi prædicti Pontius Ramfredi, et Raymundus Petri Sartre, Adam Olerii, Guillelma Pictavina, mater ipsius testis, soror dicti infirmi, et ipse testis, et Fabrisa uxor ipsius testis, et Guillelmus Pictavini, frater ipsius testis, et Fabrisa, soror ipsius testis, tunc puellula septem<sup>5</sup> annorum vel circa, quæ postea fuit uxor Bernardi Costa, omnes de Soricino. Et facta hæreticatione prædicta, ipse testis et omnes prædicti, ipso teste vidente, adoraverunt<sup>6</sup> dictos hæreticos, excepta prædicta puellula, quæ non erat ætatis<sup>7</sup> discretionis. Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod alia vice, de nocte,<sup>8</sup> Arnaldus Hugonis et, sicut credit, Castlarius eius socius, hæretici, prædicaverunt in domo supradicti Adæ Barta. Et interfuerunt illi prædicationi ipse testis, et dictus Adam Barta, et Fizas uxor eius, Guiraudus | Terrerii, Petrus de Biules, Adam Rainaldi, Adam Olerii, Bernardus Medici, Petrus de Sancto Petro, [Petrus] Sartor, Raymundus Rocinerii, Pontius Ramfredi, Raymundus Raynaldi, Bernardus Chatberti, omnes de Soricino. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti, ipso teste vidente, adorav[erunt]<sup>9</sup> dictos hæreticos, et audiverunt<sup>10</sup> prædicationem<sup>11</sup> eorum. Et fuit eodem tempore, vel circa.

Interrogatus<sup>12</sup> quare primo de his celaverat veritatem, dixit quod propter amorem fratris et uxoris suorum prædictorum celaverat ea quæ modo confessus est de ipsis, et cætera propter oblivionem.

<sup>1</sup> æ- perhaps altered from e-.

<sup>2</sup> -i added.

<sup>3</sup> ms proximum.

<sup>4</sup> -um altered.

<sup>5</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>6</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>7</sup> ms alicuius.

<sup>8</sup> -e altered from -æ.

<sup>9</sup> There is no expansion sign here.

<sup>10</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>11</sup> -em added.

<sup>12</sup> -tus added.

Item, he said that at Sorèze, when the aforesaid Arnold of Cave of Sorèze was sick, as was said above, with the illness of which he died, on the night immediately before his death Pons Ramfred of Sorèze brought to the said sick man Bonet of Avezines and Natal, his companion, heretics, who hereticated him and received him into their sect, with his express will and consent, placing a book and hands | on his head. And 270<sup>r</sup> present at that heretication were the aforesaid Pons Ramfred, and Raymond Peter Sartre, Adam Olier, Guillelma Pictavin, the same witness's mother, the sister of the said sick man, and the same witness, and Fab-rissa, the same witness's wife, and William Pictavin, the same witness's brother, and Fabrissa, the same witness's sister, then a little girl of seven years or thereabouts, who was later the wife of Bernard Costa, all from Sorèze. And after the aforesaid heretication had taken place, the same witness and all the aforesaid, in the sight of the same witness, adored the said heretics, except for the aforesaid little girl, who was not of the age of discretion. And this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that on another occasion, at night, Arnold Hugh and, so he believes, Castlar, his companion, heretics, preached in the house of the aforesaid Adam Barta. And present at that preaching were the same witness, and the said Adam Barta, and Fizas, his wife, Guiraud | Ter- 270<sup>v</sup> rier, Peter of *Biules*, Adam Reynold, Adam Olier, Bernard Médecin (*or* Bernard, doctor), Peter of Saint-Pierre, Peter Sartre (*or* Peter, tailor), Raymond Rociner, Pons Ramfred, Raymond Reynold, [and] Bernard Chatbert, all from Sorèze. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid, in the sight of the same witness, adored the said heretics, and heard their preaching. And this was at the same time or thereabouts.

Asked why at first he had hidden the truth about these things, he said through love of his aforesaid brother and wife he had hidden the things which he has now confessed about them—and the rest through forgetfulness.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre *Petro* Arsivi, inquisitore. Testes: frater Raymundus Mancii, frater *Petrus* Vitalis, frater *Bernardus* de Insula, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

271<sup>r</sup> Anno Domini mille|simo ducentesimo septuagesimo nono, prædictus Petrus Pictavini, testis iuratus et requisitus *etcetera*, adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod prima vice, quando supradictus Arnaldus Hugonis, diaconus hæreticorum, prædicavit apud Soricinum in domo Adæ Barta, ut supradictum est, interfuit illi prædicationi Guillelmus Pictavini, frater ipsius testis cum aliis personis supradictis quæ interfuerunt ibi, et adoravit ibi hæreticos supradictos. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa, ut supradictum est.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> quod annorum erat tunc prædictus Guillelmus Pictavini, respondit quod octo annorum vel circa.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ, coram fratre Hugone Amelii et fratre Iohanne Girlandi, inquisitoribus. Testes: frater Arnaldus Archambaldi et frater *Bernardus* de Insula, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Raymond Mans,<sup>47</sup> brother Peter Vital, brother Bernard of L'Isle, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the year of Our Lord one | thousand two hundred and seventy-nine,<sup>48</sup> 271<sup>r</sup>  
the aforesaid Peter Pictavin, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc, added to his confession, saying that the first time, when the aforesaid Arnold Hugh, deacon of the heretics, preached at Sorèze in the house of Adam Barta, as was said above, William Pictavin, the same witness's brother, was present at that preaching with the other aforesaid persons who were present there, and there he adored the aforesaid heretics. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts, as was said above.

Asked how old the aforesaid William Pictavin was then, he replied eight years or thereabouts. These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, and brother John Galand,<sup>49</sup> inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Arnold Archimbaud,<sup>50</sup> and brother Bernard of L'Isle, of the Order of Brothers Preacher, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>47</sup> Raymond Mans, of Toulouse, was assigned to lecture in Toulouse (1268, 1270), Montpellier (1269), Carcassonne (1275) and Narbonne (1276), to lecture in theology and to engage in disputation at Agen (1273) and to lecture in theology at Béziers (1280), and he had been sent to the *studium* in Paris (1270). He was diffinitor at the provincial chapter of 1283, and prior of Toulouse (1282–1284), and he died in this office. *ACP*, pp. 131, 138, 150, 175, 192, 207, 215, 238, 263; Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 52.

<sup>48</sup> Date not specified further.

<sup>49</sup> See pp. 48–49 and 41<sup>v</sup> n. 8 above.

<sup>50</sup> Not found in *ACP*. A frequent witness to Carcassonne inquisition depositions, 1284–1295. In several he took over from the notary at the end, subscribing with this formula 'in the presence and witness of ... and of me, Arnold Archimbaud, summoned by him [the inquisitor] ... who was present at all the aforesaid things, and heard, and signed with my own hand' (in praesentia et testimonio ... et mei fratris Arnaldi Archembaudi, vocato ab eo [the inquisitor] ... qui omnibus praedictis interfui, et audiui et manu mea subscripsi); D26, f. 153<sup>r</sup>, 154<sup>v</sup>, 156<sup>r-v</sup>, 192<sup>v</sup>. Witnessing, but without this formula: f. 203<sup>r</sup>, 233<sup>v</sup>, 236<sup>v</sup>, 244<sup>r</sup>, 286<sup>r</sup>, 291<sup>r</sup>.

- 271<sup>v</sup> *Audition de Raymond de Puteo de Soreze, qui declara avoir observé les augures quoy qu'il eut iuré a Jean et a Reginal de Chartres, Inquisiteurs, de n'en user point; et que Guillaume Arnaud, Eveque de Carcassonne l'avoit consulté sur une maladie, et Pierre Raymond, Abé de Soreze, auquel il predict qu'il seroit esleu Abé de la Grasse, comme il arriva, Usalguier, Abé d'Alet, auquel il conseilla de s'accorder avec Olivier de Termes, Raymond,*  
 272<sup>r</sup> *Eveque de Tholouse, sur une affaire qu'il avoit en Cour de Ro|me, et que Guillaume Fulcodii le fit aussi consulter par ledit Abé de la Grasse deux fois, super facto Cardinalatus, et pro negotio Papatus.*

*Du mois de Septembre 1277.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo septimo, die sabbati post festum Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri, Raymundus de Puteo de Soricino, constitutus in iudicio, testis iuratus etcetera, recognovit quod ipse iuravit fratribus Iohanni et Raginaldo de Carnoto, quondam inquisitoribus, quod ipse deinceps non servaret auguria, nec daret | consilium alicui personæ, nec officio auguriæ utetur ullomodo.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> si postea servavit auguria, dixit quod sic.

Requisitus<sup>2</sup> quotiens, dixit quod non recordatur.

Requisitus<sup>3</sup> quibus personis inde postea consuluit, dixit quod pluribus—clericis, et religiosis et laicis.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> de personis: quod domino Guillelmo Arnaldo, quondam episcopo Carcassonæ, domino Petro Raymundi, quondam abbati de

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> -tus added.

<sup>3</sup> -tus added.

<sup>4</sup> -tus added.

<sup>5</sup> William Arnold Morlane, prior of Mas-Cabardès, canon of Saint-Nazaire (Béziers) and bishop of Carcassonne 1248–September 4 1255. The Morlane family was linked with heresy, as was William Arnold himself. It was alleged that he was hereticated before becoming a bishop; Roche, *Église cathare*, pp. 406, 455, 457, 460, 491. He also acted as inquisitor in 1250 and 1251; Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 176–177.

<sup>6</sup> See below, 273<sup>r</sup> n. 11.

*The hearing of Raymond of Pouts of Sorèze, who stated that he had read 271<sup>v</sup>  
 auguries, although he had sworn to John and to Reginald of Chartres,  
 inquisitors, not to practise this; and that William Arnold, bishop of Car-  
 cassonne, had consulted him about an illness, and Peter Raymond, abbot  
 of Sorèze, to whom he predicted that he would be chosen abbot of Lagrasse,  
 as occurred, Uzalger, abbot of Alet, whom he advised to come to an agree-  
 ment with Olivier of Termes, Raymond, bishop of Toulouse, about some  
 business which he had at the Roman Curia, | and that Guy Foulques 272<sup>r</sup>  
 also arranged for him to be consulted, through the said abbot of Lagrasse  
 twice, concerning the matter of the cardinalship, and for the business of the  
 papacy.<sup>1</sup>*

*From the month of September 1277.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven,  
 on the Saturday after the feast of Saints Marcellin and Peter,<sup>2</sup> Raymond of  
 Pouts<sup>3</sup> of Sorèze, brought into court, sworn in as a witness etc., acknowl-  
 edged that he had sworn to brothers John and Reginald of Chartres,<sup>4</sup>  
 the former inquisitors, that henceforth he would not read auguries, or  
 give | advice to any person, or practice the occupation of augury in any 272<sup>v</sup>  
 way.

Asked if he afterwards read auguries, he said yes.

Asked how often, he said that he does not remember.

Asked what people he afterwards advised in this way, he said many—  
 clerics, religious, and lay.

Asked about the people: lord William Arnold, formerly bishop of Car-  
 cassonne,<sup>5</sup> lord Peter Raymond, formerly abbot of Sorèze,<sup>6</sup> lord Uzalger,

<sup>1</sup> The words *concerning the matter of the cardinalship, and for the business of the papacy* have been left in Latin, possibly because a future pope consulting auguries might be considered scandalous.

<sup>2</sup> June 5 1277.

<sup>3</sup> See 122<sup>v</sup> n. 57 above.

<sup>4</sup> Eure-et-Loire, ch.-lieu dép., city and diocese.

Soricino, domino Uzalgercio, quondam abbati Electonsi, et pluribus aliis, tam clericis et religiosis quam laicis, de quibus modo non recordatur.

Item, requisitus quotiens consuluit domino episcopo, dixit quod semel tantum.

Requisitus<sup>1</sup> super quo facto, dixit quod super quadam infirmitate.

Requisitus<sup>2</sup> de loco ubi fuit locutus cum eo, dixit quod inter Saxiacum et Soricinum, in loco ubi vocatur Al Fau de Portel; et venerat ibi de  
273<sup>r</sup> quodam cas|tro suo quod vocatur Lupateria. Et fuit nuntius ipsi testi ex parte episcopi Petrus de Podio Suirano de Saxiaco, postea defunctus.

De tempore dixit quod sunt duodecim anni elapsi vel circa.

De personis dixit quod plures erant cum episcopo qui viderunt ipsum episcopum loquentem cum ipso teste in loco prædicto; sed credit ipse testis quod ignorabant de quo loquebantur.

Item, requisitus quotiens consuluit prædicto abbati Soricini, dixit quod quater<sup>3</sup> et pluries.

Requisitus<sup>4</sup> super quo, dixit quod super electione quæ facta erat in abbatem Crassensem de ipso; et dixit ei quod obtineret—et obtinuit.

De tempore dixit quod sunt decem anni vel plures.

De loco dixit quod apud Soricinum.

Requisitus de personis, dixit quod nullus alius audivit.

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> -tus added.

<sup>3</sup> -er perhaps added.

<sup>4</sup> -tus added.

<sup>10</sup> Aude, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 953. The abbey of Saint Mary of Lagrasse (or La Grasse) was founded around 778. See *DHGE*, xxix.1407–1409; Gérard, 'Sources', pp. 26–28, 31, 44–45, 49; C. Pailhès, 'Le rayonnement de l'abbaye de Lagrasse de 1100 à 1270'; J. Blanc, 'Une abbaye en réforme: La Grasse, de la fin du xiii<sup>e</sup> à la fin du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle', *CaF* 19 (1986), pp. 65–89 and 91–115; index-entry, *CaF* 19 (1986), p. 406.

<sup>11</sup> Peter's abbacy lasted from 1262 to June 27 1268. The choice of the new abbot had been entrusted to a three people, the archbishop of Narbonne (Gui Foulques), Guy, the prior of Camon, and the (not named) treasurer of Lagrasse. Their choice was confirmed by the pope, Urban IV, in a bull dated either June 5 or July 7 1262. *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de La Grasse*, ed. E. Magnou-Nortier and A.-M. Magnou, 2 vols. (Paris, 1996–2000), vol. 2, ed. C. Pailhès, no. 218, pp. 285–286. Peter was known as from Petra Lata (*ibid.*, p. lxxiv), presumably Peyrelade, and he is found in other acts of Lagrasse, nos. 220, 221, 223, 225, 226, 232, 234, 238, 239. One Peyrelade is Tarn, comm. Lempaut, cant. Puylaurens, arrond. Castres (*DTF*), 10 km NNW of Sorèze; IGN 2244 o.

formerly abbot of Alet,<sup>7</sup> and many others, both clerics and religious and laymen, whom he does not now remember.

Item, asked how often he advised the lord bishop, he said once only.

Asked about what matter, he said about a certain illness.

Asked about the place where he spoke with him, he said between Saissac and Sorèze, in a place called 'Al Fau de Portel'; and he had come there from a certain castle | of his which is called La Loubatière.<sup>8</sup> And 273<sup>r</sup> the messenger to the same witness on behalf of the bishop was Peter of Pexiora<sup>9</sup> of Saissac, afterwards deceased.

About the time, he said that twelve years have passed since then, or thereabouts.

About the people, he said that there were many with the bishop who saw the same bishop speaking with the same witness, in the aforesaid place; but the same witness believes that they did not know what they were talking about.

Item, asked how often he advised the aforesaid abbot of Sorèze, he said four times and more.

Asked about what, he said about the election which took place of him as abbot of Lagrasse;<sup>10</sup> and he told him that he would get it—and he got it.<sup>11</sup>

About the time, he said that it was ten years ago or more.

About the place, he said at Sorèze.

Asked about people, he said that no other person heard.

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<sup>7</sup> Alet: Aude, cant. and arrond. Limouz; Font-Réaulx, p. 533. Uzalger of Niort, was one of the sons of William of Niort and Esclarmonde of Laurac, parents from noble families deeply implicated in heresy in the years around 1200. 'Uzalger' as a name had an earlier tradition in the Niort family. Peter Amiel, archbishop of Narbonne (1226–1245), attested a conversation between count Simon of Montfort and William of Niort, in which William said that he could bring neither son nor daughter to the catholic faith; Douais, *Documents*, p. lxiii. At the time of a purchase by the abbey of some lands in 1234, Uzalger was abbot-elect of Alet, and he was still alive in 1258; W.L. Wakefield, 'The Family of Niort in the Albigensian Crusade and Before the Inquisition', part 1, *Names* 18 (1970), 99 n. 3, 113–114; *HGL*, iv.422–423. The Black Monk (Benedictine) monastery of Saint Mary of Alet was probably founded in the tenth century; see *DHGE*, ii.155–158, and *CaF* 19 (1986), index-entry, p. 396.

<sup>8</sup> Aude, comm Lacombe, cant. Saissac, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 965.

<sup>9</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Sud, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1005.



273<sup>v</sup> Item, requisitus quotiens consuluit supradicto abbati Electensi, dixit | quod bis.

Requisitus super quo negotio, dixit quod super discordia quam habebat cum domino Olivario de Terminis; dixit etiam quod prædicto abbati Electensi consuluit quod componeret de prædicta discordia.

Requisitus de loco, dixit quod apud Brugairolas in Redesio.

Requisitus de tempore, dixit quod sunt duodecim anni vel circa.

Requisitus de personis, dixit quod nullus alius<sup>1</sup> audiebat.

Item, interrogatus si habet aliquem librum de auguriis, dixit quod habet unum tantum, qui incipit, 'Si vols saber que ez cofres'.

Item dixit quod prædictus liber est coopertus coopertura de vitulo rubea pilosa, et in fine libri loquitur de observatione ventorum.

274<sup>r</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore, in præsentia et testimonio fratris | Petri Raymundi Baranhonis, Iacobi de Saumeri, custodis muri, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, secundo nonas Septembris, prædictus Raymundus de Puteo de Soricino, testis iuratus et requisitus ut supra, addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod ipse testis servavit auguria<sup>2</sup> aliquotiens pro domino Raymundo, quondam episcopo Tholosano, pro negotio quod habebat ulterio in curia Romana.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* aliis.

<sup>2</sup> pro domino Guidone Fulcodii *deleted*.

<sup>18</sup> On Raymond, see above, 87<sup>r</sup> n. 15. Early in 1264 Urban IV began to take action to deal with public 'rumour' (*fama*) about Raymond. This was that he was guilty of fratricide, simony and living an 'enormously dissolute life' (*vitam ... enormiter dissolutam*). Three prelates were charged to proceed to Toulouse and investigate, as inquisitors—Maurin, archbishop of Narbonne, Berengar Frédol, bishop of Maguelonne, and the abbot of Nérac. Although Alphonse of Poitiers ordered his officials to lend support, the investigation met many obstructions. Atho of Saint-Victor, at this time one of Raymond's notaries, was among those unwilling to testify against him (see the account of Atho above, p. 91). Raymond was twice in Rome during 1265 to obtain absolution from the Archbishop of Narbonne's sentence—and renewed sentence—of excommunication, from Urban IV and from his successor Clement IV, and the affair was still dragging on in 1266; *HGL*, vi.877–879, viii.1528–1531; *Layettes du Trésor*, iv.85–86, 94, nos. 4902–4905, 4918.

Item, asked how often he advised the aforesaid abbot of Alet, he said | 273<sup>v</sup>  
twice.

Asked about what business, he said about the dispute which he had with lord Olivier of Termes;<sup>12</sup> he also said that he advised the aforesaid abbot of Alet to seek a resolution of the aforesaid dispute.

Asked about the place, he said at Brugairolles<sup>13</sup> in the Razès.<sup>14</sup>

Asked about the time, he said that it was twelve years ago or thereabouts.

Asked about people, he said that no other person heard.

Item, asked if he has any book on auguries, he said that he has one only, which begins, 'If you wish to know what is hidden.'<sup>15</sup>

Item, he said that the aforesaid book is covered in a rough red calfskin cover, and at the end of the book it speaks about the observation of winds.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor, in the presence and testimony of brother | Peter Raymond 274<sup>r</sup>  
Baranhon, James of *Saumeri*,<sup>16</sup> the keeper of the prison, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, two days before the nones of September,<sup>17</sup> the aforesaid Raymond of Pouts of Sorèze, sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, added to his confession, saying that the same witness several times read the auguries for lord Raymond, the former bishop of Toulouse, for a further business which he had in the Roman Curia.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Aude, cant. Mouthoumet, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1090. Lord Olivier of Termes (ob. 1275), a powerful nobleman, whose career—beginning with heretical sympathies and fighting against the northern French and ending with crusade and the friendship of Louis IX—is discussed by Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 158–164. See G. Langlois, *Olivier de Termes, le cathare et le croisé, vers 1200–1274* (Toulouse, 2001), pp. 29, 30, on relations with the Niort family in general; Langlois does not deal with the dispute mentioned here.

<sup>13</sup> Aude, cant. Alaigne, arrond. Limoux; Font-Réaulx, p. 893.

<sup>14</sup> Region within the *département* of Aude.

<sup>15</sup> Not identified. 'If you wish to know' (*Si vis scire*) is the opening of many texts containing astrological questions; L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin* (London, 1963), cols. 1472–1476.

<sup>16</sup> Not identified. Perhaps Saumur: Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Saint-Vincent, cant. Caussade, arrond. Montauban; DTF.

<sup>17</sup> September 4 [1277].

Item servavit auguria pro domino Guidone Fulcodii quondam, primo super facto cardinalatus, secundo pro negotio papatus. Ipse vero dominus Guido nunquam fuit loqutus ipsi testi de prædictis, sed prædictus  
 274<sup>v</sup> dominus *Petrus* Raymundi, factus postea abbas Crassensis, | loquebatur ipsi testi de præmissis.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> si dominus Raymundus, episcopus Tholosanus, fuit locutus ipsi testi de observatione auguriorum super negotio suo in propria persona,<sup>2</sup> dixit quod sic: apud Tholosam, et apud Balmar', et apud Sanctum Martinum de Landa, sed nullus alius audiebat. Fuit tamen bis vel ter internuntius Petrus Pictavini de Soricino.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore, in præsentia et testimonio fratris Hugonis Amelii, prioris Fratrum Prædicatorum Tholosæ, fratris Ermengaudi Lauterii, Iacobi de Savineri, custodis muri, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -us added.

<sup>2</sup> -a written over deletion of one or two letters.

Item, he read the auguries for the late lord Guy Foulques, firstly about the matter of the cardinalship, secondly for the business of the papacy.<sup>19</sup> The same lord Guy, however, never spoke to the same witness about the aforesaid things, but the aforesaid lord Peter Raymond, who later became abbot of Lagrasse, | spoke to the same witness about the aforesaid. 274<sup>v</sup>

Asked if lord Raymond, bishop of Toulouse, spoke to the same witness about the reading of auguries for his business in person, he said yes: at Toulouse, and at Balma,<sup>20</sup> and at Saint-Martin-Lalande, but no-one else heard. However, Peter Pictavin of Sorèze acted as intermediary two or three times.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor, in the presence and testimony of brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse, brother Ermengau Lautier,<sup>21</sup> James of *Savineri*, the keeper of the prison, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>19</sup> Guy Foulques became archbishop of Narbonne October 10 1259 and cardinal bishop of Sabina December 1261, and he was pope, under the name Clement IV, February 5 1265–November 29 1268. Little can be brought to bear upon the plausibility of these claims apart from the length of the vacancies. The papal conclave had lasted long enough (October 1264–February 1265) for all sorts of behind the scenes activities. By contrast, the vacancy at Narbonne only lasted five days. See Y. Dossat, 'Gui Foucois, enquêteur-réformateur, archevêque et pape (Clément IV)', *CaF* 7 (1972), pp. 23–57.

<sup>20</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. and arrond. Toulouse-Sud; Font-Réaulx, p. 758.

<sup>21</sup> See above, 195<sup>v</sup> n. 13.

275<sup>r</sup> *Deposition de Raymond Arquier, dit Baussanus, contenant qu'il avoit veu | plusieurs heretiques qui demeuroient ouvertement a Soreze, qui se cache-  
rent sçachant l'arrivée du Comte de Montfort, et des françois; qu'ils rendi-  
rent heretique Pierre Raymond de Drulhe, que Guilabert de Foissaco, Che-  
valier donna une robe noire a Raymond de Manso, heretique; l'adora avec  
Isarn son fils, et qu'il avoit veu les heretiques dans la maison du Seigneur  
de Lobenx.*

10<sup>o</sup> kalendas Octobris 1277.

275<sup>v</sup> Anno quo supra, decimo | kalendas octobris, Raymundus Arquerius, alias Baussanus, vocatus ab inquisitoribus, testis iuratus et requisitus etcetera, dixit quod ipse fuit confessus de hæresi magistro Arnaldo Cancellario, et Amelio, capellano Sancti Stephani Tholosæ, quondam inquisitoribus, a quibus habuit pœnitentiam pro his quæ confessus fuit coram eis; et postea in crimine hæresis non deliquit.

Dixit tamen quod præter illa quæ confessus fuit dictis inquisitoribus commiserat omnia quæ sequuntur: videlicet quod apud Soricinum vidit Rixendim Baussanam et sociam eius, hæreticas, in domo propria ipsius Rixendis publice morantes, quindecim annis vel circa; et ipse testis, tunc puer, morabatur cum dicta Rixendi, quæ erat amita ipsius testis. Et tunc multotiens comedit et bibit cum ea, et multotiens associavit eam. Et sunt sexaginta anni vel circa.

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Stephen when witnessing sentences at Saint-Sernin in 1246, 1247 and 1248; Douais, *Documents*, pp. 16, 20, 30, 33, 36, 38, 61, 76, 89). Then, in 1250, Arnold and Amiel are seen twice side by side in Toulouse 609, confirming inquisition confessions. There is mention of the two of them absolving someone having been convicted of heresy, and also of a suspect appearing before master Arnold on his own. Amiel is then seen acting on his own as an inquisitor on several occasions in 1251 and 1252, and on one of these occasions Arnold appears as a witness; Amiel appears once again in 1256. If we are correct in assuming a sequence of such episcopal inquisitors, then the cessation of Arnold's and Amiel's functioning as inquisitors will have occurred by November 1253, which saw the first joint inquisitorial activities of master Stephen and Raymond Resplandi. Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 177–178, 192; 8<sup>r</sup> below.

<sup>3</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>4</sup> 'Amita' usually denotes a paternal aunt.

*The deposition of Raymond Arquier, called Baussan, containing that he had seen | several heretics who lived openly at Sorèze, who, learning of the arrival of the Count of Montfort and the French, hid themselves; that they made Peter Raymond of Dreuilhe a heretic; that Guilabert of Foissac, knight, gave a black robe to Raymond of Mas, heretic, that with Isarn, his son, he adored him, and that he saw the heretics in the house of the lord of Loubens.* 275<sup>r</sup>

*10 days before the kalends of October 1277.*

In the same year as above, ten days before the | kalends of October,<sup>1</sup> 275<sup>v</sup> Raymond Arquier, otherwise Baussan, summoned by the inquisitors, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that he confessed about heresy to master Arnold the Chancellor<sup>2</sup> and Amiel the chaplain of Saint Stephen's<sup>3</sup> of Toulouse, the former inquisitors, from whom he received penance for those things which he confessed before them; and afterwards he did not transgress in the crime of heresy.

He said, however, that apart from those things which he had confessed to the said inquisitors, he had committed all the following things: that is to say, that at Sorèze he saw Rixendis Baussan and her companion, heretics, living openly in the same Rixendis's own house, for fifteen years or thereabouts; and the same witness, then a boy, lived with the said Rixendis, who was the same witness's aunt.<sup>4</sup> And he often ate and drank with her then, and he often accompanied her. And this was sixty years ago or thereabouts.

<sup>1</sup> September 22 [1277].

<sup>2</sup> These two dignitaries of the cathedral chapter in Toulouse, Arnold and Amiel, carried out the functions of inquisitors around 1250–1252, during the period when the Dominicans had in effect withdrawn and the task was carried out by the episcopate. Arnold is first seen as precentor of the cathedral of Saint Stephen in Toulouse in 1236, as one of those who received the confession of a converted heretic, Raymond Gros; Pelhisson, *Chronique*, p. 94. Still precentor, he witnessed the sentence of condemnation of Alaman of Rouaix in 1237, and he witnessed sentences at Saint-Sernin in 1238, 1246 and 1247, when he was called a canon of Saint Stephen's (Douais, *Documents*, pp. 7, 16, 67, 71 n. 1). He became chancellor of the cathedral chapter, and he is recorded in texts as master Arnold, Arnold Pelhisson, Arnold the Chancellor, or a combination of these. The last mention is in 1254. Amiel was described as chaplain of Saint

276<sup>r</sup> Item | dixit quod vidit morantes cum dicta Rixendi et socia<sup>1</sup> ipsius, hæreticabus, multis diebus in eadem domo, et comedentes et bibentes cum eis, Guillelmum Espanhol, Raymundum de la Sorda, Guillelmam et Bernardam et Rixendim, sorores dicti Raymundi de la Sorda, de Soricino. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod eo tempore dictæ hæreticæ manebant in villa Soricini, et ibant publice per carrerias, et ad ecclesiam, et ad furnum, et publice faciebant negocia sua sicut aliæ mulieres de Soricino, cum quibuslibet de populo et quilibet cum eis.

Item dixit quod ipse testis, edoctus et instructus a dicta Rixendi, hæretica, amita sua, et omnes prænominatæ personæ, ipso teste vidente, videlicet Guillelmus Espanhol, Raymundus de la Sorda, Guillelma, Bernarda  
276<sup>v</sup> et Rixendis, sorores eius, multotiens adoraverunt<sup>2</sup> dictas hæ|reticas, flexis ter genibus, dicendo 'Benedicite' secundum modum hæreticorum.

Item dixit quod Petrus Carpini et Barrava uxor eius, de Soricino, visitaverunt multotiens dictas hæreticas, apportantes eis et dantes panem et vinum, et alia victualia. Sed non vidit eos adorantes.<sup>3</sup> Et fuit tempore supradicto.

Item vidit apud Soricinum Arnaldum Raymundi Gaiet, militem, de Duroforti, et Paulinum de Beceta, faiditos, morantes, et comedentes et bibentes cum dictis hæreticabus; sed non vidit eos adorantes<sup>4</sup> quod recolat.

Item dixit quod vidit apud Soricinum Alpaiss,<sup>5</sup> uxorem<sup>6</sup> Petri de Drulia, et Nigram, sororem dictæ Alpaiss, uxorem Galhardi de Drulia, visitantes dictas hæreticas in domum ipsarum hæreticarum, et loquentes cum eis. Et fuit eodem<sup>7</sup> tempore.

277<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod vidit Guilabertum Alsevi et Bernardum Gairaldi, monachos Soricini,<sup>8</sup> et Orbriam, matrem Petri de Corneliano, monachi Soricini,<sup>9</sup> et Alzevam, matrem prædicti Guilaberti Alsevi, monachas

<sup>1</sup> *altered, perhaps from socius.*

<sup>2</sup> *-erunt added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-ntes written over deletion.*

<sup>4</sup> *-ntes written over deletion.*

<sup>5</sup> *-s perhaps added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-em added.*

<sup>7</sup> *et deleted.*

<sup>8</sup> *originally Soricinum.*

<sup>9</sup> *-i written over deletion.*

Item, | he said that he saw living in the same house for many days with 276<sup>r</sup>  
the said Rixendis and her companion, heretics, and eating and drinking  
with them, William Espanhol, Raymond of La Sourde, Guillelma, and  
Bernarda and Rixendis, sisters of the said Raymond of La Sourde of  
Sorèze. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that at that time the said heretics were living in the town  
of Sorèze, and went about publicly in the streets, and to church, and to  
the bake-house, and they carried out their business publicly just like other  
women of Sorèze, with any of the people, and anyone with them.

Item, he said that the same witness, taught and instructed by the  
said Rixendis, heretic, his aunt, and all the people named above, that is,  
William Espanhol, Raymond of La Sourde, [and] Guillelma, Bernarda  
and Rixendis, his sisters, in the sight of the same witness, often adored  
the said heretics | genuflecting three times, saying, 'Bless us', according to 276<sup>v</sup>  
the manner of the heretics.

Item, he said that Peter Carpin and Barrava, his wife, of Sorèze, often  
visited the said heretics, bringing and giving them bread and wine, and  
other victuals. But he did not see them adoring. And this was at the  
aforesaid time.

Item, he saw at Sorèze Arnold Raymond Gaiet, knight, of Durfort, and  
Paulin of Labecède, exiles, staying, and eating, and drinking with the said  
heretics. But he did not see them adoring, that he recalls.

Item, he said that he saw at Sorèze Orpaissa, wife of Peter of Dreuilhe,  
and Nigra, sister of the said Orpaissa, wife of Galhard of Dreuilhe, visiting  
the said heretics in the same heretics' house, and speaking with them.  
And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that he saw the monks of Sorèze, Guilabert Alsieu and 277<sup>r</sup>  
Bernard Gairald, and the nuns of Sorèze, Orbria, mother of Peter of Cor-  
neilhan, monk of Sorèze, and Alzeva, mother of the aforesaid Guilabert



Soricini,<sup>1</sup> loquentes multotiens familiariter cum dictis hæreticabus. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod vidit quam plures,<sup>2</sup> de quibus modo non recordatur, visitantes dictas hæreticas, et loquintes<sup>3</sup> cum eis; tempore supradicto.<sup>4</sup>

Item dixit quod vidit multotiens Raymundum Petri de Soricino loquentem cum dictis hæreticabus in domo ipsarum apud Soricinum, et in carreria. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo Arnaldi *Bernardi* et Raymundi *Bernardi*, fratrum, vidit quadam vice Guillelmum *Bernardi* de Ayros, medicum, et socium eius, hæreticos. Et erat tunc infirmus in ipsa  
277<sup>v</sup> domo prædictus Arnaldus *Bernardi*, et ipse | testis venit ibi cum supradicta Rixendi Baussana, hæretica, amita sua; sed nihil aliud vidit ibi fieri. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod in domo Adæ Barta de Soricino vidit bis Arnaldum Hugonis et socium eius, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis ipsum Adam Barta,<sup>5</sup> et Finam uxorem eius; sed non vidit adorantes.<sup>6</sup> Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item, apud Soricinum, in domo Pontii et Guillelmi Ramfredi, fratrum, vidit Pontium Pinelli, qui fuit de Podio Laurentio, et socium eius, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis ipsos fratres, et Bonam matrem eorum, et Rixendim Baussanam, amitam ipsius testis, hæreticam, cum qua ipse testis venit ibi, et multas alias personas de quibus non recolit. Et ibi audierunt prædicationem dictorum hæreticorum; sed non adoravit eos. Et fuit eodem tempore.

278<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod apud | Soricinum, in domo prædictæ Rixendis Baussanæ, hæreticæ, vidit multotiens Guillelmum *Bernardi* de Ayros et socium eius, hæreticos, visitantes ipsam Rixendim et sociam eius, hæreticas, et ibi prædictæ, et ipse testis cum eis, adoraverunt<sup>7</sup> multotiens dictos hæreticos. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod in eadem domo hæreticarum vidit multotiens Arnaldum Hugonis et socium eius, hæreticos, visitantes easdem<sup>8</sup> hæreticas,

<sup>1</sup> originally Soricinum.

<sup>2</sup> -es written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> ms loquintes.

<sup>4</sup> sup- written over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> -m deleted.

<sup>6</sup> -ntes altered.

<sup>7</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>8</sup> -as- added.

Alsieu, often speaking familiarly with the said heretics. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that he saw very many, whom he does not now remember, visiting the said heretics and talking with them: at the aforesaid time.

Item, he said that he saw many times Raymond Peter of Sorèze talking with the said heretics in their house at Sorèze, and in the street. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that at Sorèze in the house of Arnold Bernard and Raymond Bernard, brothers, he saw on one occasion William Bernard of Airoux, doctor, and his companion, heretics. And the aforesaid Arnold Bernard was then ill in the same house, and the | same witness came there 277<sup>v</sup> with the aforesaid Rixendis Baussan, heretic, his aunt; but he did not see anything else done there. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that in the house of Adam Barta of Sorèze he twice saw Arnold Hugh and his companion, heretics. And he saw there with them the same Adam Barta and Finas, his wife; but he did not see them adoring. And this was at the same time.

Item, at Sorèze in the house of Pons and William Ramfred, brothers, he saw Pons Pinel, who was from Puylaurens, and his companion, heretics. And he saw there with them the same brothers, and Bona their mother, and Rixendis Baussan, the same witness's aunt, heretic, with whom the same witness came there, and many other people whom he does not recall. And there they heard the preaching of the said heretics; but he did not adore them. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that at | Sorèze in the house of the aforesaid Rixendis Baussan, heretic, he often saw William Bernard of Airoux and his companion, heretics, visiting the same Rixendis and her companion, heretics, and there the aforesaid [female heretics] often adored the said [male] heretics. And this was at the same time. 278<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that in the same house of the female heretics he often saw Arnold Hugh and his companion, heretics, visiting the same female

quæ, et ipse testis, multotiens adoraverunt<sup>1</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos—et eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo Adæ Barta, vidit, altera vice de duabus prædictis, cum Arnaldo Hugoni et socio eius, hæreticis supradictis, Rixendim Baussanam et sociam eius, hæreticas, et dictum Adam Barta,<sup>2</sup> et Finam uxorem<sup>3</sup> eius, Guillelmum de Bela Serra, 278<sup>v</sup> clericum, Adam Raynaldi, | clericum, Adam Olerii, *Bernardus* Medici, et usque ad quindecim vel viginti personas de quibus modo non recordatur. Et fuerunt ibi colloqui cum dictis hæreticis; sed ipse testis nescit quid dixerunt, quia puer erat. Et fuit tempore supradicto.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo Guillelmi Piscatoris, qui fuerat de Duroforti, vidit prædictos Arnaldum Hugonis et socium eius, hæreticos, et prædictas Rixendim Baussanam et sociam eius, hæreticas. Et vidit ibi cum eis ipsum Guillelmum Piscatorem,<sup>4</sup> et Ginhosam uxorem<sup>5</sup> eius, et usque ad quindecim vel viginti personas, inter quas erant, sicut credit, Pontius vel Guillelmus Ramfredi, vel ambo—sed ipse testis erat puer, et nescit quid fecerunt ibi. Et fuit tempore supradicto.

Item dixit quod postea prædicti hæretici et hæreticæ coeperunt timere 279<sup>r</sup> et latere propter adventum comitis Montis Fortis et Gallicorum, | et prædicta Rixendis Baussana, hæretica, dimisit hospitium suum.

Item dixit quod Guillelmus Espanhol eduxit dictam Rixendim Baussanam et sociam eius, hæreticas, de Soricino; et duxit eas, sicut audivit dici, ad Empeutum, ad domum Guillelmi Matfredi, ubi steterunt per annum<sup>6</sup> vel circa. Sed ipse testis non vidit eas in dicta domo. Et sunt quadraginta sex anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod postea Guillelmus Espanhol prædictus reduxit<sup>7</sup> ipsas hæreticas apud Soricinum, in domum suam, et ipse testis fuit ibi moratus cum dictis hæreticabus. Et vidit ibi Guillelmum Espanhol prædictum, morantem, et comedentem et bibentem cum eis.

<sup>1</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>2</sup> -m deleted.

<sup>3</sup> -em added.

<sup>4</sup> -em added.

<sup>5</sup> -em added.

<sup>6</sup> written over a deletion which started with the preceeding per.

<sup>7</sup> added, superscript.

heretics, who [the female heretics], and the same witness, often adored the said [male] heretics there—and at the same time.

Item, he said that at Sorèze, in the house of Adam Barta, he saw, on the second of the two aforesaid occasions, with Arnold Hugh and his companion, the aforesaid heretics, Rixendis Baussan and her companion, heretics, and the said Adam Barta, and Finas, his wife, William of Belle-serre,<sup>5</sup> cleric, Adam Reynold, | cleric, Adam Olier, Bernard Médecin (*or* 278<sup>v</sup> Bernard, doctor), and up to fifteen or twenty persons whom he does not now remember. And they had conversation there with the said heretics, but the same witness does not know what they said, because he was a boy. And this was at the aforesaid time.

Item, he said that at Sorèze, in the house of William Pêcheur (*or* William, fisherman), who was from Durfort, he saw the aforesaid Arnold Hugh and his companion, heretics, and the aforesaid Rixendis Baussan and her companion, heretics. And he saw there with them William Pêcheur, and Ginhosa, his wife, and up to fifteen or twenty persons, among whom there were, so he believes, Pons or William Ramfred, or both—but the same witness was a boy, and he does not know what they did there. And this was at the aforesaid time.

Item, he said that afterwards the aforesaid heretics, male and female, began to be afraid and to hide, because of the coming of the count of Montfort<sup>6</sup> and the French,<sup>7</sup> | and the aforesaid Rixendis Baussan, heretic, 279<sup>r</sup> left her lodging.

Item, he said that William Espanhol took the said Rixendis Baussan and her companion, heretics, out of Sorèze, and took them, so he heard it said, to Lempaut, to the house of William Matfred, where they stayed for a year or thereabouts. But the same witness did not see them in the said house. And this was forty-six years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that afterwards the aforesaid William Espanhol brought the same heretics back into Sorèze, into his house, and the same witness stayed there with the said heretics. And he saw the aforesaid William Espanhol there, living and eating and drinking with them.

<sup>5</sup> Tarn, cant. Dourgne, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 880.

<sup>6</sup> Simon was lord of Montfort l'Amaury in the Île-de-France: Yvelines, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Rambouillet; *DTF*.

<sup>7</sup> The coming into Languedoc of Count Simon of Montfort, lay leader of the Albigensian Crusade, and crusaders from northern France in 1209. Among the many accounts of the crusade, see Wakefield, *Heresy*, ch. 6, and C.J. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006), ch. 18.

Item dixit quod apud Baure, in domo Ermengaudi de Ovezinis,<sup>1</sup> vidit morantes,<sup>2</sup> multis diebus diversis et multis vicibus,<sup>3</sup> prædictam Rixendim Baus|sanam et Bernardam de Ovezinis, sororem dicti Ermengaudi, hæreticas. Et vidit ibi cum dictis hæreticabus ipsum Ermengaudum, et Guillelmum Pontii, fratrem eius, et patrem<sup>4</sup> eorum, qui tenebant ibi dictas hæreticas; sed non vidit quod adoraverunt<sup>5</sup> eas. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo Raymundi de la Sorda, vidit morantes prædictas hæreticas. Et vidit ibi cum eis dictum Raymundum commorantem, comedentem,<sup>6</sup> et bibentem cum eis. Et sunt quinquaginta septem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo Guillelmi<sup>7</sup> Bernardi Sabaterii, vidit prædictas hæreticas, et cum eis ipsum Guillelmum Bernardi, et Guillelmum Pontii nepotem eius; sed non vidit adorantes.<sup>8</sup> Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel amplius.

280<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, | in domo Castelli, vidit supradictas Rixendim et Bernardam, hæreticas, ibi morantes et latentes. Et vidit ibi cum eis dictum Castellum, et Fabrissam uxorem<sup>9</sup> eius, qui tenebant eas et celabant ibi; sed non vidit eos adorantes.<sup>10</sup> Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit Ermengaudum de Ovezinis de Baure prædictum, visitantem apud Soricinum prædictas hæreticas, et comedentem cum eis. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod postea, ipse testis exivit villam de Soricino, occasione cuiusdam maleficii, et postea non fuit ibi moratus, sed apud Blannum et apud Motam.

Item dixit quod iuxta bartam del Espinhol, prope mansum de Brugalenas, en parrochia de Blanno, ivit quadam nocte<sup>11</sup> ad videndum ibi  
280<sup>v</sup> Raymundum de Manso, et socium eius, cuius nomen | nescit, hæreticos,

<sup>1</sup> sororem dicti Erme *deleted*.

<sup>2</sup> d *deleted*.

<sup>3</sup> vici- *written over deletion*.

<sup>4</sup> p- *written over deletion*.

<sup>5</sup> ms adoravit.

<sup>6</sup> originally comenedentem; *deleted -e- perhaps altered*.

<sup>7</sup> ms Guillelmi vel.

<sup>8</sup> -ntes *written over deletion*.

<sup>9</sup> -em *added*.

<sup>10</sup> -ntes *written over deletion*.

<sup>11</sup> -e *altered from -æ*.

Item, he said that at Vaure, in the house of Ermengaud of Auvezines, he saw the aforesaid Rixendis Baussan | and Bernarda of Auvezines, sister 279<sup>v</sup> of the said Ermengaud, heretics, staying there—on many different days and on many occasions. And he saw there with the said heretics the same Ermengaud, and William Pons his brother, and their father, who kept the said heretics there; but he did not see that they adored them. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Sorèze he saw the aforesaid heretics living in the house of Raymond of La Sourde. And he saw there with them the said Raymond, living, eating and drinking with them. And this was fifty-seven years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Sorèze, in the house of William Bernard Sabatier or William Bernard, shoemaker), he saw the aforesaid heretics, and with them the same William Bernard and William Pons, his nephew; but he did not see them adoring. And this was fifty years ago and more.

Item, he said that at Sorèze | in the house of Castel, he saw the aforesaid 280<sup>r</sup> Rixendis and Bernarda, heretics, living and hiding there. And he saw there with them the said Castel and Fabrissa, his wife, who kept them and hid them there; but he did not see them adoring. And this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he saw the aforesaid Ermengaud of Auvezines of Vaure visiting the aforesaid heretics at Sorèze, and eating with them. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that afterwards the same witness left the town of Sorèze, because of some curse, and he did not live there afterwards, but rather at Blan and at Lamothe.

Item, he said that by the scrubland del Espinhol, next to the *mas* of *Brugalenas*<sup>8</sup> in the parish of Blan, he went one night to see there Raymond of Mas and his companion, whose name | he does not know, heretics; 280<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Not identified. See La Brugue, 2 km S of Blan; *DTF*.

quos invenit ibi. Et venerunt ibi similiter ad videndum dictos hæreticos Richardis, uxor ipsius testis, et Ermengardis, uxor Isarni Pagesii quondam, Raymunda de Brugalenas de Blanno, Raymundus Faber de Mota, et Arnaldus vel Bernardus de la Sala de Romenx, nepos dictæ Raymundæ de Brugalenas, quo procurante convenerunt<sup>1</sup> ibi. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes alii prædicti adoraverunt<sup>2</sup> dictos hæreticos, et audierunt prædicationem eorum. Et sunt viginti novem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Blannum, in domo Iohannis Franc quondam, vidit Raymundum de Manso et socium eius, hæreticos, de die. Et vidit ibi cum eis ipsum Iohannem Franc, et Guillelmam uxorem<sup>3</sup> eius, et Andrevam uxorem<sup>4</sup> Gitberti quondam de Blanno. Et non adoraverunt<sup>5</sup> 281<sup>r</sup> ibi<sup>6</sup> dictos hæreticos, nec vidit alios adorare.<sup>7</sup> | Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod Bernardus Trilha, quondam socer Petri Pictavini, fuit hæreticatus in ægritudine qua decessit, præsentibus hæreticis qui hæreticaverunt eum, scilicet Guillelmo *Bernardi* de Ayros et socio eius, hæreticis, et Rixendi Baussana et socia eius, hæreticabus, et ipso teste, qui venerat cum dicta Rixendi Baussana. Et vidit dictos hæreticos imponentes manus super caput dicti infirmi, et præsentem Raymundo Trilha, nepote dicti infirmi. Et erant etiam præsentibus et euntes per domum Petrus Pictavini et Fabrisa uxor eius, filia dicti infirmi, sed non intendebant dictæ hæreticationi. Sed non adoraverunt<sup>8</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos, nec vidit adorari;<sup>9</sup> nec ipse testis, nec Petrus Pictavini, nec Fabrisa prædicta remanserunt<sup>10</sup> in camera dum fiebat dicta hæreticatio. Et sunt quinquaginta anni 281<sup>v</sup> vel |circa.

Item dixit quod Petrus de Area de Soricino quondam fuit hæreticatus apud Soricinum in domo sua, in ægritudine qua decessit, præsentibus et videntibus ipso teste, tunc puero,<sup>11</sup> Rixendi Baussana et socia eius, hæreticabus, cum quibus venerat ipse<sup>12</sup> testis, et Bernardo de Area, fratre, et Raymunda, uxore, dicti infirmi, postea uxore Guillelmi Espanhol,

<sup>1</sup> conv- written over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> -erunt written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> -em added.

<sup>4</sup> -em added.

<sup>5</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>6</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>7</sup> altered, perhaps from adoravit; superfluous re at top of next page.

<sup>8</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>9</sup> altered, perhaps from adoravit.

<sup>10</sup> ms remiserunt.

<sup>11</sup> added.

<sup>12</sup> -p- written over deletion.

whom he found there. And there came there likewise to see the said heretics Richardis, the same witness's wife, and Ermengardis the wife of the late Isarn Pagèse, Raymonda of *Brugalenas* of Blan, Raymond Faure of Lamothe, and Arnold or Bernard of La Salle<sup>9</sup> of Roumens, nephew of the said Raymonda of *Brugalenas*, by whose arrangement they came together there. And there the same witness and all the others aforesaid adored the said heretics, and heard their preaching. And this was twenty-nine years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Blan in the house of the late John Franc, he saw Raymond of Mas and his companion, heretics, during the day. And he saw there with them the same John Franc, and Guillelma, his wife, and Andrieu the wife of the late Gitbert of Blan. And they did not adore the said heretics there, nor did he see others adore. | And this was at the same 281<sup>r</sup> time.

Item, he said that Bernard Trilha, the late father-in-law of Peter Pictavin, was hereticated in the illness of which he died, in the presence of the heretics who hereticated him, that is, William Bernard of Airoux and his companion, heretics, and of Rixendis Baussan and her companion, heretics, and of the same witness, who had come with the said Rixendis Baussan. And he saw the said heretics placing their hands on the head of the said sick man; and Raymond Trilha, the nephew of the said sick man, was present. And Peter Pictavin and Fabrissa, his wife, daughter of the said sick man, were also present and going about through the house, but they were not attending to the said heretication. But they did not adore the said heretics there, nor did he see them being adored; nor did the same witness, nor Peter Pictavin, nor the aforesaid Fabrissa remain in the chamber while the said heretication was taking place. And this was fifty years ago or | thereabouts. 281<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that the late Peter of *Area*<sup>10</sup> of Sorèze was hereticated at Sorèze in his house, in the illness of which he died, in the presence and sight of the same witness, then a boy, Rixendis Baussan and her companion, heretics, with whom the same witness had come there, and Bernard of *Area*, the brother, and Raymonda, the wife, of the said sick man—later the wife of William Espanhol—and Peter Pros, then a boy, a

<sup>9</sup> Very common place-name; *DTF*.

<sup>10</sup> Not identified.



et Petro Pros, tunc puero,<sup>1</sup> consanguineo dicti infirmi. Et ipse testis non adoravit ibi dictos hæreticos, nec vidit alios adorare.<sup>2</sup> Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit Adam Barta de Soricino et uxorem<sup>3</sup> eius prædictos, tenentes in domo sua Guillelmum Bernardi de Ayros, et socium eius, hæreticos. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo Petri Carpini, vidit morantes Rixendim Baussanam | [et]<sup>4</sup> sociam eius, hæreticas. Et vidit ibi cum eis ipsum Petrum Carpini et Barravam uxorem eius, comedentes<sup>5</sup> et bibentes cum dictis hæreticibus. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo Taravelli, qui alias vocabatur Bernardus de Sancta Fide, vidit morantes prædictas hæreticas. Et vidit ibi cum eis ipsum Taravellum et Avam uxorem eius, et Raymundum de Sancta Fide, filium eorum, tunc puerum.<sup>6</sup> Et vidit eos commorantes et colloquentes cum dictis hæreticibus, sed non vidit eos adorantes.<sup>7</sup> Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod quando Rixendis Baussana, hæretica, morabatur in domo sua apud Soricinum, Boeria, uxor<sup>8</sup> Bernardi Trilha, cuius domus erat contigua domui dictæ hæreticæ, visitabat ipsam Rixendim et sociam eius, hæreticas, ipso teste vidente. Et sunt | sexaginta anni vel circa.

Interrogatus,<sup>9</sup> dixit se de pluribus non recordari.

Interrogatus<sup>10</sup> quare de his omnibus non dixit aliis inquisitoribus veritatem, dixit quod propter timorem, et etiam propter amorem uxoris suæ, celaverat quod sciebat de ipsa. Et recognovit quod<sup>11</sup> malefecit<sup>12</sup> quia prædicta celavit aliis inquisitoribus.

Iuratus et in iudicio requisitus, dixit etiam quod hæreticos credidit esse bonos<sup>13</sup> homines, et posse salvari in secta eorum, ex quo novit eos

<sup>1</sup> added.

<sup>2</sup> altered, perhaps from adoravit.

<sup>3</sup> -em added.

<sup>4</sup> present as catch-word at foot of previous page, but omitted here.

<sup>5</sup> originally comedentes.

<sup>6</sup> added.

<sup>7</sup> -ntes written over deletion.

<sup>8</sup> u- written over deletion.

<sup>9</sup> -tus added.

<sup>10</sup> -tus added.

<sup>11</sup> ms et.

<sup>12</sup> ms malæ fecit, originally malæ factæ.

<sup>13</sup> ms bono.

kinsman of the said sick man. And the same witness did not adore the said heretics there, nor did he see the others adore. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he saw the aforesaid Adam Barta of Sorèze and his wife keeping in their house William Bernard of Airoux and his companion, heretics. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he saw Rixendis Baussan and | her companion, 282<sup>r</sup> heretics, living at Sorèze in the house of Peter Carpin. And he saw there with them the same Peter Carpin and Barrava his wife, eating and drinking with the said heretics. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that he saw the aforesaid heretics living at Sorèze in the house of Taravel, who was otherwise called Bernard of Sainte-Foy. And he saw there with them the same Taravel, and Ava his wife, and Raymond of Sainte-Foy their son, then a boy. And he saw them living and having conversation with the said heretics, but he did not see them adoring. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that when Rixendis Baussan, heretic, was living in her house at Sorèze, Boer the wife of Bernard Trilha, whose house was next door to the house of the said heretic, used to visit the same Rixendis and her companion, heretics, in the sight of the same witness. And this was | 282<sup>v</sup> sixty years ago or thereabouts.

Questioned, he said he does not remember any more.

Asked why he did not tell the truth about all these things to the other inquisitors, he said that because of fear, and also because of love of his wife he had hidden what he knew about her. And he acknowledged that he had done wrong in hiding the aforesaid things from the other inquisitors.

Sworn in and questioned in court, he also said that he believed that the heretics were good men, and that one could be saved in their sect, from

usque ad tempus quo fuit confessus de hæresi magistro Arnaldo<sup>1</sup> Pelisso et Amelio, capellano Sancti Stephani Tholosæ, quondam inquisitoribus,<sup>2</sup> a quibus habuit pœnitentiam; sed ex tunc non credidit nec habuit fidem in eis.

283<sup>r</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, priore Fratrum Prædicatorum Tholosæ, gerente vices inquisitoris,<sup>3</sup> in præsentia et testimonio fratris Pon|tii de Parnaco, fratris Amelii de Blanno, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, septimo idus Martii, prædictus Raymundus Arquerii, testis iuratus et requisitus ut supra, addidit confessioni suæ dicens quod apud Soricinum, in camera Petri Raymundi de Drulia, tunc infirmi ægritudine<sup>4</sup> qua decessit, vidit Raymundum de Carlipaco et quondam socium eius, quem non novit, hæreticos,<sup>5</sup> qui hæreticaverunt ibi dictum infirmum, præsentibus et videntibus ipso teste, et Rixendi Baussana, hæretica, amita sua, cum qua ipse testis venit ibi, et Orpaiss', uxore<sup>6</sup> dicti infirmi, et Pontio et Guillelmo Ramfredi, fratribus, et Hugone den Gal-  
283<sup>v</sup> hard, omnibus de Soricino. Et ipse testis et omnes | prædicti adoraverunt<sup>7</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo Rixendis Baussanæ, hæreticæ, amittæ suæ, vidit Raymundam den Ath, matrem ipsius testis, et Arnaldum Baussani, augurem, de Soricino, et Arnaldum Baussani qui moratur apud Lobenx, fratres ipsius testis, visitantes<sup>8</sup> prædictam Rixendim et sociam eius, hæreticas, comedentes et bibentes et loquentes cum eis. Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> *originally* Bernardo.

<sup>2</sup> *-bus added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>4</sup> *æ- perhaps altered from e-.*

<sup>5</sup> *-os added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-e added.*

<sup>7</sup> *-unt superscript; originally adoravit. ad- altered.*

<sup>8</sup> *originally visitantem.*

<sup>14</sup> Loubens-Lauragais: Haute-Garonne, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 965.

the time he knew them up to the time when he confessed about heresy to master Arnold Pelhisson and Amiel the chaplain of Saint Stephen's of Toulouse, the former inquisitors, from whom he had penance; but from then on he did not believe or have faith in them.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse, acting in place of the inquisitor, and in the presence and testimony of brother Pons | of Parnac, brother Amiel 283<sup>r</sup> of Blan,<sup>11</sup> and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, seven days before the ides of March,<sup>12</sup> the aforesaid Raymond Arquier, sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, added to his confession, saying that at Sorèze, in the chamber of Peter Raymond of Dreuilhe, who was then sick with the illness of which he died, he saw Raymond of Carlipa<sup>13</sup> and his late companion, whom he did not know, heretics, who hereticated the said sick man there, in the presence and sight of the same witness, and Rixendis Baussan, heretic, his aunt, with whom the same witness came there, and Orpaissa the wife of the said sick man, and Pons and William Ramfred, brothers, and Hugh den Galhard, all from Sorèze. And the same witness and all | the aforesaid 283<sup>v</sup> adored the said heretics there. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Sorèze in the house of Rixendis Baussan, heretic, his aunt, he saw Raymonda den Ath, the same witness's mother, and Arnold Baussan, augur of Sorèze, and Arnold Baussan who lives at Loubens,<sup>14</sup> the same witness's brothers, visiting the aforesaid Rixendis and her companion, heretics, [and] eating and drinking and talking with them. And this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

<sup>11</sup> A not further specified brother Amiel (Amelius) was designated to study natural philosophy in Figeac in 1287; *ACP*, p. 306.

<sup>12</sup> March 9 [1277 (1278)].

<sup>13</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 900. Raymond was deacon of the heretics of Puylaurens, 1223–1238; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 349; Guiraud, *Histoire*, i.213–214. Saix of Montesquieu saw him preaching at Puylaurens around 1228; D24, f. 127<sup>v</sup>–128<sup>r</sup>, 131<sup>v</sup>. The leper William Rigaut of Laurac saw him and his companion William Richart hereticating the leper Calvet, during the illness from which he died, in the leperhouse outside Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux around 1229; Toulouse 609, f. 75<sup>v</sup>. Raymond Bernard, lord of Cambon, went with Sicard, lord of Puylaurens, to see him in the house d'En Graissens in Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux around 1234, and both adored him; Toulouse 609, f. 242<sup>v</sup>. Bartac saw him just outside Puylaurens around 1235–1236; D24, f. 110<sup>r-v</sup>.

Item dixit quod audivit Arnaldum de Sala de Romenx et Raymundam de Brugalenis dicentes quod Guilabertus de Foissaco, miles, supradictis Raymundo de Manso et socio eius, hæreticis, dedit unam raubam nigram. Et sunt viginti novem<sup>1</sup> anni,<sup>2</sup> vel circa, quod hoc audivit dici.<sup>3</sup>

284<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod ipse testis audivit Petrum Bisbe de Blanno loquen|tem, et dicentem quod fuerant apud Rupem, et apud Sanctum Paulum de Cadaiovis. Et hoc audivit a decem annis citra.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> quare celaverat supradicta, dixit quod in parte propter timorem, et in parte propter oblivionem.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Petro Arsivi, inquisitore, in præsentia et testimonio fratris Bernardi de Insula, fratris Raymundi Guilaberti, fratris Guillelmi Aymerici, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, tertio idus Martii, prædictus testis adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod apud Soricinum, in domo Rixendis Baussanæ, hæreticæ supradictæ, vidit Raymundam Espanholam adorantem<sup>5</sup> prædictam hæreticam.

Item dixit quod vidit ibidem Raymundam Cerrudam adorantem<sup>6</sup> 284<sup>v</sup> ean|dem hæreticam.

Item apud Soricinum, in domo Guillelmi Espanholi, vidit morantem prædictam hæreticam, et Raymundam Espanholam adorantem<sup>7</sup> eam ibi.

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<sup>1</sup> -vem *added*.

<sup>2</sup> *written over deletion*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms diei*.

<sup>4</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -ntem *written over deletion*.

<sup>6</sup> -ntem *written over deletion*.

<sup>7</sup> -ntem *written over deletion*.

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<sup>17</sup> March 13 [1277 (1278)].

Item, he said that he heard Arnold of La Salle of Roumens and Raymonda of *Brugalenis* saying that Guilabert of Foissac, knight, gave a black robe to the aforesaid Raymond of Mas and his companion, heretics. And it is twenty-nine years ago, or thereabouts, that he heard this said.

Item, he said that the same witness heard Peter Bisbe of Blan talking, | 284<sup>r</sup>  
and saying that they had been at Laroque and Saint-Paul Cap-de-Joux. And he heard this within the last ten years.

Asked why he had hidden the aforesaid things, he said that in part through fear and in part through forgetfulness.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor, in the presence and testimony of brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother Raymond Guilabert,<sup>15</sup> brother William Aimery,<sup>16</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and of me, Atho of Saint Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, three days before the ides of March,<sup>17</sup> the aforesaid witness added to his confession, saying that at Sorèze in the house of Rixendis Baussan, the aforesaid heretic, he saw Raymonda Espanhol adoring the aforesaid heretic.

Item, he said that in the same place he saw Raymonda Cerrud adoring the same | heretic. 284<sup>v</sup>

Item, he saw the aforesaid heretic living at Sorèze, in the house of William Espanhol, and Raymonda Espanhol adoring her there.

<sup>15</sup> Born at Castres, Raymond Guilabert was assigned to study logic at Limoges (1262), designated lecturer at Limoges (1271) and Montauban (1272), lecturer in theology at Castres (1273), Montauban (1277, 1282), Agen (1286) and Cahors (1287), to lecture on the bible at Toulouse (1293), and as a procurator in an appeal to the curia (1290). He was made prior of Montauban in 1293 and he died at Toulouse on September 29 1295 while still prior. *ACP*, pp. 93, 156, 163, 175, 213, 250, 258, 288, 294, 304, 344, 373; Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 125; 'Mort des prieurs', no. 171, p. 195.

<sup>16</sup> William Aimery, from Mas-Saintes-Puelles, Toulousan, was assigned lecturer in Arts at Périgueux (1272) and Cahors (1273), lecturer in theology at Toulouse (1281), lecturer at the new convent of Rodez (1284), where he stayed briefly before going to study in Paris, lecturer in theology at Agen (1287), again lecturer at Agen (1291), and prior of Brives (1290–1291) and Carcassonne (1292–1293), where he died in 1293. He witnessed a Carcassonne deposition in 1293; D26, f. 151<sup>v</sup>; *ACP*, pp. 164, 176, 248, 279, 304, 328, 350; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 102, 166, 210; 'Mort des prieurs', no. 69, p. 172.

Item in domo Taravelli vidit morantem<sup>1</sup> prædictam hæreticam. Et vidit ibi cum ea Raymundam Arnaldam, filiam dicti Taravelli; sed non vidit eam adorantem.<sup>2</sup>

Item in domo prædictæ Rixendis Baussanæ, hæreticæ, vidit loquentes cum ea *Bernardus* Bartam et Iohannem Clerici, de Soricino. Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa quod hæc fuerunt.

Item correxuit se, dicens quod Petrus Pictavini et Fabrisa uxor eius interfuerunt hæreticationi Bernardi Trilha, patris dictæ Fabrissæ, de qua loquutus est superius, et quod similiter interfuit ibi uxor *Bernardi* 285<sup>r</sup> Raynaldi, de cuius nomine non recolit, et quod ipse testis et omnes alii | qui erant ibi adoraverunt<sup>3</sup> dictos hæreticos.

Item addidit quod quando vidit Raymundum de Manso et socium eius, hæreticos, iuxta bartam del Espinhol prope Mansum de Brugalenis, ut supra dictum est, vidit ibi cum eis Guilabertum de Foissaco, militem, et *Petrum* Olibam de Blanno, adorantes<sup>4</sup> prædictos hæreticos.

Item dixit quod quando vidit prædictos hæreticos in domo Iohannis Franc de Blanno, ut supradictum est, vidit ibi cum supradictis personis quæ ibi erant Isarnum de Foissaco, filium dicti Guilaberti, adorantem<sup>5</sup> prædictos hæreticos.

Interrogatus<sup>6</sup> quare celaverat ista, dixit quod propter timorem.

Item dixit quod audivit Petrum Bisbe de Blanno dicentem quod Prunellus fuerat apud Arzila in domo patris ipsius Petri.<sup>7</sup> Et sunt decem anni vel circa quod hæc audivit.

285<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod audivit dominam Richam, uxorem quondam Lobenchi, domini de Mota qui nunc est, [referentem] quod duo hæretici qui exiverant domum Pontii Fabri de Mota, ibant versus Auriachum, et quod in via, prope molendinum de Esperavel, iuxta quandam bartam, Guillelmus Oalrici, domicellus, qui moratur cum domino Lobenx prædicto, fuit loquutus cum dictis hæreticis, et quod hoc vidit dictus Lobenx, sed ipse non fuit loquutus cum eis. Audivit etiam prædictam dominam referentem quod præfatus Guillelmus Oalrici fuerat loquutus cum dictis

<sup>1</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>2</sup> *-ntem written over deletion.*

<sup>3</sup> *-erunt added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-ntes added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-ntem added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-tus added.*

<sup>7</sup> *per deleted.*

Item, he saw the aforesaid heretic living in the house of Taravel. And he saw there with her Raymonda Arnold, daughter of the said Taravel; but he did not see her adoring.

Item, in the house of the aforesaid Rixendis Baussan, heretic, he saw Bernard Barta and John Clerc of Sorèze talking with her. And it was forty-five years ago or thereabouts that these things took place.

Item, he corrected himself, saying that Peter Pictavin and Fabrissa his wife were present at the heretication of Bernard Trilha, father of the said Fabrissa, about which he spoke above, and that the wife of Bernard Reynold, whose name he does not remember, was likewise present there, and that the same witness and all the others | who were there adored the 285<sup>r</sup> said heretics.

Item, he added that when he saw Raymond of Mas and his companion, heretics, by the scrubland del Espinhol near the *mas* of *Brugalenas*, as was said above, he saw there with them Guilabert of Foissac, knight, and Peter Oliba of Blan, adoring the aforesaid heretics.

Item, he said that when he saw the aforesaid heretics in the house of John Franc of Blan, as was said above, he saw there, with the aforesaid persons who were there, Isarn of Foissac, son of the said Guilabert, adoring the aforesaid heretics.

Asked why he had hidden these things, he said through fear.

Item, he said that he heard Peter Bisbe of Blan saying that Prunel had been at Aussillon<sup>18</sup> in the house of the father of the same Peter. And it was ten years ago or thereabouts that he heard these things.

Item, he said that he heard Lady Richa, late wife of Loubens,<sup>19</sup> the 285<sup>v</sup> present lord of Lamothe, [saying] that two heretics who had left the house of Pons Faure (*or* Pons, smith) of Lamothe were going towards Auriac, and that on the way, near the mill of *Esperavel*<sup>20</sup> by some scrubland, William Olric, squire,<sup>21</sup> who lives with the aforesaid lord Loubens, spoke with the said heretics; and that the said Loubens saw this, but he himself did not speak with them. He also heard the aforesaid lady recounting that the aforesaid William Olric had spoken with the said heretics in

<sup>18</sup> Tarn, cant. Mazamet-Sud-Ouest, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 870.

<sup>19</sup> Lord Loubens, knight, was among the nobles of Puylaurens who took the oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 and December 20–24 1271, *Saisimentum*, pp. 97 and 217; see p. 97 n. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Not identified.

<sup>21</sup> William Olric was among the nobles of the *bailie* of Laurac who took an oath of loyalty to the king of France, December 20–24 1271, *Saisimentum*, p. 208.



hæreticis in domo supradicti Pontii Fabri, et hoc debent scire idem Pontius et Guillelma uxor eius, et filius eorum maior, et filia postea coniugata apud Foissacum. Et fuit annus in æstate<sup>1</sup> proxime transacta, quod ipse testis audivit prædictam dominam hæc referentem.

286<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod ipse testis audivit dominum Amanevum de Lobenx, militem quondam, [dicentem] quod Bernardus Audebaudi de Algariis fuit hæreticatus in ægritudine qua decessit. Et hoc deberet scire Pontius Audebaudi, filius eius spurius.

Interrogatus<sup>2</sup> quare prædicta celaverat, dixit quod propter timorem.

Item adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod vergerius de Soricino fuit hæreticatus apud Soricinum in domo sua, in ægritudine qua decessit, per Guillelmum *Bernardi* de Ayros et Raymundum de Carlipaco, hæreticos. Et interfuerunt dictæ hæreticationi Guillelmus *Bernardi* Sabaterius, et uxor eius, soror Petri Boca, et idem *Petrus* Boca, et Rixendis Baussana, hæretica, cum qua ipse testis venit ibi usque ad hostium domus illius—  
286<sup>v</sup> sed non intravit ipse testis, nec interfuit dictæ hæreticationi, nec vidit eam | fieri, sed hoc audivit dici a prædictis Guillelmo *Bernardi* et Espanholo. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo Raymundi de Tricivilla, quondam capellani Soricini, vidit duas hæreticas, sorores dicti capellani. Et tunc morabatur in dicta domo Iohannes Clerici, filius dicti capellani. Et sunt quadraginta septem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud<sup>3</sup> Villam Novam prope Lobenx, in domo Guillelmi Boerii, in solario vidit bis Raymundum de Manso et socium eius, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis, prima vice, ipsum Guillelmum Boerii et uxorem eius, Petrum de Massolenx<sup>4</sup> et sororem eius, uxorem Albige-sii, quæ modo moratur apud Vaurum, et Pontium de Podiol, omnes de

<sup>1</sup> æ- added, probably by reader.

<sup>2</sup> -tus added.

<sup>3</sup> added, superscript.

<sup>4</sup> first -s- written over deletion.

<sup>25</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1095.

<sup>26</sup> See his deposition, 2<sup>v</sup> below.

<sup>27</sup> Villeneuve-lès-Lavaur, 2 km from Loubens: Tarn, cant. Lavaur, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1108, DTF.

<sup>28</sup> Aude, cant. Alzonne, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 992.

<sup>29</sup> Personal name meaning 'man from Albi'.

the house of the aforesaid Pons Faure, and the same Pons and Guillelma his wife, and their older son, and the daughter, who was later married at Foissac, should know this. And it was a year before last summer that the same witness heard the aforesaid lady recounting these things.

Item, he said that the same witness heard the late lord Amanieu of Loubens, knight, saying that Bernard Audebaud of Algans was hereticated in the illness of which he died. And Pons Audebaud,<sup>22</sup> his illegitimate son, should know this. 286<sup>r</sup>

Asked why he had hidden the aforesaid things, he said through fear.

Item,<sup>23</sup> he added to his confession, saying that the *viguier*<sup>24</sup> of Sorèze was hereticated at Sorèze in his house, in the illness of which he died, by William Bernard of Airoux and Raymond of Carlipa, heretics. And present at the said heretication were William Bernard, shoemaker, and his wife, the sister of Peter Boca, and the same Peter Boca, and Rixendis Baussan, heretic, with whom the same witness came there right up to the doorway of that house—but the same witness did not go in, nor was he present at the said heretication, nor did he see it | take place, but he heard it said by the aforesaid William Bernard and Espanhol. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts. 286<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that at Sorèze in the house of Raymond of Trévillie,<sup>25</sup> late chaplain of Sorèze, he saw two heretics, sisters of the said chaplain. And John Clerc,<sup>26</sup> the son of the said chaplain, was living in the said house then. And this was forty-seven years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Villeneuve near Loubens,<sup>27</sup> in the house of William Boer, in the solar, he twice saw Raymond of Mas and his companion, heretics. And on the first occasion he saw there with them the same William Boer, and his wife, Peter of Moussoulens<sup>28</sup> and his sister, the wife of Albigesius,<sup>29</sup> who now lives at Lavaur, and Pons of Puylaurens,

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<sup>22</sup> A Bernard (B[ernardus]) Audebaut married the former heretic Berengaria, sister of the knight Saix of Montesquieu, around 1216; D24, f. 126<sup>v</sup>. Pons Audebaud was among the nobles of Puylaurens who took the oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 and December 20–24 1271, *Saisimentum*, pp. 97 and 217.

<sup>23</sup> [March 13 1277 (1278)]. An addendum to the previous deposition.

<sup>24</sup> Derived from *vicarius* (the word translated into English as ‘vicar’), a *viguier* denoted not an ecclesiastical figure but rather the principal secular official in a district called a *viguerie* (vicarage), which was the area in which he exercised his authority. See below, 316<sup>r</sup> n. 75, on the *viguier* of Toulouse.

Villanova, et Barravum, Pontium Aycardi, Pontium Cavaerii, et Petrum  
 287<sup>r</sup> Fogerii, omnes de Mota—qui tunc, | cum saumariis,<sup>1</sup> portabant bladum  
 Tholosæ. Et ibi ipse testis, et omnes prædicti, adoraverunt<sup>2</sup> dictos hære-  
 ticos. Et sunt triginta anni vel circa.

Item, secunda vice, vidit ibidem eosdem hæreticos, et cum eis prædic-  
 tos Guillelmum<sup>3</sup> Boerii et uxor eius, et Petrum<sup>4</sup> de Mossolenx et prædic-  
 tam sororem eius, et Albigesium virum<sup>5</sup> ipsius, et Arnaldum Baussani,<sup>6</sup>  
 fratrem ipsius testis, de Lobenx; qui omnes, ipso teste præsentem et vidente,  
 et ipse testis cum eis, adoraverunt<sup>7</sup> dictos hæreticos. Et fuit eodem tem-  
 pore.

Item dixit quod apud Blannum, in domo domini Lobenx quondam,  
 vidit Raymundam, sororem Petri de Mossolenx, hæreticam, morantem  
 ibi, et apportantem aquam. Et dictus Petrus erat tunc baiulus dicti domini  
 Lobenx,<sup>8</sup> sed<sup>9</sup> credit ipse testis quod nullus sciebat dictam mulierem esse  
 287<sup>v</sup> hæreticam, nisi<sup>10</sup> dictus Petrus frater illius, et ipse testis | et Raymundus  
 Escarantelli de Blanno. Et dicta hæretica stetit ibi per octo dies vel circa.  
 Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod quadam die, cum ipse testis mandaret boves<sup>11</sup> pro  
 domino suo, vidit in manso de Catmort, iuxta domum Ermengardis  
 Pagesie, Raymundum de Manso et socium eius, hæreticos, stantes pedi-  
 bus. Et vidit ibi cum eis colloquentes Ermengardim Pagesiam, Michaelem  
 Pagesii, et Raymundum Fabri de Casmors. Ipse tamen testis non adoravit  
 ibi dictos hæreticos,<sup>12</sup> nec vidit alios adorare.<sup>13</sup> Et sunt triginta anni vel  
 circa.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo Rixendis Baussane, vidit  
 pluries Petrum Boca et sororem eius, uxorem Petri Mancii de Soricino,  
 stantes et loquentes cum dicta hæretica; non simul, sed sigillatim. Et sunt  
 quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Saumarus.

<sup>2</sup> *altered from* adoravit.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* Guillelmus.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* Petrus.

<sup>5</sup> *originally* unum.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* Baussavi.

<sup>7</sup> *-erunt added.*

<sup>8</sup> *-b- altered.*

<sup>9</sup> *p deleted.*

<sup>10</sup> *ms* nec.

<sup>11</sup> *superscript.*

<sup>12</sup> *ms* hæricos.

<sup>13</sup> *-re added.*

all from Villeneuve, and Barrau, Pons Aycard, Pons Cavaer, and Peter Fogier, all from Lamothe—who were then | taking corn to Toulouse on 287<sup>r</sup> packhorses. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid adored the said heretics. And this was thirty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, on the second occasion he saw the same heretics in the same place, and with them the aforesaid William Boer, and his wife, and Peter of Moussoulens, and his aforesaid sister, and her husband Albigesius, and Arnold Baussan, the same witness's brother, from Loubens; all of whom, in the presence and sight of the same witness, and the same witness with them, adored the said heretics. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that at Blan, in the house of the late lord Loubens, he saw Raymonda, sister of Peter of Moussoulens, heretic, living there, and bringing water there. And the said Peter was then the *bailli* of the said lord Loubens, but the same witness believes that no-one knew that the said woman was a heretic, except the said Peter her brother, and the same witness | and Raymond Escarantel of Blan. And the said heretic 287<sup>v</sup> stayed there for eight days or thereabouts. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that one day when the same witness was in charge of oxen on behalf of his lord, he saw, in the *mas* of *Catmort*,<sup>30</sup> by the house of Ermengardis Pagèse, Raymond of Mas and his companion, heretics, standing on their feet. And he saw there in conversation with them Ermengarde Pagèse, Michael Pagèse and Raymond Faure (*or* Raymond, smith) of *Casmors*. However the same witness did not adore the said heretics there, nor did he see others adore. And this was thirty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Sorèze in the house of Rixendis Baussan he often saw Peter Boca, and his sister the wife of Peter Mans of Sorèze, standing and speaking with the said heretic; not together but singly. And this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

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<sup>30</sup> Not identified. In the second occurrence of *Catmort* it denotes Raymond Faure's place of origin, but in this first occurrence perhaps it is a shorthand reference to him: the *mas* that belongs to *Catmort*. If *Catmort* does not need to be a local place, it could be a rendering of Gat Mort, a tributary of the Garonne in the *département* of Gironde; DTF.

288<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod prædictus Raymundus de Triervilla, capellanus de Soricino, invitatus quadam die a Rixendi Baussana, hæretica supradicta, comederat<sup>1</sup> cum ea in domo ipsius hæreticæ. Et fuit ibi cum dicto capellano, sicut ipse testis credit, Iohannes Clericus, filius ipsius capellani, sed non recordatur plene. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre *Petro* Arsivi, inquisitore, in præsentia et testimonio fratris Bartholomæi de Arcanhano, fratris Amelii de Blanno, fratris *Bernardi* de Insula, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -derat *written over deletion*.

Item, he said that the aforesaid Raymond of Tréville, chaplain of 288<sup>r</sup>  
Sorèze, invited one day by Rixendis Baussan, the aforesaid heretic, ate  
with her in the house of the same heretic. And there with the said chaplain  
was—so the same witness believes—John Clerc, son of the same chaplain;  
but he does not remember fully. And this was at the same time.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Arsieu, inquisi-  
tor, in the presence and testimony of brother Bartholomew of Arcagne,  
brother Amiel of Blan, brother Bernard of L'Isle, of the Order of Preach-  
ers, and of me, Atho of Saint Victor, public notary, who wrote these  
things.

288<sup>v</sup> *Deposition d'Ermengarde, vefue d'Isarn Pagesii, contenant que le Seigneur de Lobenx, et Berengere sa femme, avoient | ordonné audit Isarn, et a Guillaume Pages, freres, de loger dans leur metairie Guillaume d'Ayros, Medecin, Bernard Gatbert, et autres heretiques.*

5<sup>o</sup> *kalendas octobris audit an.*

Anno quo supra, quinto kalendas Octobris, Ermengardis, uxor quondam Isarni Pagesii de Blanno, adducta capta, testis iurata<sup>1</sup> et requisita,<sup>2</sup> etcetera, dixit quod apud Blannum, in borda ipsius Isarni Pagesii et Guillelmi Pagesii, fratrum, vidit Guillelmum Bernardi de Ayros, medicum, et Bernardum Gitberti, hæreticos, et Bernardam, sororem dicti Guillelmi Bernardi, et Git|bertam, sororem dicti Bernardi Gitberti, hæreticas, qui et quæ steterunt ibi per quatuor dies. Et tenebant eos dicti fratres in domo sua de mandato domini Lobenx quondam, domini eorum, et dominæ Berengeriæ,<sup>3</sup> uxoris eius. Et vidit ibi tunc cum dictis hæreticis et hæreticabus prædictis, Isarnum Pagesii, maritum ipsius testis, et Guillelmum Pagesii, fratres, et Iohannem Franc de Blanno, qui ducebat eos. Morabatur etiam ibi cum dictis hæreticis et hæreticabus Mozoissa, hæretica, quæ serviebat eis. Ipsa vero testis erat tunc iuvenis, et non adoravit dictos hæreticos, nec hæreticas, nec vidit alios adorare<sup>4</sup>—nec aliud ibi fecit, nec vidit fieri cum eis. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit eosdem hæreticos et hæreticas apud Blannum, in domo Bernardi Fabri ...<sup>5</sup> Petrum Olibam de Blanno, Iohannem Franc, et 289<sup>v</sup> Guillelmum Fogerii | de Mota. Ipsa vero testis non fuit tunc infra dictam domum,<sup>6</sup> nec adoravit dictos hæreticos, nec vidit alios adorare,<sup>7</sup> nec audiuit prædicationem eorum; sed alii prædicti audiebant. Ipsa tamen testis

<sup>1</sup> Originally iuratus.

<sup>2</sup> Originally requisitus.

<sup>3</sup> third -e- altered from -a-.

<sup>4</sup> -re written over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> gap left.

<sup>6</sup> -um written over deletion.

<sup>7</sup> -re written over deletion.

*The deposition of Ermengardis, widow of Isarn Pagèse, containing that the lord of Loubens, and Berengaria his wife, had | ordered the said Isarn, 288<sup>v</sup> and William Pagèse, brothers, to lodge in their cowshed William of Airoux, doctor, Bernard Gitbert, and other heretics.*

*5 days before the kalends of October in the said year.*

In the same year as above, five days before the kalends of October,<sup>1</sup> Ermengardis, the wife of the late Isarn Pagèse of Blan, brought out as a captive, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that at Blan, in a barn belonging to the same Isarn Pagèse and William Pagèse, brothers, she saw William Bernard of Airoux, doctor, and Bernard Gitbert, male heretics, and Bernarda, the sister of the said William Bernard, and | 289<sup>r</sup> Gitberta, the sister of the said Bernard Gitbert, female heretics, who, both men and women, stayed there for four days. And the said brothers kept them in their house at the command of the late lord Loubens, their lord, and lady Berengaria, his wife. And she saw there then with the said male heretics and aforesaid female heretics, Isarn Pagèse, the same witness's husband, and William Pagèse, brothers, and John Franc of Blan, who brought them. Also living there with the said heretics, male and female, was Mozoissa, heretic, who served them. The same witness, indeed, was young then, and did not adore the said heretics, male or female, nor did she see others adore—nor did she do anything else there, or see anything done with them. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, she said that she saw the same heretics, male and female, at Blan, in the house of Bernard Faure (or Bernard, smith) ...<sup>2</sup> Peter Oliba of Blan, John Franc, and William Fogier | of Lamothe. The same witness, however, 289<sup>v</sup> was not inside the said house then, nor did she adore the said heretics, or see others adore, nor did she hear their preaching; but the aforesaid others heard. The same witness however, went back from the door. She

<sup>1</sup> September 27 [1277].

<sup>2</sup> A series of dashes here presumably indicates that the original manuscript was illegible at this point. The following names seem to be of people seen with the heretics.



de hostio retrocessit. Audivit enim dici quod ibi fuit cum<sup>1</sup> dictis hæreticis et aliis prædictis personis Terrenus de Blanno. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Alibi non vidit hæreticos, nec adoravit eos, nec audivit prædicationem eorum, nec dedit eis aliquid nec misit, nec spem nec fidem in illis habuit, nec aliud scit de facto hæresis.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, priore Fratrum Prædicatorum Tholosæ, gerente vices inquisitoris,<sup>2</sup> in præsentia et testimonio fratris Amelii de Blanno, Iacobi custodis muri, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

290<sup>r</sup> Anno quo supra, quinto kalendas Decembris, prædicta testis, educta de carcere, addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod vidit Iohannem Franc et Petrum Olibam supradictos, apponentes victualia supradictis hæreticis et hæreticibus dum morabantur apud Catmort in prædicta borda.

Interrogata<sup>3</sup> sæpius, dixit se nihil amplius scire de facto hæresis.

Item, interrogata<sup>4</sup> quare hoc anno apud Blannum, in abiuratione<sup>5</sup> generali coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco super his, non dixerat veritatem, dixit quod propter insanitatem<sup>6</sup> et insipientiam suam.

Hæc deposuit coram fratre Petro Arsivi apud Tholosam, et iuravit, et abiuravit, et fuit reconciliata,<sup>7</sup> in præsentia et testimonio fratris Petri Vasconis, fratris Bernardi de Insula, fratris Amelii de Blanno, et mei,

290<sup>v</sup> Athonis de Sancto Victore, | publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>2</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-a added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-a added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-atione added.*

<sup>6</sup> *written over deletion; in- added.*

<sup>7</sup> *-ata written over deletion.*

also heard it said that Terren of Blan was there with the said heretics and other aforesaid people. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

She did not see heretics elsewhere, nor did she adore them, nor did she hear their preaching, nor did she give or send them anything, nor did she have any hope or faith in them, nor does she know anything else about the matter of heresy.

These things she attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse, acting in place of the inquisitor, in the presence and testimony of brother Amiel of Blan, James the keeper of the prison, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, five days before the kalends of December,<sup>3</sup> 290<sup>r</sup> the aforesaid witness, brought out from prison, added to her confession, saying that she saw the aforesaid John Franc and Peter Oliba serving food to the aforesaid male and female heretics while they were living at *Catmort* in the aforesaid barn.

Questioned repeatedly, she said that she knew nothing more about the matter of heresy.

Item, asked why this year at Blan, in the general abjuration on these matters before brother Pons of Parnac, she had not told the truth, she said because of her madness and stupidity.

These things she attested before brother Peter Arsieu at Toulouse; and she took an oath and abjured, and was reconciled, in the presence and testimony of brother Peter Vascon,<sup>4</sup> brother Bernard de l'Isle, brother Amiel of Blan, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, | public notary, who wrote 290<sup>v</sup> these things.

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<sup>3</sup> November 27 [1277].

<sup>4</sup> He is not the Peter Vascon referred to in acts of provincial chapters, who died in 1268 (*ACP*, p. 135), but he may be the Peter Vascon described by Gui. Coming from the Toulouse convent, this one became prior of Auvillar (1322–1323), and was then assigned to study in Paris; Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 196; Douais, *Gascogne*, p. 463. See also Douais, *Documents*, pp. 232, 240, on a Peter Vascon who was an inquisition witness in Carcassonne (1256, 1258).

*Deposition de Guillaume den Ath de Soreze, contenant qu'il avoit veu Rixendis Baussana, heretique, que Pierre Raymond de Milsegle, Abé de Soreze, avoit prise et menée a Tholouse, ou elle fut brûlée.*<sup>1</sup>

14<sup>o</sup> kalendas decembris 1277.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo<sup>2</sup> septimo, decimo  
 291<sup>r</sup> Ath quon|dam de Soricino, testis iuratus et requisitus *etcetera*, dixit quod  
 quadam die vidit Rixendim Baussanam de Soricino, hæreticam, euntem  
 solam per carreriam Soricini, et intrantem domum Raymundi Baussani,  
 fratris sui. Et infra tres vel quatuor dies fuit murmur in populo Soricini  
 quod dicta Rixendis, quæ antea latitaverat, redierat, et quod erat in dicta  
 domo. Et tunc dominus Petrus Raymundi de Milsegle, abbas Soricini,<sup>3</sup>  
 venit<sup>4</sup> ad dictam domum, et cepit<sup>5</sup> dictam hæreticam, et duxit eam  
 Tholosæ, ubi fuit combusta—sicut ipse testis audivit dici.

Interrogatus<sup>6</sup> quare non cepit<sup>7</sup> dictam hæreticam quando vidit eam  
 intrantem dictam domum, vel saltem non clamavit ut caperetur, dixit  
 quod puer erat, et credidit, et dicebatur, quod venerat secunda, voluntate<sup>8</sup>  
 Ecclesiæ. Et sunt triginta anni et amplius.

291<sup>v</sup> Interrogatus,<sup>9</sup> dixit quod nunquam fuit loquutus cum dicta | hæretica,  
 nec cum aliis hæreticis vel hæreticabus, nec adoravit eos, nec audivit  
 prædicationem eorum, nec dedit eis aliquid nec misit, nec spem nec  
 fidem in illis habuit, nec aliquid scit amplius de facto hæresis.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Petro Arsivi, inquisitore, in præ-  
 sentia et testimonio fratris Bernardi de Insula, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et  
 mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> *circumflex added.*

<sup>2</sup> -pt- *written over deletion.*

<sup>3</sup> -i *written over deletion.*

<sup>4</sup> v- *altered.*

<sup>5</sup> *ms* cæpit.

<sup>6</sup> -tus *added.*

<sup>7</sup> -e- *perhaps altered.*

<sup>8</sup> -m *deleted.*

<sup>9</sup> -tus *added.*

*The deposition of William den Ath of Sorèze, containing that he had seen Rixendis Baussan, heretic, whom Peter Raymond of Missècle, Abbot of Sorèze, had seized and taken to Toulouse, where she was burnt.*

*14 days before the kalends of December 1277.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven, fourteen days before the kalends of December,<sup>1</sup> William den Ath, son of the late William den Ath | of Sorèze, sworn in as a witness and 291<sup>r</sup> questioned etc., said that one day he saw Rixendis Baussan of Sorèze, heretic, going alone along a street in Sorèze, and entering the house of Raymond Baussan, her brother. And within three or four days there was talk among the people of Sorèze that the said Rixendis, who previously had been in hiding, had returned, and that she was in the said house. And then lord Peter Raymond of Missècle,<sup>2</sup> abbot of Sorèze,<sup>3</sup> came to the said house, and seized the said heretic, and took her to Toulouse, where she was burnt—so the same witness heard it said.

Asked why he did not seize the said heretic when he saw her entering the said house, or at least did not shout out so that she would be seized, he said that he was a boy, and he believed, and it was said, that she came with the safe-conduct of the Church. And this was thirty years ago and more.

Questioned, he said that he never spoke with the said | heretic, nor 291<sup>v</sup> with other heretics, male or female, nor did he adore them, nor did he hear their preaching, nor did he give or send them anything, nor did he have any hope or faith in them, nor does he know more about the matter of heresy.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor, in the presence and testimony of brother Bernard of L'Isle, of the Order of Preachers, and of me, Atho of Saint Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

<sup>1</sup> November 18 1277.

<sup>2</sup> Tarn, cant. Graulhet, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>3</sup> From the date, this must be Peter III of Peyrelade, otherwise known as Peter of Roquefort, elected abbot 1240. There is no notice of him after 1251. *Gallia Christiana*, xiii.363; *HGL*, iv.512.

*Deposition de Bernard Barra de Soreze, contenant que Pierre Raymond de Drulia, Chevalier, s'estoit rendu heretique pendant sa maladie par le*  
 292<sup>r</sup> *Ministere<sup>1</sup> d'Arnaud Hugues, Diacre des heretiques, et que Guillaume B. de Ay|ros, Medecin, heretique, traittoit Pierre de Caucer' en sa maladie, et qu'il croyoit qu'il s'estoit rendu heretique par son Ministère,<sup>2</sup> et que Pierre de Drulhe, Guilabert de Rossiliis, Chevaliers, et autres, et Pierre et Guillaume de Corneliano y accompagnoient ledit medecin et ses compagnons heretiques.*

*4° Nonas Decembris audit an.*

Anno quo supra, quarto nonas Decembris, Bernardus Barra de Soricino,  
 292<sup>v</sup> testis iura|tus et requisitus etcetera, dixit quod ipse testis fuit familiaris Guillelmi de Bella Serra, capellani de Soricino, qui fuit prosecutor hæreticorum. Et quadam nocte<sup>3</sup> dictus Guillelmus de Bela Serra, et cum eo ipse testis, et Petrus Alagrini, et Raymundus de Bela Serra, frater dicti Guillelmi, et Stephanus, bubulcus dicti Guillelmi, et quidam alius, cuius nomen nescit, ambo de Lausarvilla, et quidam valdo, Dominicus nomine, qui similiter manebat cum dicto Guillelmo Bernardi de Bela Serra—et prædictus<sup>4</sup> moratus fuit apud Montempessullanum—posuerunt se in insidiis ad hostium domus Petri Raymundi de Drulia, militis, quia dictum fuerat prædicto Guillelmo de Bela Serra quod ibi erant Arnaldus Hugonis, diachonus hæreticorum, et socius eius, et quod Petrus de Iusa et Hugo den Galhart de Soricino adduxerant eos ibi ad hæreticandum dic-  
 293<sup>r</sup> tum militem, in|firmum ægritudine<sup>5</sup> qua decessit. Sed non ceperunt dictos hæreticos nec intraverunt domum, quia per parietem batalheriam ex

<sup>1</sup> first -e- added, superscript.

<sup>2</sup> first -e- added, superscript.

<sup>3</sup> -e altered from -æ.

<sup>4</sup> ms prædicto.

<sup>5</sup> æ- perhaps altered from e-.

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<sup>6</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Revel, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 950.

*The deposition of Bernard Barra of Sorèze, containing that Peter Raymond of Dreuilhe, knight, became a heretic during his illness, through the ministry of Arnold Hugh, deacon of the heretics, and that William Bernard of Airoux, | doctor, heretic, treated Peter of Caussère in his illness, and that he 292<sup>r</sup> believed that he became a heretic by his ministry, and that Peter of Dreuilhe, Guilabert of Roussilles, knights, and others, and Peter and William of Corneilhan accompanied the said doctor and his heretical companions there.*

*4 days before the nones of December in the said year.*

In the same year as above, four days before the nones of December,<sup>1</sup> Bernard Barra of Sorèze, sworn in as a witness | and questioned etc., said 292<sup>v</sup> that the same witness was a familiar associate<sup>2</sup> of William of Belleserre, chaplain of Sorèze, who was a prosecutor of heretics.<sup>3</sup> And one night the said William of Belleserre, and with him the same witness, and Peter Alagrin, and Raymond of Belleserre, the said William's brother, and Stephen, the said William's cowherd, and a certain other, whose name he does not know, both from Lauzerville,<sup>4</sup> and a certain *valdo* (forester?)<sup>5</sup> named Dominic, who likewise was employed by the said William Bernard of Belleserre—and the aforesaid lived at Montpellier—waited in ambush at the door of the house of Peter Raymond of Dreuilhe, knight, because the aforesaid William of Belleserre had been told that Arnold Hugh, deacon of the heretics, and his companion were there, and that Peter of Juzes<sup>6</sup> and Hugh den Galhard of Sorèze had brought them there to hereticate the said knight, | sick with the illness of which he died. 293<sup>r</sup> But they did not capture the said heretics, nor did they enter the house,

<sup>1</sup> December 2 [1277].

<sup>2</sup> Or possibly a member of his household.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the same as William of Belleserre, cleric, above 278<sup>r</sup>, having changed from associating with heretics to hunting them.

<sup>4</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Lanta, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 959, *DTF*.

<sup>5</sup> It is unlikely that *valdo* is a mistake for *Valdensis* (Waldensian), a word to which the Doat scribes were very accustomed. A plausible conjecture is that the word was *valdarius* (forester), and that the scribe failed to expand correctly a contracted *-arius*.

parte alia fuerunt dimissi, et de dicta domo venerunt in domum Bernardi de Sancta Fide, et inde cum fune eiecti—sicut audierunt postea dici. Et in crastinum invenerunt vestigium. Audivit etiam tunc dici quod dictus miles fuit tunc hæreticatus per dictos hæreticos. Et sunt triginta quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit Rixendim Baussanam de Soricino morantem ibi in hospitio suo, de qua tunc dicebatur<sup>1</sup> publice quod erat hæretica. Et nutrit<sup>2</sup> tunc temporis Raymundum Baussani, qui modo moratur apud Motam, et Arnaldum Baussani fratrem eius, qui moratur apud Lobenx. Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

293<sup>v</sup> Item dixit se audivisse dici tunc temporis quod Pontius Ramfredi | et Guillelmus, fratres, Adam Barta, Guillelmus Espanhol, et Guillelmus Bernardi Sabaterii, de Soricino, erant receptatores, et credentes, et amici hæreticorum.

Ipse vero testis nunquam adoravit hæreticos, nec audivit prædicationem eorum, nec dedit eis aliquid nec misit, nec spem nec fidem in illis habuit.

Item dixit quod apud Soricinum in Auria valle, in campo Revel, in cornu prati tunc ipsius testis, modo Petri Bonafos, vidit Arnaldum Hugonis, diachonum hæreticorum Veteris Moresie, et Arnaldum Nurram, socium<sup>3</sup> eius, hæreticos, et cum eis Guiraudum<sup>4</sup> Terrerii seniore, Adam Olerii, Pontium Ramfredi, et Guillelmum Ramfredi, de Soricino, stantes ibi et loquentes cum dictis hæreticis. Ipse quoque testis transibat cum bestiarum suo, et non remansit ibi, nec fuit loquutus cum eis, nisi quod 294<sup>r</sup> tantum interrogavit dictum Pontium | Ramfredi, dicendo ei, 'Quid facitis ibi?' Qui respondit 'Stamus hic.' Et sunt quinquaginta anni.

Item dixit quod vidit apud Soricinum Fabrissam, uxorem Petri Pic-tavini, et Raymundam den Espanhol, et Raymundam den Ath, sedentes pluries in hostio Rixendis Baussanæ, et loquentes cum ea<sup>5</sup> et familiaritatem habentes cum [ea] postquam dicebatur quod erat hæretica vestita.

<sup>1</sup> d- altered.

<sup>2</sup> -r- written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> ms socios.

<sup>4</sup> originally Guiraudus.

<sup>5</sup> et filante deleted.

because they were sent away through the fortification wall on another side, and from the said house came to the house of Bernard of Sainte-Foy, and from there were hurried out with a rope—as they later heard said. And on the next day they found their tracks. He also heard it said then that the said knight was hereticated at that time by the said heretics. And this was thirty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he saw Rixendis Baussan of Sorèze living there in her lodging, of whom it was then said publicly that she was a heretic. And she was then bringing up Raymond Baussan, who now lives at Lamothe, and Arnold Baussan his brother, who lives at Loubens. And this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he had heard it said at that time that Pons Ramfred | 293<sup>v</sup> and William, brothers, Adam Barta, William Espanhol, and William Bernard Sabatier (or William Bernard, shoemaker), of Sorèze, were receivers, and believers, and friends of the heretics. The same witness, however, never adored the heretics, or heard their preaching, or gave or sent them anything, or had any hope or faith in them.

Item, he said that at Sorèze, in *Auria Vallis*,<sup>7</sup> in the Plaine<sup>8</sup> (plain) of Revel, in a corner of the meadow which then belonged to the same witness and now belongs to Peter Bonafos, he saw Arnold Hugh, the deacon of the heretics of the Vielmorès, and Arnold Nurra,<sup>9</sup> his companion, heretics, and with them Guiraud Terrier the elder, Adam Olier, Pons Ramfred, and William Ramfred, of Sorèze, standing there and speaking with the said heretics. The same witness, too, was passing with his livestock, and did not remain there, nor did he speak with them, except only that he questioned the said Pons | Ramfred, saying to the same ‘What are 294<sup>r</sup> you doing there?’—and he replied ‘We are standing here.’ And this was fifty years ago.

Item, he said that he saw at Sorèze Fabrissa, the wife of Peter Pictavin, and Raymonda den Espanhol, and Raymonda den Ath, frequently sitting in the door of Rixendis Baussan, and speaking with her, and having a close association with her, after it was said that she was a robed heretic.

<sup>7</sup> Not identified; the name is perhaps Auriaval, though not the one listed in *DTF*.

<sup>8</sup> A Plaine is to be found 3 km NE of Revel and 3 km NW of Sorèze.

<sup>9</sup> Arnold Mirra or Mirre. A parishioner of Issel questioned in 1245 had seen him around 1225, and he had been seen in Verdun around 1233 by a parishioner of Labécède. When another parishioner of Issel, Peter Vipat (Petrus Vipatus), was ill around 1225, Arnold had carried him to his cabin and hereticated him there; Toulouse 609, f. 121<sup>r</sup>, 126<sup>r</sup>.



Item quod apud Soricinum, in domo Adæ<sup>1</sup> Barta, vidit intrantes prædictos hæreticos, et convenientes ibi<sup>2</sup> *Bernardum* Medici, Pontium Ramfredi, et Guillelmum Ramfredi, fratres; sed ipse testis non intravit domum illam, nec vidit eos cum dictis hæreticis. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

294<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod quando Arnaldus de Caucer<sup>3</sup> infirmabatur ægritudine qua decessit, et frequentabat<sup>4</sup> eum et tenebat in cura sua Guil|lelmus *Bernardi* de Ayros, medicus, hæreticus, et Bovilas, socius eius. Et ducebant et associabant eos ad domum dicti infirmi Guillelmus Pictavini et Petrus<sup>5</sup> Pictavini, fratres, nepotes dicti infirmi, Raymundus Rocinerii, Guillelmus Bernardi Sartre, Guillelmus Bernardi Sabaterius, et *Bernardus* Godi, quandoque<sup>6</sup> simul, quandoque<sup>7</sup> divisim, et Guillelmus Espanhol—omnes de Soricino. Et fuit dictum apud Soricinum—et ipse testis audivit dici—quod prædictus Arnaldus de Caucer fuit hæreticatus a prædictis hæreticis, et quod habuerunt inde centum solidos<sup>8</sup> Tholosanos.<sup>9</sup> Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

295<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod apud Soricinum, in domo *Bernardi* Trilha, tunc infirmi ægritudine qua decessit, vidit ipse testis coram dicto infirmo, iacente in lecto suo in camera, Guillelmum *Bernardi* de Ayros, et Bovillam, socium<sup>10</sup> eius, hæreticos, sedentes coram dicto | infirmo, et cum eis Petrum Pictavini, generum eius, Fabrissam, uxorem eiusdem<sup>11</sup> Petri, filiam dicti infirmi, Raymundum Trilha, nepotem dicti infirmi, et Guillelmum Pictavini et *Bernardum* Godi de Soricino, et Boeriam, uxorem dicti infirmi, et Guillelmam, filiam eius, omnes de Soricino, spectantes proximum dicti infirmi. Ipse vero testis venerat ibi ad visitandum dictum infirmum, et nihil aliud fecit ibi, nec vidit alios facientes: sed ipse testis audivit dici quod dictus infirmus fuit hæreticatus a dictis hæreticis. Aliter nescit, sed credit quod fuit hæreticatus. Et sunt quadraginta sex anni vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> -æ perhaps altered from -e.

<sup>2</sup> per deleted.

<sup>3</sup> originally Cancer.

<sup>4</sup> -bat written over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> -s written over deletion.

<sup>6</sup> -ando- written over deletion.

<sup>7</sup> -ando- written over deletion.

<sup>8</sup> -os added.

<sup>9</sup> -os added.

<sup>10</sup> -um written over deletion.

<sup>11</sup> -us- added, perhaps by reader.

Item, at Sorèze, he saw the aforesaid heretics entering the house of Adam Barta, and Bernard Médecin (*or* Bernard, doctor), Pons Ramfred, and William Ramfred, brothers, assembling there; but the same witness did not enter that house, nor did he see them with the said heretics. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when Arnold of Caussère<sup>10</sup> was sick with the illness of which he died, William | Bernard of Airoux, doctor, heretic, with 294<sup>v</sup> Bovila,<sup>11</sup> his companion, both visited him frequently and had him in his care. And William Pictavin and Peter Pictavin, brothers, nephews of the said sick man, Raymond Rociner, William Bernard Sartre, William Bernard Sabatier (*or* William Bernard, shoemaker), and Bernard Godi, led and accompanied them to the house of the said sick man, sometimes together, sometimes separately, and William Espanhol—all from Sorèze. And it was said at Sorèze—and the same witness heard it said—that the aforesaid Arnold of *Caucer* was hereticated by the aforesaid heretics, and that they had a hundred Toulouse shillings for it. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Sorèze, in the house of Bernard Trilha, then sick with the illness of which he died, the same witness saw before the said sick man, lying in his bed in his chamber, William Bernard of Airoux, and Bovilla, his companion, heretics, sitting in front of the said | sick man, 295<sup>r</sup> and with them Peter Pictavin, his son-in-law, Fabrissa, the same Peter's wife, the daughter of the said sick man, Raymond Trilha, the nephew of the said sick man, and William Pictavin and Bernard Godi of Sorèze, and Boeria, the said sick man's wife, and Guillelma, his daughter, all of Sorèze, waiting for the death of the said sick man. The same witness, however, had come there to visit the said sick man, and did nothing else there, nor did he see the others doing anything; but the same witness heard it said that the said sick man was hereticated by the said heretics. He does not know any more—but he believes that he was hereticated. And this was forty-six years ago or thereabouts.

<sup>10</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Merville, cant. Grenade, arrond. Toulouse; *DTF*.

<sup>11</sup> Peter of Corneilhan said that the heretic Bovila was in his house around 1227; D24, f. 23<sup>r</sup>. See another form of his name 5<sup>r</sup> n. 9 below: Bofilh.

Item dixit cum Petrus de Caucer, frater dicti Arnaldi, infirmaretur apud Soricinum, ægritudine<sup>1</sup> qua decessit, medicabatur eum<sup>2</sup> dictus Guillelmus *Bernardi* de Ayros, et<sup>3</sup> [ipse et] dictus socius eius, hæreticus, frequen-  
 295<sup>v</sup> tabant eum,<sup>4</sup> associantibus<sup>5</sup> dictis Petro | Pictavini et Guillelmo, fratribus, Guillelmo *Bernardi* Sartre, Guillelmo *Bernardi* Sabaterio, Guillelmo Espanhol, Raymundo Rocinerii, Petro de Drulia, et Guilberto de Rossiliis, militibus, et Petro de Corneliano, monacho Soricini, et Guillelmo de Corneliano, fratre eius, similiter monacho—qui sperabant habere hæreditatem dicti infirmi, videlicet milites et monachi. Et ipse testis audivit dici, et credit quod dictus infirmus fuit hæreticatus a prædictis hæreticis. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quadam die, cum ipse testis faceret transitum per carreriam ante domum Rixendis Baussanæ, hæreticæ, vidit infra dictam domum dominam Orpaiss,<sup>6</sup> uxorem<sup>7</sup> Petri Raymundi de Drulia, et Fabrisam, uxorem Petri Pictavini, et Raymundam, uxorem *Bernardi* Raynaldi de Soricino. Et quia ipse testis respiciebat eas, dicta Orpaiss'  
 296<sup>r</sup> mi|nata fuit ipsi testi, dicens, 'Quod respicis, arlot? Adhuc<sup>8</sup> admittes pedem propter hoc?' Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item addidit quod vidit Pontium Ramfredi et Guillelmum Ramfredi cum aliis, associantes supradictos Guillelmum<sup>9</sup> Ayros et Bovillam, hæreticos, accedentes<sup>10</sup> ad prædictos Guillelmum *Bernardi* de Ayros, et Arnaldum Hugonis, et socios eorum, intrantes, et exeuntes, et frequentantes<sup>11</sup> domum Pontii et Guillelmi Ramfredi,<sup>12</sup> fratrum, de Soricino, ipsis tunc fratribus simul de gentibus in dicta domo. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod nuper, quando ipse testis fuit citatus ab<sup>13</sup> inquisitore, Guillelmus Pictavini de Soricino, frater Petri Pictavini, dixit ipsi testi, 'Pros hom, vos a votz dias, no fassatz mal a vostres besins.' Ad quod ipse

<sup>1</sup> æ- perhaps altered from e-.

<sup>2</sup> ms cum.

<sup>3</sup> ipse test deleted.

<sup>4</sup> ms cum.

<sup>5</sup> eos deleted.

<sup>6</sup> -p- altered from -f-.

<sup>7</sup> -em added.

<sup>8</sup> ms Ad huc.

<sup>9</sup> et deleted.

<sup>10</sup> ms accedentos.

<sup>11</sup> -equ- written over deletion.

<sup>12</sup> R- written over deletion.

<sup>13</sup> -b written over deletion.

Item, he said when Peter of Caussère, the brother of the said Arnold, was sick at Sorèze with the illness of which he died, the said William Bernard of Airoux treated him, and [he and] his said companion, heretic, frequently visited him, with the said Peter | Pictavin and William, brothers, William Bernard Sartre, William Bernard Sabatier, William Espanhol, Raymond Rociner, Peter of Dreuilhe, and Guilabert of Roussilles,<sup>12</sup> knights, and Peter of Corneilhan, monk of Sorèze, and William of Corneilhan, his brother, likewise a monk, accompanying them—who hoped to have the said sick man's inheritance, that is the knights and monks. And the same witness heard it said, and believes, that the said sick man was hereticated by the aforesaid heretics. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts. 295<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that one day, when the same witness was passing along the street in front of the house of Rixendis Baussan, heretic, he saw inside the said house lady Orpaissa, the wife of Peter Raymond of Dreuilhe and Fabrissa, the wife of Peter Pictavin, and Raymonda, the wife of Bernard Reynold of Sorèze. And because the same witness was looking at them, the said Orpaissa | threatened the same witness, saying, 'What are you looking at, villain? Will you still put your foot in for this?' And this was forty years ago or thereabouts. 296<sup>r</sup>

Item, he added that he saw Pons Ramfred and William Ramfred with others,<sup>13</sup> accompanying the aforesaid William Airoux and Bovilla, heretics, approaching the aforesaid William Bernard of Airoux, and Arnold Hugh, and their companions, going into, and out of, and frequently visiting, the house of Pons and William Ramfred, brothers, of Sorèze, when the said brothers were with company in the said house. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that recently, when the same witness was summoned by the inquisitor, William Pictavin of Sorèze, the brother of Peter Pictavin, said to the same witness, 'Worthy man, during your days don't do wrong to your neighbours.' To which the same witness answered him, saying,

<sup>12</sup> Common place-name; *DTE*. Guilabert of *Rossilas*, formerly of Saissac, deposed in front of Ferrier, admitting contacts with heretics beginning around 1224, when the heretic William Bernard of Airoux had him under medical care for half a year at Saissac; D24, f. 103<sup>r</sup>–108<sup>r</sup>. He was denounced by Sicard Lunel in his confession of around 1254; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 502.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly 'the others'.

296<sup>v</sup> testis respondit ei, dicens, 'Quid ego possum scire vel dicere<sup>1</sup> de | hæresi,<sup>2</sup> qui<sup>3</sup> semper persecutus sum<sup>4</sup> hæreticos?' Et post hæc dictus Guillelmus Pictavini interrogavit<sup>5</sup> ipsum testem, dicens, 'Vidistis me vos<sup>6</sup> unquam cum hæreticis?' Et ipse respondit quod non.

Requisitus<sup>7</sup> de loco, dixit quod supra pontem molendini apud Soricinum, in carreria publica.

Requisitus<sup>8</sup> de personis,<sup>9</sup> dixit quod nullus alius erat ibi.

Item dixit quod ante heri, in porticu domus inquisitoris<sup>10</sup> Tholosæ, antequam ipse testis venisset coram inquisitore,<sup>11</sup> Rogerius Pascalis, Bernardus Godi, et Raymunda Arnalda de Soricino, qui cum eodem teste<sup>12</sup> fuerant citati, dixerunt ipsi testi quod non faceret eis inhibi;<sup>13</sup> et Rogerius Paschalis dixit ipsi testi quod bovem capit<sup>14</sup> homo per cornu, et rusticum per linguam.

Item dixit quod vidit pluries Guillelmum Bernardi de Ayros, et Arnaldum Hugonem, et socios eorum, intrantes domum Bernardi de Sancta  
297<sup>r</sup> Fide quondam, | patris dictæ Raymundæ Arnaldæ, quæ tunc poterat esse ætatis quatuordecim annorum vel circa. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Petro Arsivi,<sup>15</sup> inquisitore, et iuravit et abiuravit, et fuit reconciliatus,<sup>16</sup> in præsentia et testimonio magistri Raymundi de Bante, monachi de<sup>17</sup> Soricino, et fratris Bernardi de Insula, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> -ere written over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> hæ- written at foot of 296<sup>r</sup>, but whole word repeated on 296<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> one or more letters deleted.

<sup>4</sup> originally sunt.

<sup>5</sup> ms interrogatus.

<sup>6</sup> originally nos.

<sup>7</sup> -us perhaps added.

<sup>8</sup> -itus added.

<sup>9</sup> added, superscript; verita deleted.

<sup>10</sup> -ris added.

<sup>11</sup> -re added.

<sup>12</sup> -e added.

<sup>13</sup> added.

<sup>14</sup> c- written over deletion.

<sup>15</sup> ms Arsini.

<sup>16</sup> -atus added.

<sup>17</sup> superscript.

‘What can I know or say about | heresy, when I have always persecuted 296<sup>v</sup>  
heretics?’ And after this the said William Pictavin questioned the same  
witness, saying, ‘Have you ever seen me with heretics?’ And he replied  
that he had not.

Asked about the place, he said on the bridge of the mill at Sorèze, in  
the public street.

Asked about people, he said that no-one else was there.

Item, he said that the day before yesterday, in the porch of the inquisi-  
tor’s house in Toulouse, before the same witness had come before the  
inquisitor, Roger Pascal, Bernard Godi, and Raymonda Arnold of Sorèze,  
who had been summoned with the same witness, told the same witness  
not to have them harrassed; and Roger Pascal told the same witness that  
a man catches an ox by the horn and a peasant by the tongue.

Item, he said that he often saw William Bernard of Airoux, and Arnold  
Hugo, and their companions, going into the house of the late Bernard of  
Sainte-Foy, | the father of the said Raymonda Arnold, who might then 297<sup>r</sup>  
have been fourteen years old or thereabouts. And this was fifty years ago  
or thereabouts.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Peter Arsieu, inquisi-  
tor; and he took an oath and abjured, and was reconciled, in the pres-  
ence and testimony of master Raymond of *Bante*,<sup>14</sup> monk of Sorèze, and  
brother Bernard of L’Isle, of the Order of Preachers, and of me, Atho of  
Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>14</sup> Not identified.

*Deposition de Pierre de Beuvilla d'Avignonet, contenant qu'après la mort des Inquisiteurs qui furent tuez audit lieu, un serviteur du Comte de*  
 297<sup>v</sup> *Tholouse luy commanda de s'enfuir en Lombardie, | ou il adora plusieurs heretiques y nommés, et entre autres l'Evesque des heretiques de Tholouse et ses compagnons; que Pierre de Tholouse, viguier de Tholouse print audit lieu d'Avignonet Raymond Sancius, Diacre des heretiques de la terre de St Felix, avec ses compagnons heretiques et leurs livres, et qu'il avoit assisté aux predications des heretiques a Montgaillard, dans la maison de Bertrand de Rocovilla et de Bego son frere, Chevaliers, en leur presence, et d'Aiceline*  
 298<sup>r</sup> *leur | mere, et autres choses y exprimées.*

*Des années 1277 et 1278.*

Anno quo supra, quarto idus Ianuarii, Petrus de Beuvila de Avinione, qui stetit diu fugitivus in Lombardia, et modo reversus inventus est apud Avinionem, et inde, captus, adductus<sup>1</sup> Tholosæ, testis iuratus et requisitus etcetera, dixit quod ipse testis fuit primo confessus de facto hæresis<sup>2</sup> fratri Guillelmo Arnaldi, quondam inquisitori apud Avinionem. Et tunc, iuratus, confessus fuit omnia quæ sciebat de facto hæresis:<sup>3</sup> videlicet quod apud Montem Galhardum,<sup>4</sup> in cabana Stephani et Guil-  
 298<sup>v</sup> lelmi Donati, fratrum de Monte Galhardo, vidit Bernardum Bonafos, et

<sup>1</sup> *written over deletion.*

<sup>2</sup> *-s perhaps altered.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms hæresi.*

<sup>4</sup> *ms Gal/lhardum over end of line.*

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Beauteville include the 't' (Font-Réaulx, p. 879; *Saisimentum*, p. 358), while D25–26 never includes 't' in its versions of this name. Although Beauville is quite a common-place name, conjecture should be guided by contemporary importance and proximity to Avignonet. Among the three places called Beauville in the *département* of the Haute-Garonne, only one has left traces in the texts edited by Font-Réaulx (p. 879) and Dossat (*Saisimentum*, p. 358): Haute-Garonne, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse. It is on a direct line between Caraman (6km to the N) and Avignonet (12 km to the S).

<sup>3</sup> Deacon of Lanta (1215–1239); Guiraud, *Histoire*, i.216; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, pp. 232, 257, 262, 268, 348.

*The deposition of Peter of Beauville of Avignonet, containing that after the death of the inquisitors who were killed in the said place, a servant of the count of Toulouse ordered him to flee into Lombardy, | where he 297<sup>v</sup> adored several heretics named here, and among others the bishop of the heretics of Toulouse and his companions; that Peter of Toulouse, viguier of Toulouse, captured in the said place of Avignonet Raymond Sans, deacon of the heretics of the Saint-Félix area, with his heretical companions and their books, and that he had been present at the preachings of heretics at Montgaillard, in the house of Bertrand of Roqueville and of Bec his brother, knights, in their presence, and that of Aicelina their | mother, and other 298<sup>r</sup> things expressed below.*

*From the years 1277 and 1278.*

In the same year as above, four days before the ides of January,<sup>1</sup> Peter of Beauville<sup>2</sup> of Avignonet, who had long been a fugitive in Lombardy, and now, having returned, was found at Avignonet, and from there, brought as a captive to Toulouse, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that the same witness first confessed about the matter of heresy to brother William Arnold, formerly inquisitor at Avignonet. And at that time, on oath, he confessed all he knew about the matter of heresy: that is, that at Montgaillard, in a hut belonging to Stephen and William Donat, brothers, of Montgaillard, he saw Bernard | Bonafos<sup>3</sup> and a certain companion 298<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> January 10 [1277 (1278)].

<sup>2</sup> No consensus about *Beuvila* has formed among the historians who have used Peter's depositions. Although Beauville is usually given, without further specification, E. Dupré-Thésider used *Beuville* ('Le catharisme languedocien en Italie', *CaF* 3 (1968), pp. 299–316 [308]). Jean Guiraud, Malcolm Lambert and Malcolm Barber prefer *Bauville* (Guiraud, *Histoire*, ii.254; Lambert, *Cathars*, p. 222; Barber, *Cathars*, p. 166). Andrew Roach uses *Beauvilla* (*The Devil's World: Heresy and Society 1100–1300* (London, 2005), p. 149). Beauville and Bauville can be discounted, the former only occurring in Normandy and the latter only in Lorraine; *DTF*. Bouville (Haute-Garonne, comm. Balma, cant. and arrond. Toulouse) and Bovila (Lot, comm. Fargues, cant. Montcuq, arrond. Cahors) are semantically just possible, but there is nothing else to commend them. Proximity to Avignonet (it is 4 km to the SW) could suggest Beauteville. But Latin forms of



quemdam socium eius, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis prædictos Stephanum et Guillelmum, qui adduxerunt ibi ipsum testem. Et adoraverunt<sup>1</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos, sed ipse testis *non* adoravit eos tunc, nec audivit prædicationem eorum. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod ipse testis tunc<sup>2</sup> iuravit [stare] mandatis Ecclesiæ, et fuit reconciliatus a dictis fratribus, et abiuravit<sup>3</sup> hæresim; sed non habuit pœnitentiam. Postea vero, fratres inquisitores interfecti [sunt] apud<sup>4</sup> Avinionem, propter quorum interfectionem fuerunt multi capti de Avinione; et tunc ipse testis latitavit de mandato Guillelmi Hugonis, tunc baiuli Avinionis.

Dixit etiam quod tunc temporis Raymundus de Alfaro, sirviens<sup>5</sup> domini comitis Tholosani, præcepit ipsi testi, tunc degenti apud Clarum  
299<sup>r</sup> Montem supra Tholosam, | quod non remaneret ibi, sed recederet inde. Et tunc ipse testis recessit de partibus Tholosanis, et ivit in Franciam ad nundinas de Linhico, et deinde cum mercibus versus Ianuam.

Deinde ivit in Lombardiam, primo ad Cuneum, ubi moratus fuit per septem annos vel amplius. Et tunc temporis vidit ibi publice morantes et operantes de corrigiis in operario conducto ab Arnaldo Guillelmi

<sup>1</sup> *ms* adoravit.

<sup>2</sup> *Written over deletion.*

<sup>3</sup> -avit *added*.

<sup>4</sup> *Written over deletion.*

<sup>5</sup> *ms* sive.

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<sup>6</sup> A *bailli* of this name, but of Fanjeaux, appeared in testimony given on May 16 1245. Bernard of Cailhavel (Cailhavel) recounted how a William Hugh (Willelmus Hugonis), *bailli* of Fanjeaux, together with another *bailli* of Fanjeaux, had captured Bertrand Martin and other heretics, about twelve years before; Toulouse 609, f. 152<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Spain, province of La Rioja.

<sup>8</sup> Raymond VII's seneschal, and *bailli* for Castelsarrasin, Raymond of Alfaro was the son of a leader of mercenary soldiers in Navarre and an illegitimate daughter of Raymond VI. See on him and his career Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France*, pp. 242–243.

<sup>9</sup> Clermont-le-Fort, Haute-Garonne, cant. Castanet-Tolosan, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 912.

<sup>10</sup> Lagny-sur-Marne: Seine-et-Marne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Torcy. Along with Troyes, Provins and Bar-sur-Aube, Lagny was one of the four fair towns protected and promoted by the counts of Champagne that formed the international centre of European commercial and monetary exchange from the mid-twelfth to early fourteenth centuries. The fairs were annual, Lagny's lasting from January 2 to February 19.

of his, heretics. And he saw there with them the aforesaid Stephen and William, who brought the same witness there. And they adored the said heretics there, but the same witness did not adore them then, nor did he hear their preaching. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the same witness then swore to obey the commands of the Church, and was reconciled by the said brothers,<sup>4</sup> and abjured heresy; but he did not receive a penance. Afterwards, however, the brothers inquisitors were killed at Avignonet,<sup>5</sup> on account of whose killing many people from Avignonet were captured; and at that time the same witness went into hiding, at the command of William Hugh, then *bailli* of Avignonet.<sup>6</sup>

He also said that at that time Raymond of Alfaro,<sup>7</sup> servant of the lord count of Toulouse,<sup>8</sup> ordered the same witness, then living at Clermont above Toulouse,<sup>9</sup> | that he should not remain in that place, but leave 299<sup>r</sup> there. And then the same witness left the Toulouse area, and went into France to the fair at Lagny,<sup>10</sup> and then with his merchandise towards Genoa.

Then he went into Lombardy, firstly to Cuneo, where he lived for seven years or more. And in that time he saw there, living openly and working as leather-workers in a workshop rented from Arnold William Porrier

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<sup>4</sup> 'Brothers' is plural here: but only one inquisitor is mentioned above.

<sup>5</sup> One of the most famous events in the struggle between inquisitors and heretics in Languedoc was the killing of the inquisitors William Arnold and Stephen of Saint-Thibéry (a Franciscan) at Avignonet. William and Stephen were on an itinerant inquisition to the south-east of Toulouse in late 1241 and early 1242, reaching Sorèze around May 20 1242 (see 251<sup>r-v</sup> above) and Avignonet a few days later, where they spent two or three days receiving depositions. Resident at Avignonet was the seneschal of count Raymond VII of Toulouse, Raymond of Alfaro. Raymond had informed Peter Roger of Mirepoix, commander of the fortress of Montségur, of the brothers' itinerary, and a band of armed men came quickly to Avignonet, where they killed the brothers and their household on the night of May 28. The most useful brief account is in Wakefield, *Heresy*, pp. 169–171. Guiraud, *Histoire*, ii.114–124, quotes many of the later depositions bearing on the affair. See also Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 145–151, and his 'Le massacre d'Avignonet', *CaF* 6 (1971), pp. 343–359, where there is a discussion of one thing that did not happen: unlike the inquisitor Peter of Verona, assassinated in 1252 and canonised the following year, William Arnold and his companion were not canonised.

Porrerio qui fuit de Tholosa de burgueto novo, et Beatrice de Monte Totino, uxore eius, credentibus hæreticorum, Raymundum de Bautio, qui fuit de Tholosa, et Raymundum Imberti, qui fuit de Moissiac, hæreticos, quos ipse testis multotiens vidit, et multotiens adoravit, et multotiens comedit cum eis, et de pane benedicto ab eis, et multotiens audivit verba et monitiones eorum.

299<sup>v</sup> Dixit etiam quod vidit multotiens cum dictis hæreticis supradictum | Arnaldum Guillelmi Porrerium et Beatricem uxorem eius, adorantes prædictos hæreticos, et audientes prædicationem eorum, et comedentes cum eis, et de pane benedicto ab eis. Et sunt triginta octo anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit tunc temporis apud Cuneum Arnaldum de Fuzonis de Tholosa, draperium, et Bartholomæum Boerii de Carreria Affoccatorem<sup>1</sup> Tholosæ, fugitivos, sicut credit, propter hæresim—sed non vidit eos cum hæreticis.

Item vidit ibi Guiraldum Cultollarium, et manentem, et Dominicum filium eius, de Ulmeto Sicca Tholosæ, et Comtors, concubinam eius de Carcassesio, fugitivos propter hæresim, sicut credit—sed non vidit eos cum hæreticis.

Item vidit ibi morantem Raymundum Barta de Lauraguesio, generosum, fugitivum, sicut | credit, propter hæresim—sed non vidit cum hæreticis—eodem tempore.

Deinde venit Placentiam, ubi degit quinque annis vel circa, sed non vidit hæreticos. Sed vidit ibi morantes Petrum Scolani, qui fuit de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, et Guillelmum de Prioissa, qui fuit de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, fugitivos propter hæresim—sed non vidit eos cum hæreticis.

Deinde venit<sup>2</sup> Cremonam, ubi fuit moratus duobus annis. Et vidit ibi morantes publice Petrum de Sauzeto de Lantar', Pontium Bresoit dels

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<sup>1</sup> *second -c- altered.*

<sup>2</sup> *Written over deletion.*

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<sup>14</sup> Not identified.

<sup>15</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Montberaud, cant. Cazères, arrond. Muret; DTF.

<sup>16</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. and cant. Lanta, ch.-lieu. Cant., arrond. Toulouse; DTF.

<sup>17</sup> Not identified. Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 179: Cassès.

(or Arnold William, stone-cutter),<sup>11</sup> who was from Toulouse from the new Bourg, and Beatrix of Moncassis,<sup>12</sup> his wife, believers in the heretics, Raymond of Vaux, who was from Toulouse, and Raymond Imbert, who was from Moissac,<sup>13</sup> heretics, whom the same witness often saw, and often adored, and he often ate with them, and of bread blessed by them, and often heard their words and admonitions.

He also said that he often saw with the said heretics the aforesaid | 299<sup>v</sup> Arnold William Porrier and Beatrix his wife, adoring the aforesaid heretics, and hearing their preaching, and eating with them, and of bread blessed by them. And this was thirty-eight years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at that time he saw at Cuneo Arnold of *Fuzonis*<sup>14</sup> of Toulouse, draper, and Bartholomew Boer of the Street of the Tanners in Toulouse, fugitives, as he believes, for heresy—but he did not see them with heretics.

Item, he saw there Guiraud Coutelier (or Guiraud, cutler), also living there, and Dominic his son, of Dry Elm [Street] in Toulouse, and, Comtors, his concubine from Carcassès, fugitives for heresy, as he believes—but he did not see them with heretics.

Item, he saw living there Raymond Barta of the Lauragais, nobleman, a fugitive, as | he believes, for heresy—but he did not see him with 300<sup>r</sup> heretics—at the same time.

Then he came to Piacenza, where he lived for five years or thereabouts—but he did not see heretics. But he saw living there Peter Escola, who was from Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, and William of La Prieuresse,<sup>15</sup> who was from Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, fugitives for heresy—but he did not see them with heretics.

Then he came to Cremona, where he stayed for two years. And he saw living there openly Peter of Sauzet<sup>16</sup> of Lanta, Pons Bresoit *dels Caifers*,<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> He and his wife Beatrix were granted amnesty in August 1279; Mundy, *Royal Diploma*, p. 88. They had been condemned to life imprisonment in February 1237 (D21, f. 149<sup>v</sup>–150<sup>r</sup>), and they and their son Peter Raymond were seen in Cremona in the early 1250s.

<sup>12</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Mas-Grenier, cant. Verdun-sur-Garonne, arrond. Montauban; *Saisimentum*, p. 427.

<sup>13</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castelsarrasin; Font-Réaulx, p. 980. Raymond was a heretic from around 1210. Before the crusade: Héli of Mazerolles had seen him conducting the rite of *apparelamentum* in a house at Gaja-la-Selve around 1208; D23, 167<sup>v</sup>. The evidence about him is listed by Duvernoy, *Registre de Bernard de Caux*, p. 30 n. 9, and Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 276, n. 76. The family name Imberti also appears as Umberti; Toulouse 609, f. 73<sup>r</sup>.

Caifers, Bernardum Columbi de Godervilla, Bernardum Rotberti de Lantaresio, Raymundum de Bautio, Raymundum Petri de Drulia, et multos alios, omnes hæreticos vestitos. Et ipse testis multotiens loquutus fuit cum eis, et adoravit *Raymundum* de Bautio et Petrum<sup>1</sup> de Sauzeto. Et sunt viginti anni vel circa.

300<sup>v</sup> Item vidit ibi credentes et amicos hæreticorum Guillelmum Mercaderii, filium Petri Arnaldi Mercaderii de Banquetis Tholosæ, et Michaellem, nepotem eius, qui modo moratur Verone—sed non vidit eos cum hæreticis.

Item vidit ibi Paulinum de Exilio—sed non cum hæreticis.

Item, interrogatus,<sup>2</sup> dixit quod fuit septem annis vel circa credens hæreticorum.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre *Petro* Arsivi, inquisitore, in præsentia et testimonio fratris Pontii de Parnaco, fratris Hugonis Amelii, prioris Fratrum Prædicatorum, fratris *Bernardi* de Insula, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, idus Ianuarii, prædictus testis addidit confessioni suæ, 301<sup>r</sup> dicens quod vidit apud Cremonam Viventem<sup>3</sup> epis|copum quondam hæreticorum<sup>4</sup> Tholosæ et multos socios eius, hæreticos, ibi publice morantes. Et vidit cum eis Isarnum de Rezis et Guillelmum de Cordoa, et Bernardum Textorem, Pontium Durandi de Calhavello, et Bernardum nepotem<sup>5</sup> eius, Petrum Grivi—omnes de Fanoiovis—non simul, sed divisim adorantes<sup>6</sup> prædictos hæreticos, et comedentes et alias participantes frequenter<sup>7</sup> cum eis. Et sunt viginti anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit ibi multotiens Stephanum Donati et Raymundum de Rocavilla, et Bernardum de Rocovilla de Cassis, hæreticos, morantes ibidem; eodem tempore.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Raymundum.

<sup>2</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* videntem.

<sup>4</sup> -orum *added*.

<sup>5</sup> *originally* bene potem.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* adorantis; -antis *written over deletion*.

<sup>7</sup> -equ- *written over deletion*.

Bernard Colomb of Goudourville,<sup>18</sup> Bernard Robert of the Lantarès,<sup>19</sup> Raymond of Vaux, Raymond Peter of Dreuilhe, and many others, all robed heretics. And the same witness often spoke with them, and adored Raymond of Vaux and Peter of Sauzet. And this was twenty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he saw there the believers and friends of the heretics William Mercadier, the son of Peter Arnold Mercadier of Banquets [Street] in Toulouse, and Michael, his nephew, who now lives at Verona—but he did not see them with heretics. 300<sup>v</sup>

Item, he saw Paulin of Issel there—but not with heretics.

Item, questioned, he said that he was a believer of the heretics for seven years or thereabouts.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor, in the presence and testimony of brother Pons of Parnac, brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher, brother Bernard of L'Isle, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, on the ides of January,<sup>20</sup> the aforesaid witness added to his confession, saying that he saw at Cremona Vivent, | formerly 301<sup>r</sup>  
bishop of the heretics of Toulouse, and many companions of his, heretics, living openly there. And he saw with them Isarn of the Razès and William of Cordes, and Bernard Tisserand (*or* Bernard, weaver), Pons Durand of Cailhavel, and Bernard his nephew, Peter Grieu—all from Fanjeaux—not together, but separately adoring the aforesaid heretics, and eating and otherwise having frequent dealings with them. And this was twenty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he often saw there Stephen Donat and Raymond of Roqueville, and Bernard of Roqueville of Les Cassés,<sup>21</sup> heretics, living there; at the same time.

<sup>18</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Valence, arrond. Castelsarrasin; *Saisimentum*, p. 400.

<sup>19</sup> Or Pays Lantarois: archdeanery of diocese of Toulouse, area round Lanta, Haute-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 956.

<sup>20</sup> January 13 [1277 (1278)].

<sup>21</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 902.

Item vidit apud Cremonam *Petrum* Galhard et *Petrum* filium eius, de Sancto Martino de Landa, adorantes<sup>1</sup> prædictum Viventem,<sup>2</sup> hæreticorum<sup>3</sup> episcopum, et socios eius, et comedentes cum eis, et dantes hæreticis ad comedendum. Et fuit eodem tem|pore.

Item vidit ibi cum hæreticis Stephanum Novelli et *Bernardum* Novelli, nepotem eius, de Sancto Paulo de Corpore Sancto, adorantes et comedentes cum eis. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item vidit apud Cremonam Guillelmum Baussani de Garda, adorantem<sup>4</sup> *Petrum* de Prato, *Bernardum* Roberti et *Petrum* de Sauzeto, hæreticos—et audivit dici quod obiit, et fuit hæreticatus in morte.

Item dixit quod in supradictis quinque annis quibus fuit moratus in Placentia, vidit ibi morantem publice Viventem, prædictum episcopum hæreticorum Tholosæ, et Guillelmum de Podio, filium maiorem, Athonem Arnaldi de Castro Verduno, Raymundum Boneti de Lauraguesio, omnes hæreticos, quos ipse testis adoravit.<sup>5</sup> Erat etiam ibi cum eis Raymundus Petri de Drulia, similiter | hæreticus.

Item dixit quod quando recessit de Cremona rediit iterum causa morandi ad Placentiam, ubi fuit duobus annis vel circa, in hospitio conducto per Stephanum Donati, consanguineum ipsius testis [...] Iohannem del Azeraul de Sancto Romano, omnes hæreticos. Et ipse testis morabatur cum eis, sed ipse testis comedebat seorsum<sup>7</sup> cum Guillelma, uxore sua, quæ, et ipse testis, multotiens adoraverunt<sup>8</sup> ipsos hæreticos, et audierunt verba et monitiones eorum, et multotiens comederunt cum eis, et de pane

<sup>1</sup> -ntes written over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> second -v- altered, possibly from -d-.

<sup>3</sup> -orum added.

<sup>4</sup> -ntem added, perhaps over deletion.

<sup>5</sup> -it perhaps added.

<sup>6</sup> text omitted here.

<sup>7</sup> ms scorsum.

<sup>8</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>25</sup> Ariège, cant. Cabannes, arrond. Foix; Font-Réaulx, p. 906. There were two men of this name, the first attested as early as 1202, when witnessing acts of the count of Foix, and in 1223 co-lord of Mirepoix. See Cazenave, 'Ms 124', 430, n. 3. Cazenave conjectures plausibly that the second was his son, hereticated at Montgradail-en-Razès around 1230, a participant in the decision in 1232 to make Montségur the headquarters of the Cathar church, and seen here in exile in Lombardy.

<sup>26</sup> The sense of the text suggests that some words have been omitted here.

<sup>27</sup> Common place-name; DTF.

Item, he saw at Cremona Peter Galhard and Peter his son, of Saint-Martin-Lalande, adoring the aforesaid Vivent, bishop of the heretics, and his companions, and eating with them, and giving food to the heretics. And this was at the same | time.

301<sup>v</sup>

Item, he saw there with the heretics Stephen Novel<sup>22</sup> and Bernard Novel, his nephew, of Saint-Paulet, adoring and eating with them. And this was at the same time.

Item, he saw at Cremona William Baussan of Lagarde, adoring Peter of Prat,<sup>23</sup> Bernard Robert and Peter of Sauzet, heretics—and he heard it said that he died, and was hereticated at his death.

Item, he said that during the aforesaid five years when he was living at Piacenza, he saw there, living openly, Vivent, the aforesaid bishop of the heretics of Toulouse, and William of Puy, elder son,<sup>24</sup> Atho Arnold of Château-Verdun,<sup>25</sup> Raymond Bonet of the Lauragais, all heretics, whom the same witness adored. Raymond Peter of Dreuilhe, likewise | a heretic, was also with them there. Item, he said that when he left Cremona he returned again to Piacenza to live there, where he was for two years or thereabouts, in a lodging rented by Stephen Donat, the same witness's kinsman, [...] John of Lauzeral<sup>27</sup> of Saint-Romain, all heretics. And the same witness lived with them, but the same witness ate separately with Guillelma, his wife, who, and the same witness, often adored the same heretics, and heard their words and admonitions, and often ate

302<sup>r</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Stephanus Novelli was questioned May 21 1245, and admitted nothing; Toulouse 609, f. 228<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Very common place-name; *DTF*. The place may be Prat, Ariège, canton Saint-Lizier, commune Prat-et-Bonrepaux, or Aude, comm. and cant. Lagrasse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1014. The heretic William Carrier, confessing June 8 1254, recalled Peter of Prat and his companion being seen and adored by Stephen Donat, around 1243, and also at the same time with his companion William of Raissac cutting corn in a field near Avellanet; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 36. Raissac: disappeared place near Montbégui, Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Grisolles, arrond. Montauban; *Saisimentum*, p. 459.

<sup>24</sup> After the bishop in the hierarchy of the Cathar heretics came elder son, younger son, and deacon, with the 'sons' acting as co-adjutants of the bishop and the elder son designated as his successor; Barber, *Cathars*, pp. 74–76.



benedicto ab eis. Erat etiam ibi cum dictis hæreticis Raymundus Boerii, hæreticus, qui fuit de Andorta; et fuit moratus cum *Bernardo* Furnerii et Arnaldo, fratribus de Berrel<sup>1</sup>, diocesis Tholosanensis.

Item dixit quod tunc temporis stetit cum ipso teste Arnaldus de Mal-  
 302<sup>v</sup> horgas, filius ipsius testis, | per annum vel circa, qui multotiens vidit ibi  
 dictos hæreticos, et, inductus ab ipso teste, a prædicta Guillelma, matre  
 sua, uxore ipsius testis, multotiens comedit cum dictis hæreticis ad ean-  
 dem mensam, et multotiens servivit eis, et recepit de pane benedicto ab  
 eis—sed non comedit, nec adoravit eos unquam, quod ipse testis sciebat:  
 licet<sup>1</sup> ipse testis libenter si posset induxisset eum quod adoraret eos et  
 comederet de pane benedicto eorum. Et sunt sexdecim anni vel circa.

Item quod ipse testis recepit a Stephano Donati, hæretico, consanguini-  
 neo suo prædicto, centum libras imperiales<sup>2</sup> ad negotiandum, et tenuit  
 eas aliquamdiu, reddendo sibi medietatem lucri. Tandem ipse testis  
 commisit Arnaldo, filio prædicto, peccuniam supradictam et aliam, vide-  
 303<sup>r</sup> licet centum quinquaginta libras in universo, | quas omnes prædictus  
 Arnaldus asportavit et vastavit.

Item dixit quod vidit ibi, visitantes supradictos hæreticos, Guiral-  
 dum Unaudi<sup>3</sup> de Lantario, Guillelmum de Gomervilla de Monte Gal-  
 hardo, Raymundum Baussani de Lagarda, Raymundum Paperii de Avi-  
 nione et Pontium fratrem eius, Raymundum Bertrandi<sup>4</sup> et Guillelmum  
 Bertrandi de Castris Albigesii, Petrum Pictavini de Tholosa, Furnerium  
 Cathalanum—qui omnes, non simul sed divisim, ipso teste vidente, ado-  
 raverunt<sup>5</sup> dictos hæreticos, et audiverunt<sup>6</sup> verba et monitiones eorum. Et  
 sunt sexdecim anni vel circa.

Deinde ipse testis venit Papiam, ubi fuit moratus quatuordecim annis  
 vel circa. Et vidit ibi morantes *Bernardum* Oliba et Petrum Bonum,  
 hæreticos, in domo quam tenebat conductam Petrus Oliba, frater eius.  
 303<sup>v</sup> Erat etiam cum eis *Guillelmus* Bosquera, hæreticus, de Sancto Paulo |

<sup>1</sup> et deleted.

<sup>2</sup> -es written over deletion, which starts i-.

<sup>3</sup> -u- altered, probably from -l-.

<sup>4</sup> de deleted.

<sup>5</sup> originally adoravit.

<sup>6</sup> originally audivit.

<sup>31</sup> William Dural of Poulan had confessed seeing the heretic William Bosqueti to the inquisitors Stephen of Gâtine and Hugh of Bouniols, March 30, 1276; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, ii.1104.

with them, and of bread blessed by them. Raymond Boer, heretic, who was from Andorra,<sup>28</sup> was also there with the said heretics; and he was living with Bernard Fournier and Arnold, brothers from Barelles,<sup>29</sup> in the diocese of Toulouse.

Item, he said that at that time Arnold of Maillorgues,<sup>30</sup> the same witness's son, stayed with the same witness | for a year or thereabouts; 302<sup>v</sup> and he often saw the said heretics there, and, encouraged by the same witness (and) by the aforesaid Guillelma, his mother, the same witness's wife, he often ate with the said heretics at the same table, and often served them, and received bread blessed by them—but he did not eat, nor did he ever adore them, that the same witness knew: although if he could the same witness would have gladly persuaded him to adore them and to eat of their blessed bread. And this was sixteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, that the same witness received from Stephen Donat, heretic, his aforesaid kinsman, one hundred imperial pounds to do business with, and he held them for some time, returning half the interest to him. At last the same witness entrusted to Arnold, his aforesaid son, the aforesaid money and more, that is one hundred and fifty pounds in total, | all of 303<sup>r</sup> which the aforesaid Arnold carried off and wasted.

Item, he said that he saw there, visiting the aforesaid heretics, Gerald Unaud of Lanta, William of Gomerville of Montgaillard, Raymond Bausan of Lagarde, Raymond Papier of Avignonet and Pons his brother, Raymond Bertrand and William Bertrand of Castres in the Albigeois, Peter Pictavin of Toulouse, Fournier [the] Catalan—all of whom, not together but separately, in the sight of the same witness, adored the said heretics, and heard their words and admonitions. And this was sixteen years ago or thereabouts.

Then the same witness came to Pavia, where he stayed for fourteen years or thereabouts. And he saw living there Bernard Oliba and Peter Bon, heretics, in a house which Peter Oliba, his brother, was renting. William Bosquera,<sup>31</sup> heretic, of Saint-Paul- | Cap-de-Joux, was also with 303<sup>v</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Possibly the same as Raymond of Andorra, heretic, 142<sup>r</sup> above.

<sup>29</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 737. Bernard Fournier (Bernardus Furnerii) of Barelles, questioned May 21 1246, admitted hearing heretics preaching and adoring them around 1235; Toulouse 609, f. 135<sup>v</sup>–136<sup>r</sup>. The denial of his brother Arnold Fournier (Arnaudus Furnerii) was recorded shortly before this (135<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>30</sup> Tarn, cant. Réalmont, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Albi, or Les Maillorgues, Haute-Garonne, comm. Bérat, cant. Rieumes, arrond. Muret; *DTF*.

de Cadaiovis. Et vidit ibi cum dictis hæreticis ipsum *Petrum* Olibam et Raymundam uxorem eius, quæ fuit de Fanoiovis. Et ipse testis adoravit<sup>1</sup> dictos hæreticos, sed non vidit tunc alios adorare.<sup>2</sup> Et sunt quatuordecim anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit eosdem hereticos apud Papiam, in domo quam tenebat conductam Petrus de Monte Accuto, qui facit se vocari Berengerium, et cum eis Raymundum de Bautio et *Bernardum* Barbam de Fanoiovis, hæreticum, et Philippum Cathalanum, diaconum hæreticorum Cataloniae, cuius frater moratur Placentiae cum Petro Pictavini pro serviente, et vocatur Ferrarius. Et vidit ibi cum dictis hæreticis dictum *Petrum* Olibam, Petrum Escolani de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, Guillelmum de Fanaiovis<sup>3</sup>—qui omnes, et ipse testis, non simul sed divisim  
304<sup>r</sup> adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos. Et fuit eodem | tempore.

Item dixit quod ipse testis, tenens hospitium suum Papiæ, discurrebat negotiando per terram Lombardiæ. Et fuit apud Alzonam, ubi vidit in domo Iohannis de Na Arnalda, *Bernardum* Olibam et Petrum Boerii, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis ipsum Iohannem et Thomasam uxorem eius de Lauraco—qui ambo, et ipse testis, adoraverunt<sup>5</sup> dictos hæreticos. Et sunt decem anni vel circa.

Item in eadem villa, in domo Arnaldi Lombardi de Savartesio, vidit eosdem hæreticos, et cum eis ipsum Arnaldum Lombardi—qui, et ipse testis, adoraverunt<sup>6</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos. Erat etiam in domo prædicta Sebilis, uxor<sup>7</sup> dicti Arnaldi Lombardi, et Galharda, soror eius, filiæ quondam Bernardi Pellicerii de Castro Verduni—sed non intraverunt cameram cum eis, nec vidit eas adorantes.<sup>8</sup> Et sunt decem anni vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> *superfluous* B.

<sup>2</sup> *-re added.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms* Fanaiovis.

<sup>4</sup> *-erunt added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-erunt added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-erunt added.*

<sup>7</sup> *originally* uxore.

<sup>8</sup> *-ntes written over deletion.*

them. And he saw there with the said heretics the same Peter Oliba and Raymonda his wife, who was from Fanjeaux. And the same witness adored the said heretics,<sup>32</sup> but he did not see the others adore then. And this was fourteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he saw the same heretics in Pavia, in the house which Peter of Montégut, who had himself called Berengar, was renting, and with them Raymond of Vaux, and Bernard Barba of Fanjeaux, heretic, and Philip (the) Catalan, deacon of the heretics of Catalonia,<sup>33</sup> whose brother lives at Piacenza with Peter Pictavin as a servant, and is called Ferrand. And he saw there with the said heretics the said Peter Oliba, Peter Escolau of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, William of Fanjeaux—all of whom, and the same witness, not together but separately, adored the said heretics there. And this was at the same | time.

304<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that the same witness, while keeping his lodging in Pavia, went around the land of Lombardy trading.

And he was at Alzonne,<sup>34</sup> where he saw in John de Na Arnalda's house Bernard Oliba and Peter Boer,<sup>35</sup> heretics. And he saw there with them the same John and his wife Thomasa, from Laurac—both of whom, and the same witness, adored the said heretics. And this was ten years ago or thereabouts.

Item, in the same town, he saw the same heretics in the house of Arnold Lombard of the Sabarthès, and with them the same Arnold Lombard—who, and the same witness, adored the said heretics there. Also in the aforesaid house was Sybil, the said Arnold Lombard's wife, and Galharda, her sister, daughter of the late Bernard Pelissier (*or* Bernard, furrier) of Château-Verdun—but they did not enter the chamber with them, nor did he see them adoring. And this was ten years ago or thereabouts.

<sup>32</sup> This is rather ambiguous. It could be that the words 'dictos hereticos' have been mis-expanded by the seventeenth-century scribe, and that the original read 'And the same witness adored [Bernard], the said heretic'.

<sup>33</sup> On the heretical church of Catalonia, see Duvernoy, *Histoire*, pp. 153–161; the account of Philip, p. 261, uses only D25–26. Catalonia had a succession of deacons. In 1238 Raymond John of Albi attested seeing Peter of Corona, deacon of the heretics of Catalonia, just after attending the heretical council of Pieuze in 1226; D23, f. 270<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Mistake for Alessandria.

<sup>35</sup> Although he may be the same as Peter Boer of Varennes (see 12<sup>r</sup> above), the name is not uncommon. See also 28<sup>r</sup> n. 10 and 134<sup>r</sup> n. 20 above. Varennes: Haute-Garonne, comm. Mourvilles-Basses, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse, or Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. and cant. Villebrumier, arrond. Montauban; Font Réaulx, p. 1100.

304<sup>v</sup> Item apud Alexandriam, in<sup>1</sup> hospitio Guiraldi Sedacerii et Guillelmi, fratrum qui fuerunt de Lauraco, vidit Pontium Boerii et Iohannem de Lazerau, hæreticos, qui fuerunt de Sancto Romano. Et vidit ibi cum eis prædictos Sedacers, fratres, et Aymericum Sorven' de Fanoiovis, et dictum Iohannem den Arnalda—qui omnes, ipso teste vidente et ipse testis cum eis, adoraverunt<sup>2</sup> dictos hæreticos. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item vidit in eadem villa morantem Petrum Massam de Monte Aurioli, textorem—sed non vidit eum cum hæreticis.

Item vidit ibi Guillelmum de Corona, Petrum, filium eius, Guillelmam uxorem eiusdem Guillelmi, et Bernardum Monerii,<sup>3</sup> fratrem Petri de Laissus quondam<sup>4</sup>—sed non cum hæreticis.

Item vidit ibi Guillelmum Cambiaire de Bodezio—sed non cum hæreticis. Et sunt octo anni.

305<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod apud Papiam, | in domo ipsius testis, steterunt per tres menses vel circa Pontius Boerii et Guillelmus Rafardi de Rocaforti, hæretici. Et erat ægrotus<sup>5</sup> dictus Pontius ægritudine<sup>6</sup> qua decessit; et sepelierunt eum Raymundus Paperii et Raymundus Baussani supradicti in hospitio Raymundi Paperii, sicut credit—sed ipse testis non interfuit sepulturæ.

Item dixit quod vidit ibi visitantes prædictos hæreticos Petrum Olibam, Bertrandum de Castris, apothecarium, Petrum Escolani, Guillelmum Belissen, Petrum de Monte Accuto vel Berengerium. Non simul sed divisim adoraverunt<sup>7</sup> prædictos hæreticos. Et ipse testis et Guillelma uxor eius multotiens adoraverunt<sup>8</sup> eos, et comederunt cum eis ad eandem mensam, et de pane benedicto ab eis. Et sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> don, or probably dom- from domo, deleted.

<sup>2</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>3</sup> ms Moverii.

<sup>4</sup> ms quemdam.

<sup>5</sup> æ- perhaps altered from e-.

<sup>6</sup> æ- perhaps altered from e-.

<sup>7</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>8</sup> -erunt added.

Item, at Alessandria, in the lodging of Guiraud Sedacer and William<sup>36</sup> |, brothers who were from Laurac, he saw Pons Boer and John of Lauzeral, heretics, who were from Saint-Romain. And he saw there with them the aforesaid Sedacers, brothers, and Aimery Sorven of Fanjeaux and the said John Arnalda—all of whom, in the sight of the same witness and the same witness with them, adored the said heretics. And this was at the same time. 304<sup>v</sup>

Item, he saw, living in the same town, Peter Massa of Montauriol, weaver—but he did not see him with heretics.

Item, he saw there William of *Corona*,<sup>37</sup> Peter his son, Guillelma, the same William's wife, and Bernard Movier, brother of the late Peter of Lassus—but not with heretics.

Item, he saw there William Cambiaire of Razès—but not with heretics. And this was eight years ago.

Item, he said that Pons Boer and William Raffard of Roquefort,<sup>38</sup> heretics, stayed for three months or thereabouts in the same witness's house at Pavia. | And the said Pons was sick with the illness of which he died; and the aforesaid Raymond Papier and Raymond Baussan buried him in Raymond Papier's lodging, so he believes—but the same witness was not present at the burial. 305<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that he saw there, visiting the aforesaid heretics, Peter Oliba, Bertrand of Castres, apothecary, Peter Escolau, William Belissen, Peter of Montégut (*or* Berengar). They adored the aforesaid heretics, not together but separately. And the same witness and Guillelma his wife often adored them, and ate with them at the same table, and of bread blessed by them. And this was four years ago or thereabouts.

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<sup>36</sup> The Sedacer family occur frequently in the depositions from Laurac, Bernard the elder, his four sons William, Bernard, Raymond and Guiraud, and his daughter Ramunda, and all of these deposed, confessing belief in heretics, in the father's case from about 1227 to 1241; *ibid.*, f. 73<sup>r</sup>. The Sedacer / Sedasser family of Laurac were heavily involved in heresy. Four were questioned July 12 1245; Toulouse 609, f. 73<sup>r-v</sup>, 77<sup>v</sup>. Another deponent from Laurac referred to five members of the family in contact with heretics around 1238 (f. 72<sup>r</sup>), the father Bernard (Bernardus Sedasser) and four sons, one of them (Giraldus) identifiable as Guiraud, one of whose three brothers (Willelmus, Bernardus, Ramundus) was presumably the unnamed brother noted here; three brothers, including Guiraud, were seen with heretics in 1241 (f. 149<sup>r</sup>). William Sedasser's goods were confiscated September 29 1247; Douais, *Documents*, p. 57.

<sup>37</sup> Possibly from Aragon (from the Crown of Aragon).

<sup>38</sup> See his deposition, 12<sup>r</sup> below.

305<sup>v</sup> Item vidit ibi multotiens Finas, uxorem<sup>1</sup> quondam de Canalar dels | Cassers, quæ morabatur in domo ipsius testis, adorantem<sup>2</sup> prædictos hæreticos et servientem eis. Et sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

Post mortem vero Pontii Boerii recessit de domo ipsius testis Guillelmus Rafardi, hæreticus, solus; et credit ipse testis et audivit dici quod rediit ad terram suam in Tholosa.<sup>3</sup>

Dixit etiam quod dictus Pontius Boerii steterat in Pisa cum Iohanne del Azeraul, hæretico, socio suo, qui decessit ibi. Post cuius obitum idem Pontius venit ad Ianuam, ubi stetit cum Petro Fazenda de Agennesio, qui fuerat hæreticus, in quodam palacio extra in vineis, quod conduxerant<sup>4</sup> per annum pro quindecim libris Ianuensibus.<sup>5</sup>

Item dixit quod ipse testis vidit in dicto palacio prædictum Pontium Boerii, hæreticum, et cum eo prædictum Petrum Fazenda, qui ostendit 306<sup>r</sup> sibi locum. Et ibi ipse testis adoravit dictum hæreticum.

Dixit etiam quod Arnaldus Copa, qui fuit de Tholosa, et solet morari apud Ianuam, et erat de humiliatis, duxit ipsum testem ad prædictum palacium, et ad dictum hæreticum, et adoravit<sup>6</sup> eum una cum ipso teste. Et sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit apud Sanctum Ciricum in Ianua prædictum Pontium Boerii, et cum eo Petrum Pellicerii de Placentia, qui moratur Ianuæ in carreria Pelliciariæ, ubi dictus Pontius Boerii, hæreticus, mandavit dicto Petro Pellicerii quod quinquaginta libras Ianuenses, quas idem Petrus Pellicerii debebat prædicto hæretico, solveret ipsi testi, recepturo nomine suo; quod et fecit. Sed ibi non adoravit dictum hæreticum, nec vidit adorare.<sup>7</sup> Et sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

306<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod post mortem | Pontii Boerii et recessum Guillelmi Rafardi de domo ipsius testis, frater Guillelmus Corrigia de Biga, et socius eius Ordinis Prædicatorum, inquisitores hæresis, vocaverunt ipsum testem coram potestate comunis Papiensis, obiicientes contra ipsum testem quod sepelierat Pontium Boerii, hæreticum, vel sepeliri fecerat, quod ipse

<sup>1</sup> -em added.

<sup>2</sup> -ntem written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> -a altered, perhaps from -æ.

<sup>4</sup> ms cum duxerant.

<sup>5</sup> -bus written over deletion, ending -m.

<sup>6</sup> -it added.

<sup>7</sup> -re written over deletion.

Item, he often saw there Finas, formerly the wife of Canalar of Les | 305<sup>v</sup>  
Cassès, who was living in the same witness's house, adoring the aforesaid  
heretics and serving them. And this was four years ago or thereabouts.

However, after Pons Boer's death, William Raffard, heretic, left the  
same witness's house, alone; and the same witness believes, and heard  
it said, that he went back to his land in Toulouse.

He also said that the said Pons Boer had stayed in Pisa<sup>39</sup> with John  
of Lauzeral, heretic, his companion, who died there. After his death the  
same Pons came to Genoa, where he stayed with Peter Fazenda of the  
Agenais,<sup>40</sup> who had been a heretic, in a palace outside among the vines,  
which they had rented for a year for fifteen Genoa pounds.

Item, he said that the same witness saw the aforesaid Pons Boer,  
heretic, in the said palace, and with him the aforesaid Peter Fazenda,  
who showed him the place. And there the same witness | adored the said 306<sup>r</sup>  
heretic.

He also said that Arnold Copa, who was from Toulouse and usually  
lives at Genoa, and was one of the Humiliati,<sup>41</sup> led the same witness to  
the aforesaid palace and to the said heretic, and adored him, together  
with the same witness. And this was four years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at San Quirico<sup>42</sup> in Genoa he saw the aforesaid Pons  
Boer and with him Peter Pellicciaio (*or* Peter, furrier) of Piacenza, who  
lives in Genoa in the carreria Pellicarie [Furriers' Street], where the said  
Pons Boer, heretic, ordered the said Peter Pellicciaio to pay to the same  
witness the fifty Genoa pounds which the same Peter Pellicciaio owed the  
aforesaid heretic, to be received in his name; which he did. But he did not  
adore the said heretic there, nor did he see [anyone] adore him. And this  
was four years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that after Pons Boer's death | and William Raffard's depar- 306<sup>v</sup>  
ture from the same witness's house, brother William Corrigia of *Biga* and  
his companion, of the Order of Preachers, inquisitors of heresy,<sup>43</sup> called  
the same witness before the podestà of the commune of Pavia, accusing  
the same witness of burying Pons Boer, heretic, or of having had him  
buried, that the same witness was concerned in this, and they let him

<sup>39</sup> City, capital of province of Pisa, Tuscany.

<sup>40</sup> Region of the city and diocese of Agen; Lot-et-Garonne.

<sup>41</sup> See above, 146<sup>v</sup> n. 37.

<sup>42</sup> Parish church and also name of a district in Genoa.

<sup>43</sup> William Corrigia has not been identified. See Comment on William of  
Berga[mo] above, 146<sup>r</sup> n. 34.



testis inficiatus fuit, et in crastinum dimiserunt eum. Et sunt duo anni et novem menses vel circa.

Item dixit quod ante festum Omnium Sanctorum proxime transactum, per octo dies vel circa ipse testis, recedens de Papia, venit paulatim<sup>1</sup> ad partes istas—sed fuit apud Cuneum per quinque septimanas infirmus et debilis. Et ibi non vidit aliquem hæreticum, sed vidit morantes Iohannem Radulfi, qui fuit de Vauro, Petrum Mulaterii, Guillelmum de  
 307<sup>r</sup> Sancto Laurentio de terra Vauri, Guillelmum | Grossi de Monte Mauro, et Arnaldum nepotem eius, et Arnaldum Garrerii, qui fuit de Tholosa; item Petrum de Caors, Iohannem Talagra et Pontium de Bar, qui fuerunt hæretici—prout ipse testis audivit dici—et Molnerium de Albigesio et Arnaldum Got, filiastrum Pontii Got dels Cassers, Petrum Galhard de Sancto Martino de Landa, et Aladaiciam, cuius cognomen ignorat, de eodem loco, et Arnaldam de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis—quæ quæsit ab ipso teste de Petro Escolani de Sancto Paulo—[et] Ermersendim, uxorem quondam Stephani Grossi de Monte Mauro—sed nullum istorum vidit cum hæreticis.

Audivit tamen dici a supradicto Guillelmo Grossi de Monte Mauro quod Petrus Mathæi<sup>2</sup> de Monte Mauro,<sup>3</sup> [et] socius eius, hæretici,<sup>4</sup> erant<sup>5</sup> apud Ayso in Valle Escurana.

307<sup>v</sup> Item audivit dici ab eodem Guillelmo Grossi, et ab Arnaldo God supradicto, quod Bernardus Oliba, episcopus hæreticorum Tholosæ, et quidam iuvenis, socius eius, factus de novo diachonus—quia episcopus<sup>6</sup> non debet<sup>7</sup> esse sine diachono—et Raymundus de Baucio et Guillelmus Audoyni, socius eius, de terra Sancti Fœlicis, et Petrus Maurelli, qui fugit de carcere inquisitorum et posuit de novo ad abstinentiam hæreticorum, morantur apud Ianuam.

Item dixit se audivisse dici a dicto Guillelmo Grossi quod dicti hæretici miserant nuntium suum ad Cuneum pro Petro Regis, textore, quod veniret ad Ianuam cum uxore sua, conducturus ibi domum, ut possent morari cum eo.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Raulatinae.

<sup>2</sup> -h- *altered*.

<sup>3</sup> *et deleted*.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* hæreticus *originally* hæretici, et Guil *deleted*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* erat.

<sup>6</sup> -opus *written over deletion*.

<sup>7</sup> -bet *added*.

go the following day. And this was two years nine months ago, or thereabouts.

Item he said that the same witness came back slowly to these parts, leaving Pavia eight days or thereabouts before the feast of All Saints immediately past—but he was ill and weak at Cuneo for five weeks. And he did not see any heretic there, but he saw living [there] John Radulph, who was from Lavour, Peter Mulatier (*or* Peter, muleteer), William of Saint-Laurent<sup>44</sup> of the land of Lavour, William | Gros of Montmaur,<sup>45</sup> and 307<sup>r</sup> his nephew Arnold, and Arnold Garrier who was from Toulouse; item, Peter of Cahors, John Talagra and Pons of Bar,<sup>46</sup> who were heretics—as the same witness heard—and Molnier of the Albigeois and Arnold Got, son-in-law of Pons Got of Les Cassés, Peter Galhard of Saint-Martin-la-Lande, and Aladaicis, whose family name he does not know, from the same place, and Arnalda of Saint Paul Cap-de-Joux—who asked the same witness about Peter Escolau of Saint Paul—[and] Ermersendis, the wife of the late Stephen Gros of Montmaur—but he saw none of these with heretics.

However he heard it said by the aforesaid William Gros of Montmaur that Peter Matthew of Montmaur, [and] his companion, heretic, was at Aisone in the Stura valley.<sup>47</sup>

Item, he heard it said by the same William Gros and the aforesaid 307<sup>v</sup> Arnold Got, that Bernard Oliba, bishop of the heretics of Toulouse, and a certain young man, his companion, newly made a deacon—because a bishop ought not to be without a deacon—and Raymond of Vaux and William Audoyne,<sup>48</sup> his companion, from the land of Saint Félix, and Peter Maurel, who fled from the inquisitors' prison and placed himself anew in the heretics' abstinence, are living in Genoa.

Item, he said that he heard it said by the said William Gros that the said heretics had sent their messenger to Cuneo for Peter Rey, weaver, to get him to come to Genoa with his wife, to rent a house there so that they could stay with him.

<sup>44</sup> Tarn, comm. Garrigues, cant. Lavour, arrond. Castres; *Saisimentum*, p. 472.

<sup>45</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Sud, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 990.

<sup>46</sup> Tarn, comm. Moularès, cant. Pampelonne, arrond. Albi; *DTF*.

<sup>47</sup> In the province of Cuneo, Piedmont.

<sup>48</sup> Four witnesses from Roumens deposing in 1245–1246 stated that they had seen William Audoyne and others adoring Bernard of Mayreville and his companion, heretics, on a hill near Roumens at night-time, around 1235; Toulouse 609, f. 219<sup>r</sup>–220<sup>r</sup>.

Item dixit quod de Cuneo venit et continuavit dietas<sup>1</sup> suas, prout  
 308<sup>r</sup> potuit, usque ad Avinionem in Provincia, ubi vendidit | quasdam merces  
 quas portabat. Deinde venit continuando similiter dietas suas usque  
 ad Avinionetum in diocesi<sup>2</sup> Tholosanensi,<sup>3</sup> ubi declinavit ad domum  
 Guillelmæ, uxoris quondam Pontii Fabri, consanguineæ ipsius testis, ubi  
 vidit Aurenca, filiam ipsius Guillelmæ, sed non cognovit eum ibi. Et  
 ad requisitionem ipsius testis prædicta Guillelma duxit ipsum testem ad  
 domum Ermengardis, uxoris Pauli, filiæ ipsius testis, quæ recepit eum  
 cum gaudio et timore, et amplexata et osculata fuit eum sicut patrem  
 suum. Et dixit Paulo viro suo quod ipse erat pater suus—quo audito  
 timuit, et interrogavit ipsum testem an esset hæreticus: qui respondit  
 ei quod ita parum sicut ipse, et quod non timeret, quia si posset videre  
 filios suos proponebat facere quod posset stare securus inter amicos suos.  
 Deinde procuravit quod haberet necessaria.

308<sup>v</sup> Se|quenti die Raymunda, maior filia ipsius testis, venit ad eum valde  
 territa, et similiter consolatus fuit eam.

Dixit etiam quod supradicta Aurenca, filia dictæ Guillelmæ, visitavit  
 postea ipsum testem in domo prædictæ filiæ ipsius testis, excusans se  
 quia non receperat eum iocundius quando primo venerat ad domum  
 supradictæ Guillelmæ, matris eius, eo quod non noverat eum. Et tunc  
 quæsivit ab ipso teste qualiter erant<sup>4</sup> avunculi,<sup>5</sup> scilicet Raymundus Pape-  
 rii et Pontius Paperii in Lombardia; et idem quæsiverat prædicta Guil-  
 lelma, mater eius.

Item dixit quod ipse testis mandavit per Bernardam Baugiam,<sup>6</sup> nep-  
 tem<sup>7</sup> ipsius testis de Avinione, Arnaldo<sup>8</sup> de Malhorga, filio<sup>9</sup> ipsius testis  
 apud Tholosam, quod ipse venerat de Lombardia et erat Avinioni, et quod  
 309<sup>r</sup> hoc significaret fratri Pontio de Malhorgas, mo|nacho Foliensi, filio ipsius  
 testis, et quod ambo venirent ad ipsum testem, quia multum volebat loqui  
 cum eis, et pro commodo suo. Et antequam nuntius rediret ipse testis fuit

<sup>1</sup> *originally* dictas.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* diocesis.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* Tholosanensis.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* erat.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* avunculus; -us added, perhaps altered from something else.

<sup>6</sup> B- altered, probably from D-.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* nepotem.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* Arnaldus.

<sup>9</sup> *ms* filius.

Item, he said that he came on from Cuneo and continued his journeys, a day at a time, however he could, as far as Avignon in Provence,<sup>49</sup> where he sold | some goods he was carrying. After this he came on in a similar way, continuing his journeys, day by day, as far as Avignonet in the diocese of Toulouse,<sup>50</sup> where he stayed at the house of Guillelma, wife of the late Pons Faure (*or* Pons, smith), the same witness's kinswoman; where he saw Aurenca, the same Guillelma's daughter, but she did not know him there. And at the same witness's request the aforesaid Guillelma led the same witness to the house of Ermengardis, wife of Paul (and) daughter of the same witness, who received him with joy and fear, and embraced and kissed him as her father. And he told the said Paul, her husband, that he was her father. When he heard this he was afraid, and he asked the same witness whether he was a heretic: who answered him that he was as little [a heretic] as him [Paul], and that he should not be afraid, because if he could see his children he intended to do what he could to stay safely among his friends. After this he [Paul] made sure he obtained what he needed. 308<sup>r</sup>

On the following | day Raymonda, the same witness's elder daughter, came to him absolutely terrified, and he consoled her in a similar way. 308<sup>v</sup>

He also said that later on the aforesaid Aurenca, daughter of the said Guillelma, visited the same witness in the house of the aforesaid daughter of the same witness, pleading as an excuse—for not having received him more pleasantly when he first came to the house of the aforesaid Guillelma, her mother—the fact that she had not known him. And then she asked the same witness how her uncles were, that is Raymond Papier and Pons Papier in Lombardy; and the aforesaid Guillelma, her mother, had asked the same thing.

Item, he said that through Bernarda Baugia, the same witness's niece from Avignonet, he sent to Arnold of Maillorgues, the same witness's son, in Toulouse [the news] that he had come from Lombardy and was at Avignonet, and that he should tell this to brother Pons of Maillorgues, | monk of Feuillants, the same witness's son, and that the two should come to the same witness, because he very much wanted to talk with them, and for his own convenience. And before the messenger returned the same 309<sup>r</sup>

<sup>49</sup> City and diocese, Vaucluse. The Latin forms of Avignon and Avignonet are the same, hence the further specification of Provence or Toulouse here and immediately below, 308<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> Avignonet-Lauragais, Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 871.

captus per familiam inquisitorum in domo prædictæ Ermengardis, filiæ ipsius testis, et Pauli, viri sui, die lunæ proxime transacta.

Item dixit quod vidit morantem apud Cuneum Bertrandum de Quide-riis de Avinione, fugitivum propter necem inquisitoris perpetratam Avinioni.<sup>1</sup> Et audivit eum iactantem se et dicentem quod dominus Raymundus, comes Tholosæ, et Sicardus Alamanni pro eo, dederant ei peccuniam in recessu suo de Tholosano, et postea miserunt sibi pro expensis suis dum exulabat. Unde<sup>2</sup> ipse testis dixit ei, solaciando, quod volebat vivere ad escotum suum.

309<sup>v</sup> Vidit etiam dictum Bertrandum cum Raymundo Ymberti et Ray|mun-  
do de Baucio, hæreticis, apud Cuneum, nido Hemerici<sup>3</sup> del Abat—sed  
non vidit eos adorare. Morabatur tamen cum eis in eodem hospitio. Et  
sunt triginta octo anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit apud Mediolanum in Italia Guillelmum Pellicerii de Figiaco, quem Bernardus Vasco de Gontaldo Agean' comendavit apud Mediolanum ipsi testi et Bertrando de Castris, qui moratur apud Papiam, ut ipsi ambo ducerent eum usque Papiam; quod et fecerunt. Et in via retulit eis quod inquisitores quæsiverant eum, et quia intellexit quod volebant eum capere fugerat ad partes illas.

Item dixit eis quod quærebat Bernardum de La Garriga, hæreticum, et quod illum cognoscebat, et si inveniret eum quod volebat esse cum eis, ex quo evaserat manus inquisitorum.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -s deleted.

<sup>2</sup> written over deletion. A superfluous *de* follows, probably written by mistake for the end of the previous word.

<sup>3</sup> altered.

<sup>4</sup> -um added.

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de la Haute-Garonne, 485. William Dural of Poulan had confessed seeing the heretic Bernard of Lagarrigue to the inquisitors Stephen of Gâtine and Hugh of Bouniols, March 30, 1276; Gui, *Livre des sentences*, ii.1104. A former elder son (*filius maior*) of the heretics of Albi, he converted and worked with the inquisitors, who employed him as a servant. Later he was a central figure in an alleged plot, perhaps revealed in confessions of 1285 preserved in Doat 26, to steal registers of inquisition in Carcassonne. Bernard's deposition in front of John Galand in 1285, confirming a recent confession to the bishop of Albi about the plot, is contained in D26, f. 245<sup>v</sup>–254<sup>v</sup>. Many details of the plot are provided by Bruschi, *Wandering*, pp. 22, 151–157, 182, 185, 187, 193, and, for a full account of the plot and the history of modern historians' debate about its authenticity, see Roche, *Église cathare*, pp. 413–419.

witness was captured by the inquisitors' entourage in the house of the aforesaid Ermengardis, the same witness's daughter, and of Paul, her husband, the Monday immediately past.

Item, he said that he saw Bertrand of Quiriès<sup>51</sup> of Avignonet living in Cuneo, a fugitive on account of the inquisitor's killing perpetrated at Avignonet. And he heard him boasting about himself and saying that the lord Raymond, count of Toulouse, and Sicard Alaman,<sup>52</sup> acting on his behalf, had given him money on his departure from the Toulousain, and that later they had sent him money for his expenses while he was exiled. At this the same witness said to him jokingly, that he would like to live on his means!

He also saw the said Bertrand with Raymond Ymbert and Raymond | 309<sup>v</sup>  
of Vaux, heretics, at Cuneo, [in] the residence of Hemeric<sup>53</sup> of Labat<sup>54</sup>—but he did not see them adore. However, he stayed with them in the same lodging. And this was thirty-eight years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he saw, at Milan in Italy, William Pelissier (*or* William, furrier) of Figeac, whom Bernard Vasco of Gontaud<sup>55</sup> in the Agenais commended at Milan to the same witness and to Bertrand of Castres, who lives at Pavia, for the two of them to take him as far as Pavia: which they did. And on the way he told them that the inquisitors had been searching for him, and because he learnt that they wanted to capture him he had fled to those parts.

Item, he told them that he was searching for Bernard of Lagarrigue,<sup>56</sup> heretic, and that he knew him, and if he found him he wanted to be with them [the heretics]—[he had wanted this] from the time he had escaped from the hands of the inquisitors.

<sup>51</sup> Aude, comm. Mas-Saintes-Puelles, cant. Castelnaudary, arrond. Carcassonne; *Saisimentum*, p. 451. Bertrand's confessions in 1245 and their confirmation in 1255 are preserved in Toulouse 609, f. 139<sup>v</sup>–140<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> A high official of count Raymond and later counsellor and commissioner of Alphonse of Poitiers. See the references in Puylaurens, *Chronique*, p. 177 n. 3, and his index-entry in *Saisimentum*, p. 367.

<sup>53</sup> Aimery?

<sup>54</sup> A common place-name; *DTF*.

<sup>55</sup> Lot-et-Garonne, cant. and arrond. Marmande; *Saisimentum*, p. 400.

<sup>56</sup> Or La Garrigue, both of them extremely common place-names (*DTF*); 'garrigue' denotes a sort of scrubland. Bernard of La Garrigue / Lagarrigue was also a common name. Two men of this name were denounced by Sicard Lunel in his confession of around 1254; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép.

310<sup>r</sup> Dixit etiam quod Bernardus Vasto prædictus, qui est gener dicti | Bernardi de La Garriga, hæretici, dixerat ei quod idem *Bernardus* de La Garriga et quidam alii hæretici erant apud Ruppem in partibus illis.

Dixit etiam quod postea audivit ipse testis prædictum Bertrandum de Castris referentem quod dictus Guillelmus Pellicerii iverat ad dictam Ruppem ad hæreticos, et quod duxerat eum illuc<sup>1</sup> Guiraldetus qui moratur cum eodem Bertrando, custos apochatariae suæ—et est de Figiaco.

Item dixit quod audivit supradictum Guillelmum Pellicerii dicentem quod habebat fratrem in Montepessullano, cui dimiserat pretium cuiusdam<sup>2</sup> palafredi, quem vendiderat ibi dum veniebat.

Item audivit eum dicentem quod quam cito esset in aliquo statu reposito<sup>3</sup> quem quærebat, proponebat mittere nuntium dicto fratri, et significare statum suum.

310<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod postea audivit | dici a dicto Bertrando quod si prædictus Guiraldetus fuerat missus versus Montem Pessullanum ad refferendum statum prædicti Guillelmi Pellicerii fratri suo [...].<sup>4</sup>

Item dixit quod ipse testis, degens Papiæ, perpendit bene absentiam dicti Guiraldeti, et redisset ibi, interrogavit eum ubi steterat: qui respondit quod in bono loco, et quod iverat per terras. Et hæc fuerunt mense Maii proximo præterito, sicut credit.

Anno quo supra, prædictus *Petrus* de Buevilla addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod cum ipse testis prima vice fuisset in Lombardia,<sup>5</sup> rediit latenter ad castrum Avinionis ad hospitium proprium, quod tenebat Guillelma, uxor ipsius testis pro dote sua, quæ nondum<sup>6</sup> secuta fuerat ipsum testem, quæ<sup>7</sup> tenuit et celavit eum ibi | per quindecim dies vel circa. Et sciverunt eum ibi, et viderunt, et loqui fuerunt cum eo Atho den Artigat, et Galharda uxor eius, et Stephanus Roca, et Guillelma uxor eius.

<sup>1</sup> *altered from* illud.

<sup>2</sup> *c-* altered.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* reperto/to over end of line.

<sup>4</sup> *The end of this sentence appears to be missing: unless, of course, the word si is a mis-copying.*

<sup>5</sup> -m deleted.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* non dum.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* quod.

<sup>60</sup> See Artigat, Ariège, cant. Fossat, arrond. Pamiers (Font-Réaulx, p. 866), and Artiga- in *DTF*.

He also said that the aforesaid Bernard Vasto, who is the son-in-law of the said | Bernard of Lagarrigue, heretic, had told him that the same Bernard of Lagarrigue and certain other heretics were at Rocca<sup>57</sup> in those parts. 310<sup>r</sup>

He also said that the same witness afterwards heard the aforesaid Bertrand of Castres saying that the said William Pelissier had gone to the said Rocca to the heretics, and that Guiraudet had taken him there—Guiraudet, who lives with the same Bertrand, looking after his apothecary's shop, and is from Figeac.

Item, he said that he heard the aforesaid William Pelissier saying that he had a brother in Montpellier, to whom he had given the price of a certain palfrey, which he had sold there while he was on his way.

Item, he heard him saying that as soon as he was in a certain acquired state that he had been looking for he planned to send a messenger to his said brother, and notify him of his state.

Item, he said that later on he heard it | said by the said Bertrand that if the aforesaid Guiraudet had been sent towards Montpellier to report the state of the aforesaid William Pelissier to his brother [...].<sup>58</sup> 310<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that while the same witness was staying at Pavia, he understood very well the said Guiraudet's absence, and when he had come back there, he asked him where he had been: who replied that he had been in a good place, and that he had travelled through <several> lands. And these things took place in the month of May immediately past, so he believes.

In the same year as above,<sup>59</sup> the aforesaid Peter of Beauville added to his confession, saying that when the same witness was in Lombardy for the first time, he returned in secret to the stronghold of Avignonet, to his own lodging, which Guillelma, the same witness's wife, held as her dowry. She had not yet followed the same witness, but she kept him and hid him there | for fifteen days or thereabouts. And Atho den Artigat<sup>60</sup> and Galharda, his wife, and Stephen Roque and Guillelma, his wife, knew he was there, and saw him and spoke with him. 311<sup>r</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Rocca de' Giorgi and Rocca Susella, in the province of Pavia, are possibilities.

<sup>58</sup> There appears to be some text missing here.

<sup>59</sup> From the content of this deposition, it took place shortly after the previous one, although the phrase 'In the same year as above' would suggest that this is unlikely to have been the next day.



Dixit etiam quod deinde significavit ipse testis adventum suum, per Guillelmam uxorem ipsius testis, Stephano Donati de Monte Galhardo, consanguineo ipsius testis, qui de mandato ipsius testis venit Tholosam, et emit pro ipso teste unam sarcinam de mercibus portandis in Lombardiam, et portavit eas ipsi testi apud Avinionem, in domum ipsius testis. Et quadam nocte<sup>1</sup> venit ad ipsum testem Guillelmus Dauzet de Avinione, cum quo ipse testis, acceptis prædictis mercibus, dato etiam comeato uxori suæ, recessit de domo sua prædicta. Et ambo iverunt ad quoddam nemus inter Cassers et Folcardam, ubi invenerunt Hugo-  
 311<sup>v</sup> nem Dominici et Pontium Arnaldi, et Arnaldum Arnardi, *Bernardum* de Couizano, et Raymundum de Mirapisce,<sup>2</sup> et Guillelmum *Raymundi*, filium Pontii Fabri de Avinione, et Raymundum Martini, hæreticos, et cum eis *Petrum* de Viridario, et quemdam cognominatum de Cutmerio, et Guillelmum et *Bernardum* Ricardi, de Avinione. Qui omnes, et ipse testis, steterunt ibi cum omnibus prædictis hæreticis per illam noctem, et diem sequentem. Erat etiam ibi cum eis *Bernardus* de Rocovilla, tunc iunior de Cassers, filius Raymundi de Rocovilla, militis. Et omnes prædicti, et ipse testis, adoraverunt ibi prædictos hæreticos, et comederunt cum eis ad eandem mensam, et de pane benedicto ab eis. Et nocte<sup>3</sup> sequenti supradicti Bernardus<sup>4</sup> de Couizano, Raymundus de Mirapisce et *Raymundus* Martini, hæretici, et cum eis ipse testis et prædictus cognominatus de Cutmerio, Petrus<sup>5</sup> de Viridario de Avinione, omnibus aliis  
 312<sup>r</sup> dimissis ibi in nemore, et recepto comeato ab eis, recesserunt inde, euntes versus Lombardiam, simul usque ad Cuneum. Et qualibet die adorabant<sup>6</sup> semel dictos hæreticos, et comedebant cum eis ad eandem mensam, et de pane benedicto ab eis. Et sunt viginti octo vel viginti novem anni, vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> originally noctæ.

<sup>2</sup> added, -sce altered.

<sup>3</sup> originally noctæ.

<sup>4</sup> ms Raymundus.

<sup>5</sup> P- altered from d-.

<sup>6</sup> -bant written over deletion.

He also said that the same witness then made his arrival known, through Guillelma, the same witness's wife, to Stephen Donat of Montgaillard, the same witness's kinsman, who, at the same witness's command, came to Toulouse, and on the same witness's behalf bought a pack of merchandise to be carried to Lombardy, and he carried it to the same witness at Avignonet, into the same witness's house. And one night William Dauzet of Avignonet came to the same witness, with whom the same witness left his aforesaid house, taking the aforesaid merchandise, and taking leave of his wife. And the pair of them went to a certain wood between Les Cassès and Folcarde,<sup>61</sup> where they found Hugh Dominic and Pons | Arnold, and Arnold Arnard, Bernard of Couiza, and Raymond of Mirepoix<sup>62</sup> and William Raymond, son of Pons Faure of Avignonet, and Raymond Martin, heretics, and with them Peter of Verdié, and a certain man surnamed of Cumiès,<sup>63</sup> and William and Bernard Richard, of Avignonet. All of whom, and the same witness, stayed there with all the aforesaid heretics through that night and the following day. Also there with them was Bernard of Roqueville, then the younger of Les Cassés, son of Raymond of Roqueville, knight. And all the aforesaid, and the same witness, adored the aforesaid heretics there, and ate with them at the same table, and of bread blessed by them. And the following night the aforesaid Bernard of Couiza, Raymond of Mirepoix and Raymond Martin, heretics, and with them the same witness and the aforesaid man surnamed of Cumiès [and] Peter of Verdié | of Avignonet, left all the others there in the wood and taking leave of them, left there, going towards Lombardy, [staying] together as far as Cuneo. And every day they would adore the said heretics once, and eat with them at the same table, and of bread blessed by them. And this was twenty-eight or twenty-nine years ago or thereabouts.

311<sup>v</sup>312<sup>r</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 830. It is 6 km from Les Cassés; *DTF*.

<sup>62</sup> Probably either Lot-et-Garonne, comm. Bias, cant. Villeneuve-sur-Lot, ch.-lieu arrond., or Mirepoix-sur-Tarn, Haute-Garonne, cant. Villemur-sur-Tarn, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; *Saisimentum*, p. 426. Raymond of Mirepoix was seen in Montmaur around 1233, Saint-Julien around 1237, Montégut around 1241 and Les Cassés in 1240 and 1244; Toulouse 609, f. 221<sup>r</sup>, 222<sup>v</sup>, 223<sup>v</sup>, 224<sup>r-v</sup>, 231<sup>r</sup>; D24, 32<sup>r</sup>. His brother Arnold of Mirepoix was questioned on November 30 1245, when he confessed seeing Raymond just outside Avignonet around 1238; Toulouse 609, f. 134<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Aude, cant. Salles-sur-l'Hers, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 919.

Item dixit quod aliis vicibus quinque vel sex rediit ad Avinionem ad domum suam prædictam—de quo sunt viginti quatuor anni elapsi vel circa.

Dixit etiam quod quadam vice de prædictis, cum transiret de nocte<sup>1</sup> iuxta mansum *Bernardi* Berterii de Podio Bertano prope Villamfrancam, idem *Bernardus*, exiens domum, vidit ipsum testem et retinuit eum illa nocte<sup>2</sup> ad comedendum et iacendum. Et mane sequenti dedit ei prandium et postea idem *Bernardus* duxit ipsum testem ad quandam  
 312<sup>v</sup> bartam prope domum suam. Ibi erant Pontius Aynardi | et Arnaldus Aynardi, fratres, hæretici. Et venit ibi Pontius Martini de Podio Bertano, sororius dicti *Bernardi*; qui ambo, et ipse testis, adoraverunt ibi dictos hæreticos. Et tunc dicti hæretici interrogaverunt ipsum testem de statu hæreticorum in Lombardia. Et sunt viginti sex anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quando recessit de Podio Bertano, ivit ad Montem Galhardum, ad bordam Stephani Donati, ubi dictus Stephanus vidit ipsum testem et fuit loquutus cum eo. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod alia vice venit ipse usque Narbonam, et inde mandavit per litteras prædictæ uxori suæ quod veniret<sup>3</sup> ad eum, quia volebat eam secum ducere in Lombardiam. Et tunc Bego de Rocovilla, miles de Monte Galhardo, et Stephanus Donati et Donatus, fratres, adduxerunt ei apud  
 313<sup>r</sup> Narbonam | supradictam uxorem ipsius testis; quo facto, dictus Bego, et Stephanus et Donatus, fratres, comederunt ibi, invitati ab ipso teste. Et postea dictus Bego, cum Lauraco, scutifero suo de Monte Galhardo, rediit ad propria. Et ipse testis, cum uxore sua, et prædictis Donatis, rediit in Lombardiam. Et sunt decem novem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quadam vice de prædictis, quando ipse testis venit ad domum suam apud Avinionem de nocte,<sup>4</sup> veniens de Lombardia, invenit<sup>5</sup> in dicta domo Guillelmam, uxorem ipsius testis, et cum ea Arnaldum Praderii, Hugonem Dominici, et Pontium Aynardi et Arnaldum Aynardi, fratres, omnes hæreticos, qui venerant ibi alia nocte<sup>6</sup> præcedenti, sicut

<sup>1</sup> *originally* noctæ.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* noctæ.

<sup>3</sup> -ni- *written over deletion*.

<sup>4</sup> *originally* noctæ.

<sup>5</sup> *originally* in venit.

<sup>6</sup> *originally* noctæ.

Item, he said that on five or six other occasions he returned to Avignonet to his aforesaid house—since when twenty-four years have passed, or thereabouts.

He also said that on one of the aforesaid occasions, while he was passing by night near the *mas* of Bernard Bertier of *Pech Bertan*<sup>64</sup> near Villefranche,<sup>65</sup> the same Bernard, coming out of his house, saw the same witness and kept him that night to eat and sleep. And the following morning he gave him a meal, and afterwards the same Bernard led the same witness to a certain piece of scrubland by his house. Pons Aynard | 312<sup>v</sup> and Arnold Aynard, brothers, heretics, were there. And Pons Martin of *Pech Bertan*, the said Bernard's brother-in-law, came there; both of whom, and the same witness, adored the said heretics there. And then the said heretics questioned the same witness about the state of the heretics in Lombardy. And this was twenty-six years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when he left *Pech Bertan* he went to Montgaillard, to Stephen Donat's cattle-shed, where the said Stephen Donat saw the same witness and talked with him. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that on another occasion he himself came as far as Narbonne, and from there he ordered his aforesaid wife by letter to come to him, because he wanted to take her with him into Lombardy. And then Bego of Roqueville, knight of Montgaillard, and Stephen Donat and Donat, brothers,<sup>66</sup> brought the same witness's aforesaid wife to him at Narbonne. | When this had been done, the said Bego and Stephen and 313<sup>r</sup> Donat, brothers, ate there, invited by the same witness. And afterwards the said Bego, together with Laurac,<sup>67</sup> his squire from Montgaillard, returned to his own affairs. And the same witness, with his wife and the aforesaid Donats, went back into Lombardy. And this was nineteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that on one of the aforesaid occasions, when the same witness, coming from Lombardy, came by night to his house at Avignonet, he found Guillelma, the same witness's wife, in the said house, and with her Arnold Pradier, Hugh Dominic and Pons Aynard and Arnold Aynard, brothers, all heretics, who had come there some other previous night, as

<sup>64</sup> Not identified.

<sup>65</sup> Villefranche-de-Lauragais: Haute-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1107.

<sup>66</sup> Three of the brothers have Donat as their second name (Peter Donat, Stephen Donat and William Donat), whereas the fourth is known only as Donat. See above, 131<sup>v</sup> n. 7.

<sup>67</sup> Peter of Laurac.

dicebant. Et fuerunt ibi, ipso teste præsente, per duos dies et noctes. Et ibi prædicta uxor ipsius testis tenuit eos, et celavit, et dedit ad comedendum  
 313<sup>v</sup> tam dictis | hæreticis quam ipsi testi. Et ambo adoraverunt ibi dictos hæreticos, et comederunt de pane benedicto ab eis, sed non cum eis ad eandem mensam. Et sunt viginti quinque anni vel circa.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram *Petro* Arsivi inquisitore, in præsentia et testimonio fratris Hugonis Amelii, fratris Pontii de Parnaco, et fratris *Bernardi* de Insula, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, decimo septimo kalendas Octobris, prædictus testis adiecit testimonio suo, dicens quod apud Avinionem, in manso Pape-  
 riorum qui vocatur Las Tapias, vidit ipse testis multotiens Hugonem de Caramanno et Arnaldum Aynardi, socium<sup>1</sup> eius, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi  
 314<sup>r</sup> cum eis Arnaldum Paperii, et Brunissendim | uxorem eius, Raymundum Paperii, fratrem dicti Arnaldi, Guillelmum Paperii, fratrem eorum, Aurencam matrem eorum, Pontium Firmini, bubulcum eorum, et Guillelmam ancillam eorum, quæ fuit dels Cassers. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti adoraverunt<sup>2</sup> multotiens dictos hæreticos, et audierunt<sup>3</sup> prædicationem eorum, et comederunt de pane benedicto ab eis multotiens. Et tunc temporis ipse testis erat fugitivus, et venerat de Lombardia. Et sunt viginti duo anni vel circa, quando fuit captum castrum Montis Securi.

Item dixit quod vidit alia vice in eadem domo Pontium de Sancta Fide, diachonum hæreticorum Lantar', et *Petrum* de Prato, hæreticos, et cum eis omnes prædictas personas de domo. Et ipse testis et omnes prope-  
 dicti adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos, ipso teste vidente, et audiverunt<sup>5</sup>  
 314<sup>v</sup> prædicationem eorum. Et | sunt viginti quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit ibi cum prædictis hæreticis Raymundam de Ranevilla de Tholosa, quæ modo est uxor Guillelmi Fabri Capellani, armerii,<sup>6</sup> et moratur ante domum militiæ Templi, quæ similiter adoravit

<sup>1</sup> *ms* socios.

<sup>2</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -runt *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* audiente.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* capellani Armerii.

they said. And while the same witness was present they were there for two days and nights. And the same witness's aforesaid wife kept them there, and hid them, and gave food both to the said | heretics and the same witness. And both of them adored the said heretics there, and ate of bread blessed by them, but not with them at the same table. And this was twenty-five years ago or thereabouts. 313<sup>v</sup>

These things he attested at Toulouse before Peter Arsieu, inquisitor, in the presence and testimony of brother Hugh Amiel, brother Pons of Parnac and brother Bernard of L'Isle, of the Order of Preachers, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things

In the same year as above, seventeen days before the kalends of October,<sup>68</sup> the aforesaid witness added to his testimony, saying that the same witness often saw Hugh of Caraman and Arnold Aynard, his companion, heretics, at Avignonet, in the *mas* of the Papiers which is called 'Las Tapias'.<sup>69</sup> And he saw there with them Arnold Papier and Brunissen, | his wife, Raymond Papier, the said Arnold's brother, William Papier, their brother, Aurenca, their mother, Pons Firmin, their cowherd, and Guil- 314<sup>r</sup>  
 lelma, their maidservant, who was from Les Cassès. And the same witness and all the aforesaid often adored the said heretics there, and they heard their preaching, and they often ate of bread blessed by them. And at that time the same witness was a fugitive, and he had come from Lombardy. And this was twenty-two years ago or thereabouts, when the fortress of Montségur was captured.

Item, he said that on another occasion he saw in the same house Pons of Sainte-Foy, deacon of the heretics of the Lantarès, and Peter of Prat, heretics, and with them all the aforesaid people from the house. And the same witness and all the aforesaid adored the said heretics there, in the sight of the same witness, and heard their preaching. And | this was 314<sup>v</sup>  
 twenty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he saw there with the aforesaid heretics Raymonda of Renneville<sup>70</sup> of Toulouse, who is now the wife of William Faure Chaplain, armourer, and lives in front of the house of the Order of the Knights

<sup>68</sup> September 15 [1278].

<sup>69</sup> *DTF* lists several Las Tapios and Les Tapios.

<sup>70</sup> Haute-Garonne, Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1020.

ibi dictos hæreticos, et audivit prædicationem eorum. Et prædicavit tunc dictus diachonus de Maria Magdalena et Marta<sup>1</sup> soror eius, et earum exemplo, qualiter mulieres debebant habere bonam spem. Et fuit eodem tempore, et eadem vice.

Item dixit quod apud Mares prope Avinionem, in manso Stephani Rocas, soceri ipsius testis, vidit multotiens, aliquando Hugonem Domini<sup>2</sup> et socium<sup>3</sup> eius, aliquando Arnaldum Aynardi et socium<sup>3</sup> eius, et semel Pontium de Sancta Fide et Petrum de Prato, omnes hæreticos. Et  
 315<sup>r</sup> vidit ibi cum supradictis hæ|reticis supradictum Stephanum Rocas, Guillelmam uxorem eius, Guillelmam filiam eorum, et Petrum Rocas, filium dictorum Stephani et Guillelmæ, iuvenem ætatis quindecim annorum vel circa. Et ibi ipse testis et alii prædicti, excepto dicto iuvene, de quo non recolit, adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> multotiens<sup>5</sup> dictos hæreticos, et multotiens audiverunt<sup>6</sup> prædicationem eorum, et comederunt cum eis, et de pane benedicto ab eis. Et sunt viginti quinque anni vel circa.

Dixit etiam quod una de dictis vicibus, quando ipse testis, tunc fugitivus, venit ad dictum mansum, invenit in area cenantes prædictum Stephanum et uxorem eius, et filiam eorum prædictam, quæ est uxor ipsius testis, et cum eis Arnaldum de Villanova, clericum, filium Stephani de Villanova de Avinione, sororium dicti Petri Rocas. Et erant ibi tunc in  
 315<sup>v</sup> quadam borda Hugo Dominici et Arnaldus, vel Pontius Aynardi, hæretici, quos ipse testis | visitavit et adoravit ibi. Sed tunc non vidit ibi aliquem alium cum eis.

Dixit etiam quod dictus Hugo, hæreticus, interrogavit ipsum testem utrum viderat ibi Arnaldum de Villanova prædictum; qui respondit ei quod sic, et quod vellet vidisse. Et tunc dictus Hugo dixit ipsi testi quod multum vexaverat<sup>7</sup> eos dictus Arnaldus, disputando cum eis. Et ipse

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Maria.

<sup>2</sup> *-ium added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-ium added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-runt added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-ens or -iens added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-erunt added.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms* uxxaverat.

<sup>73</sup> See above, 6<sup>v</sup> n. 4.

<sup>74</sup> Stephen admitted (July 6 1245) seeing heretics living publicly around 1215 and contacts with them around 1230 and 1238; Toulouse 609, f. 132<sup>v</sup>–133<sup>r</sup>.

Templar<sup>71</sup>—who similarly adored the said heretics there, and heard their preaching. And the said deacon then preached about Mary Magdalene and Martha her sister and their example, [and] how women ought to have good hope. And this was at the same time, and on the same occasion.

Item, he said that at Marès near Avignonet,<sup>72</sup> in the *mas* of Stephen Roque, the same witness's father-in-law, he often saw, sometimes Hugh Dominic and his companion, sometimes Arnold Aynard and his companion, and once Pons of Sainte-Foy and Peter of Prat, all heretics. And he saw there with the aforesaid heretics | the aforesaid Stephen Roque, 315<sup>r</sup> Guillelma, his wife, Guillelma, their daughter, and Peter Roque, the son of the said Stephen and Guillelma, a youth of the age of fifteen years or thereabouts. And the same witness and all the aforesaid—apart from the said youth, about whom he does not remember—often adored the said heretics there, and often heard their preaching, and ate with them, and of bread blessed by them. And this was twenty-five years ago or thereabouts.

He also said that on one of the said occasions, when the same witness, then a fugitive, came to the said *mas*, he found the aforesaid Stephen and his wife, and their aforesaid daughter, who is the same witness's wife, taking a meal on their plot of land,<sup>73</sup> and together with them Arnold of Villeneuve, cleric, son of Stephen of Villeneuve of Avignonet,<sup>74</sup> the brother-in-law of the said Peter Roque. And Hugh Dominic and Arnold or Pons Aynard, heretics, were there, then, in a certain cattle-shed, whom the same witness | visited and adored there. But he did not then see 315<sup>v</sup> anyone else with them there.

He also said that the said Hugh, heretic, asked the same witness whether he had seen the aforesaid Arnold of Villeneuve there. He answered him that he had, and that he [Arnold] wished he had seen him [Hugh]. And then the said Hugh told the same witness that the said Arnold had harrassed them a lot, disputing with them. And the same

<sup>71</sup> On the Templars' house in Toulouse, see Mundy, *Society*, no. 31 on map opposite p. 7, pp. 88, 300, 451, 458, 462, 473; Sibly, *William of Puylaurens*, map 2, p. xi. There is obscurity about the foundation of the house, which was located near to the Château Narbonnais. On the military Orders in Languedoc, see E. Delaruelle, 'Templiers et hospitaliers en Languedoc pendant la croisade des albigeois', *CaF* 4 (1969), and the whole of *CaF* 41 (2006)—see index-entry, p. 415, for references to the house in Toulouse.

<sup>72</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Avignonet-Lauragais, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse. Distance to Avignonet is 4 km; *DTF*.



testis<sup>1</sup> interrogavit dictum Hugonem quis fuerat victus, et dictus Hugo respondit quod neuter,<sup>2</sup> sed quod aliquantulum mitigaverant dictum Arnaldum.

Dixit insuper ipse testis quod ipse iacuit illa nocte<sup>3</sup> cum prædicto Arnaldo de Villanova in eodem lecto, super paleis sine culcitra. Et ipse testis interrogavit eum utrum viderat<sup>4</sup> dictos hæreticos, et respondit quod viderat eos, et disputaverat cum eis, et nesciverant ei respondere—rustici proditores qui faciebant se adorare. Ipse tamen testis non vidit  
 316<sup>r</sup> ipsum | Arnaldum de Villanova simul cum prædictis hæreticis, nec scit, nec credit, quod dictus Arnaldus adoraverit tunc dictos hæreticos. Et sunt viginti quinque anni<sup>5</sup> vel circa.

Item dixit quod Petrus de Tholosa, vicarius Tholosæ, cepit Raymundum Sancii, diaconum hæreticorum terræ Sancti Fœlicis, et duo vel tres socios eius, hæreticos, exeuntes de domo Stephani de Villanova de Avinione, patris dicti Arnaldi. Et invenit in domo dicti Stephani prædictus vicarius libros hæreticorum. Et audivit ipse testis postea dictum Stephanum refferentem et querelantem amicis suis, quod illud factum detractaverat<sup>6</sup> ei mille solidos Tholosanos. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod dictus Petrus de Tholosa, vicarius Tholosæ, cepit  
 316<sup>v</sup> hæreticas apud Avinionem, in domo Tholosani de Lasala, et in domo | Guillelmi de Calhavello. Et fuit eodem tempore et eadem die.

<sup>1</sup> -is *added*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* neuter.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* noctæ.

<sup>4</sup> -d- *written over deletion*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* annis.

<sup>6</sup> -trac- *written over deletion*.

<sup>77</sup> Raymond was seen several times in Stephen's house, and heretics were captured in this house around 1237; Toulouse 609, f. 134<sup>r</sup>, 140<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> Tholosanus de La Sala of Avignonet was questioned by Bernard of Caux on July 6 1245, when he confessed lodging three female heretics for six weeks around 1235. He had seen Raymond Sans twice in Stephen of Villeneuve's house, around 1233; Toulouse 609, f. 132<sup>r</sup>. Arnold of Mirepoix had seen two female heretics in Tolsan's house around 1238; Toulouse 609, f. 134<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> Many deponents from Avignonet questioned in 1245 testified to William of Cailhavel's involvement with heretics between around 1225 and 1237; Toulouse 609, f. 130<sup>v</sup>, 131<sup>r</sup>, 132<sup>r</sup>, 134<sup>v</sup>, 135<sup>r</sup>, 136<sup>r</sup>, 137<sup>v</sup>, 138<sup>r</sup>. Heretics had been captured in his house around 1237; *ibid.*, f. 140<sup>r</sup>. See also 193<sup>v</sup> n. 8 above.

witness asked the said Hugh who had been defeated, and the said Hugh replied neither of them, but they had broken the said Arnold down a bit.

Moreover, the same witness said that he slept that night in the same bed with the aforesaid Arnold of Villeneuve, on the straw without a quilt. And the same witness asked him whether he had seen the said heretics, and he replied that he had seen them and disputed with them, and they had not known how to reply to him—rustic traitors who had themselves adored. However, the same witness did not see the same | Arnold of Villeneuve together with the aforesaid heretics, nor does he know, nor does he believe, that the said Arnold adored the said heretics then. And this was twenty-five years ago or thereabouts. 316<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that Peter of Toulouse, *viguier* of Toulouse,<sup>75</sup> captured Raymond Sans, deacon of the heretics of the land of Saint-Félix,<sup>76</sup> and two or three of his companions, heretics, as they were coming out of the house of Stephen of Villeneuve of Avignonet, the father of the said Arnold.<sup>77</sup> And the aforesaid *viguier* found books of the heretics in the house of the said Stephen. And afterwards the same witness heard the said Stephen telling his friends and complaining that that affair had lost him a thousand Toulouse shillings. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the said Peter of Toulouse, *viguier* of Toulouse, captured female heretics at Avignonet, in the house of Tolsan of La Salle<sup>78</sup> and in the house | of William of Cailhavel.<sup>79</sup> And this was at the same time 316<sup>v</sup> and on the same day.

<sup>75</sup> See above, 286<sup>r</sup> n. 24. The *viguier* could be translated as vicar in its older sense of substitute for a higher authority. The *viguier* of Toulouse exercised authority for and in place of the count of Toulouse over the *viguerie* (or vicarage) of Toulouse, an area surrounding the city. See Mundy, *Society*, p. 6 and map, p. 7, and pp. 55–58, 99, 132, 223–228, 239–244. Peter was *viguier* of Toulouse from between July and September 1235 and March or April 1243. Before changing tack on the persecution of heretics, he had been implicated with the resistance in Toulouse that led to the expulsion from the city of the inquisitors and the Dominicans. He had been excommunicated, along with the consuls, on 27 July 1237, but absolution came very quickly; Dossat, *Crises*, pp. 131 n. 180, 138, 140, 142; Mundy, *Royal Diploma*, pp. 280–282.

<sup>76</sup> Saint-Félix-Lauragais. See next note. Raymond was deacon 1229–1239; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 349; Guiraud, *Histoire*, i.219. He was described as deacon of the heretics of Montmaur, by a deponent who had been a vested heretic for fifteen years; Toulouse 609, f. 133<sup>v</sup>.

Dixit tamen quod ipse testis nunquam vidit dictos hæreticos nec hæreticas in dictis domibus—nec illos nec alios hæreticos vidit unquam in dictis domibus.

Item dixit quod apud Mares prope Avinionem, in domo Guillelmi Raymundi Golayrandi, vidit bis vel ter dictos Hugonem Dominici et modo Pontium modo Arnaldum Aynardi, socios eius, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis dictum Guillelmum Raymundi, Viernam, uxorem eius, Guillelmum Raymundi et Raymundum, filios eorum, et Guiraldam et Raymundam, filias eorum, et Petrum de Maiorol' et Bartatium, faiditos, et Petrum Raymundi orbum, et Arnaldum Raymundi, fratres dicti Guillelmi Raymundi, et Arnaldam, uxorem dicti Arnaldi Raymundi. Et ibi  
 317<sup>r</sup> ipse testis et omnes prædicti, adoraverunt<sup>1</sup> multo|tiens dictos hæreticos, et audiverunt prædicationem eorum. Et sunt viginti septem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Berrelas, in domo Bernardi Furnerii et Arnaldi, fratrum, vidit multotiens Pontium de Sancta Fide, Bernardum Columbi et Petrum de Prato, hæreticos, et cum eis ipsos fratres, et Ermersendim, uxorem dicti Bernardi, et Raymundam, uxorem dicti Arnaldi, et Raymundum Boerii, bubulcum eorum, qui postea obiit hæreticus in Lombardia. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti adoraverunt multotiens dictos hæreticos, et audiverunt<sup>2</sup> prædicationem eorum. Et fuit<sup>3</sup> eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod apud Montem Galhardum, in domo Bertrandi de Rocovilla, militis, vidit tribus vicibus Pontium de Sancta Fide, diachonum prædictum, et Petrum de Prato, hæreticos, et cum eis dictum Bertrandum et Indiam<sup>4</sup> | uxorem eius, qui<sup>5</sup> tenebant et celabant eum tunc fugitivum, et Begonem de Rocovilla, fratrem dicti Bertrandi, et dominam Aycelinam, matrem eorum, quæ postmodum obiit hæretica in Lombardia, Vitalem de Nasavenera, familiarem domus, semel<sup>6</sup> Lauracum, armigerum dicti Begonis, Galhardum Rubei, domicellum, Stephanum Donati et Donatum, fratres de Monte Galhardo, consanguineos ipsius

<sup>1</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>2</sup> -verunt added.

<sup>3</sup> originally sunt.

<sup>4</sup> ms Iudiam.

<sup>5</sup> ms quem; -em added.

<sup>6</sup> ms Semel.

<sup>82</sup> A common name at this time, like Irlanda and Babilonia (Mundy, *Men and Women*, pp. 38–40); ms consistently has Iudia.

He said, however, that the same witness never saw the said heretics or female heretics in the said houses—nor did he ever see these or other heretics in the said houses.

Item, he said that at Marès near Avignonet, in the house of William Raymond Golayrand<sup>80</sup> he saw two or three times the said Hugh Dominic and now Pons now Arnold Aynard, his companions, heretics. And he saw there with them the said William Raymond, Vierna, his wife, William Raymond and Raymond, their sons, and Guirauda and Raymonda, their daughters, and Peter of Mazerolles,<sup>81</sup> and Bartac, exiles, and Peter Raymond, the blind man, and Arnold Raymond, the brothers of the said William Raymond, and Arnalda, the said Arnold Raymond's wife. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid often adored | the said heretics, and heard their preaching. And this was twenty-seven years ago or thereabouts. 317<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that at Barelles, in the house of Bernard Fournier and Arnold, brothers, he often saw Pons of Sainte-Foy, Bernard Colomb and Peter of Prat, heretics, and with them the same brothers, and Ermesendis, the wife of the said Bernard, and Raymonda, the wife of the said Arnold, and Raymond Boer, their cowherd, who later died as a heretic in Lombardy. And the same witness and all the aforesaid often adored the said heretics there, and heard their preaching. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that at Montgaillard, in the house of Bertrand of Roqueville, knight, he saw on three occasions Pons of Sainte-Foy, the aforesaid deacon, and Peter of Prat, heretics, and with them the said Bertrand and India,<sup>82</sup> | his wife, who kept and hid him, then a fugitive; and Bego of Roqueville, the brother of the said Bertrand; and Lady Aicelina their mother, who later died a heretic in Lombardy, Vital of Na Savanera, household servant; on one occasion Laurac, the said Bego's squire, Galhard Ros, squire, Stephen Donat and Donat, brothers of Montgaillard, 317<sup>v</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Deponents from Avignonet questioned in 1245 mention Golayrand's contact with heretics from around 1232 (Toulouse 609, f. 132<sup>r</sup>, 135<sup>r</sup>, 135<sup>v</sup>, 138<sup>r</sup>), and he was involved in the plot that led to the killing of inquisitors at Avignonet in 1242 (ibid., f. 140<sup>r-v</sup>). His brother Bernard Raymond confessed June 8 1246; ibid., 138<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> Mazerolles-du-Razès: Aude, cante. Alaigne, arrond. Limoux; Font-Réaulx, p. 977. Peter of Mazerolles, co-lord with his (not heretical) brother of Gaja-la-Selve, made four confessions, July 30 and 31, August 16 and October 11 1246, Toulouse 609, f. 124<sup>r</sup>–125<sup>v</sup>. He was condemned, and some of his lands were confiscated; *Saisimentum*, p. 90 n. 11.

testis. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti, ipso teste vidente, adorant<sup>1</sup> dictos hæreticos et audierunt<sup>2</sup> prædicationem eorum multotiens—excepto dicto Vitali de Nasavenera, de quo non vidit hoc nisi semel. Et sunt viginti septem anni vel circa. Et hæc fiebant in camera solarii.

Vidit etiam ibi pluries Navidals, ancillam domus, quæ fuerat de Vasconia, adorantem ibi prædictos hæreticos, et audientem<sup>3</sup> prædicationem eorum cum aliis | supradictis personis. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod quodam vespere invenit<sup>4</sup> apud Avinionem, in carreria ante domum Pontii Fabri, Hugonem de Caramanno et Guillelmum Raymundi, hæreticos, et cum eis Hugonem Durandi, macellarium de Avinione, loquentem cum eis. Et cum dicti hæretici vellent exire villam per portam Leubardi et videret ibi aliquos homines loquentes in dicta porta cum Guillelmo Baudrici de Avinione, rogaverunt<sup>5</sup> ipsum testem quod præiret<sup>6</sup> et diceret dicto Guillelmo Baudrici ut<sup>7</sup> faceret inde recedere<sup>8</sup> dictos homines. Et ipse testis præivit et dixit hæc verba prædicto Guillelmo Baudrici, qui statim adduxit inde et fecit recedere dictos homines. Et tunc dicti hæretici exiverunt inde, dimisso in villa prædicto Hugone, et ipse testis associavit eos usque ad | molendina de vento<sup>9</sup> supra Avinionem.

Dixit etiam quod Guillelmus Baudrici, statim abductis dictis hominibus, rediit ad dictos hæreticos, et similiter associavit eos usque ad dicta molendina. Et ibi ipse testis et dictus Guillelmus Baudrici adorerunt<sup>10</sup> dictos hæreticos, et dictus Guillelmus Baudrici fuit loquutus cum eis<sup>11</sup> seorsum.<sup>12</sup> Quo facto, prædicti hæretici iverunt nescit quo, et ipse testis et dictus Guillelmus Baudrici redierunt ad propria. Et sunt viginti septem anni vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> -runt added.

<sup>2</sup> -runt added.

<sup>3</sup> -ntem altered.

<sup>4</sup> ms in venit.

<sup>5</sup> ms negaverunt; ne- altered.

<sup>6</sup> ms præ iret; -ræ ir- altered.

<sup>7</sup> superscript.

<sup>8</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>9</sup> ms Vauro.

<sup>10</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>11</sup> ms ei.

<sup>12</sup> ms scorsum.

kinsmen of the same witness. And the same witness and all the aforesaid, in the sight of the same witness, adored the said heretics there and often heard their preaching—apart from the said Vital of Na Savanera, about whom he only saw this once. And this was twenty-seven years ago or thereabouts. And these things used to take place in the chamber of the solar.

He also often saw there Na Vitals, maidservant of the house, who was from Gascogne, adoring the aforesaid heretics there, and hearing their preaching with the other | aforesaid persons. And this was at the same 318<sup>r</sup> time.

Item, he said that one evening he found at Avignonet, in the street in front of the house of Pons Faure, Hugh of Caraman and William Raymond, heretics, and with them Hugh Durand, butcher of Avignonet, talking with them. And when the said heretics wanted to leave the town by the Lombard gate, and saw some men there, talking in the said gate with William Baudric of Avignonet, they asked the same witness to go ahead and tell the said William Baudric to make the said men go away from there. And the same witness went ahead and said these words to the aforesaid William Baudric, who immediately took the said men away from there and made them go away. And then the said heretics went out from there, having left behind in the town the aforesaid Hugh, and the same witness accompanied them as far as | the windmills above 318<sup>v</sup> Avignonet.

He also said that as soon as the said men had been taken away, William Baudric rejoined the said heretics and likewise accompanied them as far as the said mills. And the same witness and the said William Baudric adored the said heretics there, and the said William Baudric talked with them apart. After this had happened, the aforesaid heretics went he does not know where, and the same witness and the said William Baudric returned to their own affairs. And this was twenty-seven years ago or thereabouts.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone priore, et fratre Pontio de Parnaco, gerentibus<sup>1</sup> vices inquisitoris.<sup>2</sup> Testes: frater Pontius de Moreriis et frater Amelius de Blanno, et Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsit.

319<sup>r</sup> Anno quo supra, decimo septimo kalendas Decem|bris, prædictus testis adiecit testimonio suo, dicens quod in honore Avinionis, in loco vocato Fantagriva, in ripparia de Favayrol, venerunt quadam nocte<sup>3</sup> ipse testis et Guillelmus Monerii<sup>4</sup> de Monte Galhardo, ad videndum ibi Hugonem Dominici et socium<sup>5</sup> eius, hæreticos, et Petronam de Ranevilla et Stephanam de Castro Verduni, hæreticas, quos et quas invenerunt ibi et cum eis Michaellem Benedicti de Avinione, qui fecit primo loqui dictum Guillelmum Monerii cum supradicta Petrona, hæretica et *consanguinea*<sup>6</sup> dicti Guillelmi. Et credit idem testis quod dictus Guillelmus Monerii dedit vel restituit dictæ Petronæ, hæreticæ, viginti vel triginta solidos<sup>7</sup> Tholosanos.<sup>8</sup> Et ipse testis et prædictus Guillelmus Monerii, et Michael<sup>9</sup> Benedicti adorarunt<sup>10</sup> dictos hæreticos, ipso teste vidente. Et sunt triginta anni vel amplius.

319<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod vidit Mathæum de Puerio Cuerio, et Guillelmum de Rovenato, qui modo est in muro Carcassonæ,<sup>11</sup> pluries apud Papiam. Semel, in domo ipsius testis, adoraverunt<sup>12</sup> Bernardum Barbam de Fanoiovis et Pontium<sup>13</sup> Boerii de Sancto Romano, et Philippum Cathalanum, filium maiorem, hæreticos.

<sup>1</sup> -re- *superscript*.

<sup>2</sup> -oris *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* noctæ.

<sup>4</sup> et *deleted*.

<sup>5</sup> -ium *perhaps added*.

<sup>6</sup> con- *perhaps added*.

<sup>7</sup> -os *perhaps added*.

<sup>8</sup> -os *perhaps added*.

<sup>9</sup> -is *deleted*.

<sup>10</sup> -runt *added*.

<sup>11</sup> -assonæ *added*.

<sup>12</sup> -verunt *added*.

<sup>13</sup> -ium *perhaps added*.

<sup>88</sup> Aude, comm. Roquefère, cant. Mas-Cabardès, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 919.

<sup>89</sup> Aude, cant. Quillan, arrond. Limoux; Font-Réaulx, p. 1025.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh, the prior, and brother Pons of Parnac, acting in place of the inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Pons of Mourières<sup>83</sup> and Brother Amiel of Blan, and Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, seventeen days before the kalends of December,<sup>84</sup> | the aforesaid witness added to his testimony, saying that one night 319<sup>r</sup> the same witness and William Monier of Montgaillard came in the honour of Avignonet to the place called Fonsegrives,<sup>85</sup> on the river-banks of the Favayrol,<sup>86</sup> in order to see there Hugh Dominic and his companion, heretics, and Petrona of Renneville and Stephana of Château-Verdun,<sup>87</sup> female heretics, whom, male and female, he found there, and with them Michael Benedict of Avignonet, who first of all made the said William Monier talk with the aforesaid Petrona, heretic and kinswoman of the said William. And the same witness believes that the said William Monier gave or returned twenty or thirty Toulouse shillings to the said Petrona, heretic. And the same witness and the aforesaid William Monier, and Michael Benedict adored the said heretics, in the sight of the same witness. And this was thirty years ago or more.

Item, he said that he often saw Matthew of Cuqserviès<sup>88</sup> and William 319<sup>v</sup> of Rouvenac<sup>89</sup>—who is now in the Carcassonne prison—at Pavia. Once, in the same witness's house, they adored Bernard Barba of Fanjeaux and Pons Boer of Saint-Romain, and Philip Catalan, elder son, heretics.

<sup>83</sup> Possible identification, Tarn, comm. Vitrac-en-Viadène, cant. Sainte-Geneviève-sur-Argence, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Rodez. Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 188 provides Mourières, without suggesting its location; *DTF*. According to Gui, Pons was from Toulouse, and was one of four brothers who investigated the suitability of Saint-Sever for the location of a convent in 1280. He was deputed in 1281 to visit Agen, Condom, Auvillar, Morlaàs, Orthez and Bayonne, and in 1284 to visit Agen, Condom and Auvillar. Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 207; *ACP*, pp. 249, 279.

<sup>84</sup> November 15 [1278].

<sup>85</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Avignonet-Lauragais, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; *DTF*.

<sup>86</sup> At this point the Favayrol runs 1 km ESE of Villefranche-de-Lauragais; IGN 2144E.

<sup>87</sup> In a confession edited by Cazenave, 'Ms 124', 429–436, the noblewoman Stephana of Château-Verdun recounted how she had been hereticated by Arnold Pradier, then deacon. He was now her husband (*ibid.*, 433). After their conversion and marriage, Arnold, Stephana and their son were living at the expense of the Toulouse inquisition in 1255–1256, as the inquisition accounts show; Cabié, 'Compte', 218–219. See further Cazenave, 'Ms 124', 404–406, and Roquebert, *Cathares*, pp. 253–256. On Arnaud Pradier, see above, 134<sup>v</sup> n. 22.



Item vidit eosdem milites apud Papiam, in domo Berengarii<sup>1</sup> sive Petri de Monte Acuto, adorantes<sup>2</sup> dictum Philippum et Raymundum de Bauto et *Bernardum* Barbam, hæreticos, et comedentes cum eis ad eandem mensam.

Item apud Papiam, in domo Petri Oliba, vidit eosdem milites adorantes<sup>3</sup> dictos Philippum et *Bernardum* Barbam, hæreticos. Et de his omnibus sunt octo anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Cuneum in Lombardia vidit in hospitio ipsius 320<sup>r</sup> testis Galhardum Macellarium de Rabastenx, adorantem<sup>4</sup> Ray|mundum Dauzeti et Pontium Brezeit, hæreticos. Et hoc idem vidit Guillelma, uxor ipsius testis.

Dixit etiam quod dictus Galhardus habebat tunc concubinam de Rabastenx, nomine Raymundam—sed illam non vidit simul cum<sup>5</sup> hæreticis. Et audivit dici quod illam habuit in uxorem. Et sunt octodecim vel viginti anni vel circa.

Anno quo supra, decimo kalendas Decembris,<sup>6</sup> prædictus Petrus de Bueuvilla, sponte veniens, adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod quadam nocte<sup>7</sup> Stephanus Donati de Monte Galhardo venit ad domum Petri Bueuvilla, patris ipsius testis quondam, apud Avinionem, qui iam intraverat lectum. Et venerunt cum eo, quatuor homines de Lantaresio,<sup>8</sup> quos ipse testis non novit. Et dictus Stephanus dixit patri<sup>9</sup> suo quod surgeret 320<sup>v</sup> de lecto, et quod faceret parari comes|tionem pro eis, quia esuriebant, et iret interim cum eis, quia ipsi, sicut idem Stephanus dicebat, adduxerant ad domum Pontii Raugini<sup>10</sup> de Avinione hæreticos qui consolarentur Vazegiam, dominum de Gardubio, quem tunc apportaverant ibi infirmum homines de Avinione. Et dictus pater ipsius testis surrexit de lecto<sup>11</sup> et mandavit parari comestionem. Deinde ivit ad domum Pontii

<sup>1</sup> -a- altered from or to -e-.

<sup>2</sup> -ntes probably added.

<sup>3</sup> -ntes added.

<sup>4</sup> -ntem probably added.

<sup>5</sup> -um written over deletion.

<sup>6</sup> -bris perhaps added.

<sup>7</sup> originally noctæ.

<sup>8</sup> ms et Lautares.

<sup>9</sup> ms patris.

<sup>10</sup> R- altered.

<sup>11</sup> ms delecto.

Item, he saw the same knights at Pavia in the house of Berengar or Peter of Montégut, adoring the said Philip and Raymond of Vaux and Bernard Barba, heretics, and eating with them at the same table.

Item, at Pavia, in the house of Peter Oliba, he saw the same knights adoring the said Philip and Bernard Barba, heretics. And, with regard to all these things, they were eight years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Cuneo in Lombardy he saw in the same witness's lodging Galhard (the) Butcher of Rabastens, adoring Raymond | Dauzet 320<sup>r</sup> and Pons Brezeit, heretics. And Guillelma, the same witness's wife, saw this same thing.

He also said that at that time the said Galhard had a concubine from Rabastens, called Raymonda—but he did not see her together with heretics. And he heard it said that he took her as his wife. And this was eighteen or twenty years ago or thereabouts.

In the same year as above, ten days before the kalends of December,<sup>90</sup> the aforesaid Peter of Beauville, appearing spontaneously, added to his confession, saying that one night Stephen Donat of Montgaillard came to the house of Peter Beauville, the same witness's late father, at Avignonet—who had already gone to bed. And four men from the Lantarès, whom the same witness did not know, came with him. And the said Stephen said to his father that he should get up from bed, and have a meal prepared | 320<sup>v</sup> for them, because they were hungry, and in the meantime he would go with them, for they, as the same Stephen was saying, had brought heretics to the house of Pons Raugin of Avignonet, to console Baziège, lord of Gardouch, whom men from Avignonet had then brought there, sick. And the same witness's said father got up from bed and ordered the meal to be prepared. Then he went to the house of Pons Raugin with the aforesaid

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<sup>90</sup> December 22 [1278].

Rangini<sup>1</sup> cum supradicto Stephano Donati. Et ipse testis ivit ad<sup>2</sup> eandem domum cum eis, et vidit ibi Bernardum Gitberti et quemdam socium eius, quem non novit, hæreticos, qui fuerunt adducti de Lantaresio, et cum eis Guillelmum<sup>3</sup> Quideriam,<sup>4</sup> similiter hæreticum, et Bernardum de Mayrevilla, diachonum hæreticorum. Vidit etiam in dicta domo cum prædictis hereticis et aliis supradictis personis, dictum Pontium Rangini  
 321<sup>r</sup> et Petronam uxorem eius de Avinione. Et omnes præter dictam Petronam exiverunt inde cum ipsis hæreticis ad domum prædicti<sup>5</sup> Vazegiae, in qua iacebat infirmus apud Avinionem—ipso teste non eunte cum eis ad dictam domum, sed ad propria redeunte. Et post magnam moram dictus<sup>6</sup> pater ipsius testis, et Stephanus Donati, venerunt ad domum patris ipsius testis, et tunc ipse testis audivit prædictum Stephanum<sup>7</sup> Donati dicentem, ‘Modo possumus comedere, quia fecimus bonum hominem de domino meo Vazegio’. Et audivit tunc dici ipse testis quod dictus Vazegia fuit hæreticus tunc ab hæreticis supradictis. Et sunt triginta octo anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quadam vice Raymundus Stephani de Lantario, miles, Guillelmus Raymundi Golayrandi, Ademarius de Varanhano, et Bertran-  
 321<sup>v</sup> dus de Qui|deriis de Avinione, receperunt mutuo ab ipso teste viginti quinque solidos<sup>8</sup> Tholosanos,<sup>9</sup> dandos, sicut dicebant, Iohanni de Cavi- bus, quia dimiserat eis quandam<sup>10</sup> hæreticam quam<sup>11</sup> ceperat liberandam per istum modum quod fuit in captione, posita loco illius Guillelma<sup>12</sup> Caucerca de Folcarda, ipsa Guillelma consenciente ut dicta hæretica liberaretur. Et postea fuit dictum quod dictus Iohannes ceperat dictam Guillelma per errorem,<sup>13</sup> intendens hæreticam cepisse.

Dixit etiam quod audivit prædictos qui receperant mutuum dicentes, quando reddiderunt ipsi testi dictam peccuniam, quod eam collegerant

<sup>1</sup> d deleted.

<sup>2</sup> originally de.

<sup>3</sup> second -u- altered.

<sup>4</sup> ms qui deriam.

<sup>5</sup> -i written over deletion.

<sup>6</sup> -us added.

<sup>7</sup> au- (and hyphen) deleted.

<sup>8</sup> -os perhaps added.

<sup>9</sup> -os perhaps added; beginnings of a letter deleted.

<sup>10</sup> superfluous abbreviation mark over -n-.

<sup>11</sup> originally quas.

<sup>12</sup> ms Guillelmæ

<sup>13</sup> deletion, possibly vic or vio.

Stephen Donat. And the same witness went to the same house with them, and saw there Bernard Gitbert and a certain companion of his, whom he did not know, heretics, who were brought there from the Lantarès, and with them William Quiriès, likewise a heretic, and Bernard of Mayreville, deacon of the heretics.<sup>91</sup> He also saw in the same house with the aforesaid heretics and all the other aforesaid people the said Pons Raugin and Petrona, | his wife, from Avignonet. And all of them, apart from the 321<sup>r</sup> said Petrona, went out from there with the same heretics to the house of the aforesaid Baziège, where the sick man lay, at Avignonet<sup>92</sup>—the same witness did not go with them to the said house, but went back to his own affairs. And after a long wait the same witness's said father and Stephen Donat came to the house of the same witness's father, and then the same witness heard the aforesaid Stephen saying, 'Now we can eat, because we have made a good man out of my lord Baziège'. And the same witness heard it then said that the said Baziège was hereticated then by the aforesaid heretics. And this was thirty-eight years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that on one occasion Raymond Stephen of Lanta, knight,<sup>93</sup> William Raymond Golayrand, Adémar of Baraigne, and Bertrand of Quiriès | of Avignonet received twenty-five Toulouse shillings 321<sup>v</sup> by way of a loan from the same witness, to be given, as they said, to John of Cave, because he had left to them a certain female heretic, whom he had captured, so that she could be freed in this way that was in the arrest, with Guillelma Caucerca of Folcarde taking her place; the same Guillelma consenting to the freeing of the said woman heretic. And afterwards it was said that the said John had mistakenly arrested the said Guillelma, when meaning to arrest the female heretic.

He also said that he heard the aforesaid men, who had received the loan, saying, when they returned the said money to the same witness,

<sup>91</sup> Bernard was deacon of Les Cassés, from 1225 to an unknown date; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 348; Guiraud, *Histoire*, i.218.

<sup>92</sup> This contradicts what is said above, where he is in the house of Pons Raugin.

<sup>93</sup> He was mentioned by a deponent from Lanta, arguing with heretics around 1231. They were refusing to return to him someone who was 'his man' (*homo suus*), whom they had hereticated; Toulouse 609, f. 201<sup>r</sup>.

a credentibus<sup>1</sup> hæreticorum de Avinione. Et voluerunt quod ipse testis poneret in dicta collecta, pro pacto suo, duodecim denarios Tholosanos, et retinuerunt eos de solutione, ipso teste<sup>2</sup> cedente. Et sunt triginta<sup>3</sup> | septem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Avinionem, in domo dels Ricards, vidit Bernardum de Gardubio de Avinione, adorantem<sup>4</sup> Hugonem Dominici et Pontium Aynardi, hæreticos, et dantem eis duos solidos Tholosanos, præsentibus prædictis Ricards, et Raymunda sorore,<sup>5</sup> uxore<sup>6</sup> Gatberti. Et sunt viginti octo anni.

Item, in domo Bertrandi de Rocovilla de Monte Galhardo, vidit ipse testis Pontium de Sancta Fide et Petrum<sup>7</sup> de Prato, hæreticos, et cum eis ipsum Bertrandum de Rocovilla de Monte Galhardo, et dominam Ancelinam, matrem eius, et dominam Indiam,<sup>8</sup> uxorem eius, et Guillelmum de ...,<sup>9</sup> militem de Monte Galhardo. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti, ipso teste vidente, adoraverunt dictos hæreticos. Et sunt viginti sex anni vel circa.

322<sup>r</sup> Hæc deposuit Tho|losæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: frater *Bernardus* de Insula, frater *Petrus* Vitalis, frater *Petrus* Escriva, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo octavo, quinto idus Decembris, prædictus *Petrus* de Bueuvilla adiecit testimonio suo, dicens se vidisse et audivisse quod Bernardus de Valle de Lantaresio, nuntius hæreticorum, tradidit centum solidos<sup>10</sup> Tholosanos<sup>11</sup> vel valorem in moneta Turonensi Petro de Prato et Stephano Donati, hæreticis, apud Cremonam in Lombardia, ex parte Aladaicis sororis Bertrandi de Rocovilla de Monte Galhardo, ut<sup>12</sup> dictam peccuniam servarent dictæ Aladaici,

<sup>1</sup> *ms* accedentibus.

<sup>2</sup> *deletion of about four or five letters.*

<sup>3</sup> *an deleted.*

<sup>4</sup> *-em perhaps added.*

<sup>5</sup> *originally* sororem.

<sup>6</sup> *originally* uxorem.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* Pontium.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* Iudiam.

<sup>9</sup> *gap left for name.*

<sup>10</sup> *-os probably added.*

<sup>11</sup> *-os probably added.*

<sup>12</sup> *letter deleted at beginning of word.*

that they had collected it from believers of the heretics from Avignonet. And they wanted the same witness to place twelve Toulouse pennies in the said collection, for the sake of his agreement, and, when the same witness agreed, they kept these pennies out of the repayment. And this was thirty- | seven years ago or thereabouts.

322<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that at Avignonet, in the house of the Richards, he saw Bernard of Gardouch of Avignonet adoring Hugh Dominic and Pons Aynard, heretics, and giving them two Toulouse shillings, in the presence of the aforesaid Richards and Raymonda, their sister, wife of Gitbert. And this was twenty-eight years ago.

Item, in the house of Bertrand of Roqueville of Montgaillard, the same witness saw Pons of Sainte-Foy and Peter of Prat, heretics, and with them the same Bertrand of Roqueville of Montgaillard, and lady Aicelina, his mother, and lady India, his wife, and William of ..., knight of Montgaillard.

And there the same witness, and all the aforesaid, in the sight of the same witness, adored the said heretics. And this was twenty-six years ago or thereabouts.

These things he attested at Toulouse | before brother Hugh Amiel, 322<sup>v</sup> inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Bernard of l'Isle, brother Peter Escriva,<sup>94</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-eight, five days before the ides of December,<sup>95</sup> the aforesaid Peter of Beauville added to his testimony, saying that he had seen and heard that Bernard of Laval<sup>96</sup> of the Lantarès,<sup>97</sup> messenger of the heretics, handed over one hundred Toulouse shillings or their value in the money of Tours<sup>98</sup> to Peter of Prat and Stephen Donat, heretics, at Cremona in Lombardy, on behalf of Aladaicia, sister of Bertrand of Roqueville of Montgaillard, for them to keep the said money safe for the said Aladaicia, who was

<sup>94</sup> Not found in *ACP*.

<sup>95</sup> December 9 1278.

<sup>96</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Lanta, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; *DTF*.

<sup>97</sup> Or Pays Lantarois.

<sup>98</sup> Indre-et-Loire, ch.-lieu dép; *DTF*. On the money, see above 72<sup>r</sup> n. 16.

323<sup>r</sup> quæ proponebat | ibi venire ad hæreticos. Postea vero dicta Aladaix,<sup>1</sup> mutans propositum eundi in Lombardiam, mandavit per eundem nuntium, iterum redeuntem ad partes illas, quod dicta peccunia traderetur dominæ Ayclinæ, matri dictæ Aladaicis, quæ erat hæretica vestita in Lombardia; sed, morte præventa, non habuit illam peccuniam. Et sunt viginti quatuor anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit apud Placentiam, in hospitio ipsius testis, Petrum Guillelmi de Rocovilla et Guillelmum de Capellano de Monte Galhardo, modo capellanum de Trebantio, loquentes simul cum Stephano Donati et Iohanne del Azeraul, hæreticis. Et hoc idem vidit Guillelma, uxor ipsius testis. Et hoc fuit quando prædictus<sup>2</sup> Petrus Guillelmi et Guillelmus de 323<sup>v</sup> Capellano ibant ad curiam Romanam: de quo sunt sex|decim anni vel circa.

Dixit etiam quod prædictus Guillelmus de Capellano amonebat<sup>3</sup> tunc prædictos hæreticos quod dimitterent sectam hæresis et redirent ad terram suam, quia bene invenirent gratiam cum inquisitoribus.

Item dixit quod ipse testis, constitutus in quadam ægitudine gravi, rogavit Bernardum Barbam et Arnaldum de Acutis, hæreticos, quod si gravaretur infirmitas ipsius in tantum quod de vita desperaretur<sup>4</sup> ipsius, reciperent eum et consolarentur.<sup>5</sup> Postea gravatus infirmitate prædicta in tantum quod erat omnino extra memoriam suam, fuit receptus et consolatus a prædictis hæreticis, secundum quod iidem hæretici et Guillelma, uxor ipsius testis, retulerunt ei. Et hoc audito, ipse testis servavit sectam hæreticorum et abstinuit a carnibus quinque vel sex diebus, et postea deseruit.

324<sup>r</sup> Et dixit | etiam quod dicta Guillelma et Raymundus Paperii, qui fuit de Avinione et moratur apud Papiam in hospitio ipsius testis, interfuerunt prædictæ hæreticationi ipsius testis, secundum quod ipsi iidem retulerunt eidem testi. Et hoc fuit factum apud Papiam, in hospitio ipsius testis, mense Iunii proxime præterito fuit annus.

Adiecit etiam quod Finas, uxor dicti<sup>6</sup> Cabalar dels Cassers, quæ manebat in hospitio ipsius testis apud Papiam, interfuit similiter prædictæ hæreticationi ipsius testis, et adoravit pluries hæreticos, ipso teste

<sup>1</sup> *originally* Aladaici.

<sup>2</sup> *-us probably added.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms* amovebat.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* de speraretur.

<sup>5</sup> *-ur added.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms* dictæ.

planning | to come to the heretics there. Afterwards, however, the said 323<sup>r</sup>  
 Aladaicia, changing her plan of going to Lombardy, sent through the  
 same messenger, who was returning again to those parts, the instruction  
 that the said money should be handed over to Lady Aycelina, the said  
 Aladaicia's mother, who was a robed heretic in Lombardy; but, prevented  
 by death, she did not get this money. And this was twenty-four years ago  
 or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Piacenza, in the same witness's lodging, he saw  
 Peer William of Roqueville and William of *Capellan*<sup>99</sup> of Montgaillard,  
 now chaplain of Trébons,<sup>100</sup> talking together with Stephen Donat and  
 John of Lauzeral, heretics. And Guillelma, the same witness's wife, saw  
 this same thing. And this was when the aforesaid Peter William and  
 William of *Capellan* were going to the Roman court: sixteen | years ago 323<sup>v</sup>  
 or thereabouts.

He also said that the aforesaid William of *Capellan* then advised the  
 aforesaid heretics to leave the sect of heresy and return to their own  
 country, because they would fully find grace with the inquisitors.

Item, he said that the same witness, who had fallen into a serious  
 illness, asked Bernard Barba and Arnold of Aguts,<sup>101</sup> heretics, that, if his  
 illness got so much worse that his life was despaired of, they would receive  
 and console him. Afterwards, brought down by the aforesaid illness so far  
 that he was entirely out of his mind, he was received and consoled by the  
 aforesaid heretics, according to what the same heretics and Guillelma,  
 the same witness's wife, told him. And when he had heard this, the same  
 witness observed the sect of the heretics and abstained from meat for five  
 or six days, and afterwards he left it.

And he also said | that the said Guillelma and Raymond Papier, who 324<sup>r</sup>  
 was from Avignonet and lives at Pavia in the same witness's lodging, were  
 present at the same witness's aforesaid heretication, according to what  
 they themselves told the same witness. And this was done at Pavia, in the  
 same witness's lodging, a year before the month of June immediately past.

He added that Finas, the wife of the said Canalar of Les Cassés, who  
 lived in the same witness's lodging at Pavia, was likewise present at the  
 same witness's aforesaid heretication, and adored the heretics several

<sup>99</sup> Not identified. See Capelle and Chapelle in *DTF*.

<sup>100</sup> Probably Trébons-sur-La-Grasse, Haute-Garonne, cant Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1094. See others in *DTF*.

<sup>101</sup> Tarn, cant. Cuq-Toulza, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 847.



vidente, scilicet<sup>1</sup> *Bernardum* Barbam, *Petrum* Boneti, *Philippum* Cathalanum, *Arnaldum* de Acutis, et *Guillelmum*<sup>2</sup> Rafardi, hæreticos.

Item dixit quod quando *Petrus* *Guillelmi* de Rocovilla fuit loquutus cum hæreticis apud Papiam, in hospitio ipsius testis, ut supra dictum est, dicti  
324<sup>v</sup> hæretici, et | specialiter *Stephanus* *Donati*, reddiderunt ei unum anulum aureum et unum sigillum *Begonis* de Rocovilla defuncti.<sup>3</sup>

Item dixit quod quadam nocte,<sup>4</sup> cum ipse testis associaret *Hugonem* *Dominici*<sup>5</sup> et *Arnaldum* *Aynardi*, hæreticos, euntes versus Podium *Ber-tanum*, obviaverunt *Guillelmo* *Pastre* de *Avinione* prope ecclesiam de *Soplezenx*; qui adoravit<sup>6</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos, ipso teste vidente, et exposuit eis hortum<sup>7</sup> suum, quod inde reciperent, si quid vellent.

Hæc deposuit *Tholosæ* coram fratre *Hugone* *Amelii*, inquisitore. Testes: frater *Bernardus* de *Insula* et frater *Pontius* de *Parnaco*, *Ordinis* *Prædicatorum*, et ego, *Atho* de *Sancto Victore*, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

325<sup>r</sup> Anno quo proximo, idus<sup>8</sup> *Decembris*, prædictus testis adiecit | confessioni suæ, dicens quod ipse testis associavit quadam vice *Raymundum* *Martini*, hæreticum, de *Avinione*, de rivali de las *Tapias*, subtus domum *Berterii*, usque ad hostium domus *Raymundi* de *Viridario*. Quam domum intravit dictus hæreticus, ipso teste redeunte ad dictum rivale, ubi erant *Hugo* *Dominici* et *Arnaldus*<sup>9</sup> *Aynardi*, hæretici. Et mane sequenti dictus *Raymundus* *Mortini*, referens<sup>10</sup> quod fecerat illa nocte,<sup>11</sup> tantum cum *Raymundo* de *Viridario*, avunculo ipsius<sup>12</sup> hæretici, quod ipse hæreticus haberet expensas suas usque in *Lombardiam*.

Interrogatus<sup>13</sup> si ipse testis vidit unquam dictum *Raymundum* de *Viridario* simul cum dicto hæretico vel cum aliis hæreticis, in domo sua prædicta vel alibi, dixit quod non. Et sunt triginta anni vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* silicet.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* *Guillelmus*

<sup>3</sup> *ms* de *Founti*.

<sup>4</sup> *originally* noctæ.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* *Domini*.

<sup>6</sup> -it *perhaps* added.

<sup>7</sup> *originally* ortum.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* nonas.

<sup>9</sup> *originally* *Arnaldum*.

<sup>10</sup> *originally* referentem.

<sup>11</sup> *ms* noctæ.

<sup>12</sup> -ius *perhaps* added.

<sup>13</sup> -us or -tus added.

times, in the sight of the same witness—that is, Bernard Barba, Peter Bonet, Philip Catalan, Arnold of Aguts, and William Raffard, heretics.

Item, he said that when Peter William of Roqueville spoke with heretics at Pavia, in the same witness's lodging, as was said above, the said heretics, and | in particular Stephen Donat, gave him a gold ring and a seal of the late Bego of Roqueville. 324<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that one night, when the same witness was accompanying Hugh Dominic and Arnold Aynard, heretics, as they were going towards *Pech Bertan*, they met William Pastre of Avignonet by the church of Soupex,<sup>102</sup> who adored the said heretics there, in the sight of the same witness, and showed them his garden, from which they could have anything they wanted.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Bernard of L'Isle and brother Pons of Parnac, of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as immediately above, on the ides of December,<sup>103</sup> the aforesaid witness added | to his confession, saying that on one occasion the same witness accompanied Raymond Martin, heretic, from Avignonet from the brook of Las Tapias, below the house of Bertier, as far as the entrance to the house of Raynmond of Verdié. The said heretic entered this house, while the same witness went back to the said brook, where Hugh Dominic and Arnold Aynard, heretics, were. And the following morning (he heard) the said Raymond Martin recounting what he had done that night, only with Raynmond of Verdié, the same heretic's uncle, so that the same heretic should have his expenses as far as Lombardy. 325<sup>r</sup>

Asked if the same witness ever saw the said Raynmond of Verdié together with the said heretic or with other heretics, in his aforesaid house or elsewhere, he said no. And this was thirty years ago or thereabouts.

<sup>102</sup> Aude, cant. Castelandary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 847.

<sup>103</sup> The text has 'nones' here, making this deposition nearly a full year later than the last one (December 5 1279). But the list of inquisition personnel is substantially the same, and it seems likely that this was a mis-copying for 'ides', and that this deposition should in fact date from December 13 1279.

325<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod quadam vice, | cum ipse testis venisset de Lombardia, et lateret in borda Stephani Donati de Monte Galhardo,<sup>1</sup> quadam nocte<sup>2</sup> venit ad domum Gardubii,<sup>3</sup> militis de Monte Galhardo, qui volebat loqui cum ipso teste, sicut dixerat sibi prædictus Stephanus. Et erant tunc in dicta domo idem miles, et domina Mateldis<sup>4</sup> mater eius, et *Petrus* Garini, et Guillelmus de Gomervilla, et Petrus Maior de Monte Galhardo. Et ibi ipse testis cenavit cum eis omnibus ad eandem mensam, et post cenam prædicti Gardubius et mater eius interrogaverunt ipsum testem de statu terræ Lombardiæ, et de hæreticis, si manebant ibi publice. Et dictus Gardubius interrogavit eum si ipse posset ibi manere tanquam miles ad honorem suum, et si inveniret ibi dominum cum quo posset  
326<sup>r</sup> habere necessaria—marquesium de Monte Ferrato vel | alium. Et hæc verba audiverint ibi dicti *Petrus* Maior et alii qui ibi erant. Dixit etiam dictus Gardubius quod si ipse testis<sup>5</sup> rediret<sup>6</sup> ad<sup>7</sup> Lombardiam saluaret sibi amicos suos.

Interrogatus de quibus amicis volebat hoc dicere, respondit quod ipse testis intellexit quod dictus miles intenderet hoc<sup>8</sup> de hæreticis. Et sunt viginti quatuor anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Las Tapias prope Avinionem, in domo Pape-riorum, in qua, sicut supradictum est, vidit pluries Hugonem Domi-nici et socium eius, et Pontium de Sancta Fide et socium eius, hæreti-cos, et cum eis supradictas personas illius domus, pluries<sup>9</sup> [vidit] *Petrum* Castelli, filium spurium Vitalis<sup>10</sup> Paperii quondam, qui modo manet apud Limosum, adorantem<sup>11</sup> prædictos hæreticos cum aliis personis  
326<sup>v</sup> prædictæ domus, et audientem<sup>12</sup> monitionem eorum. Et sunt | triginta anni vel circa.

Dixit etiam quod dictus *Petrus* Castelli erat tunc ætatis quindecim annorum vel plurium.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Lombardo.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* noctæ.

<sup>3</sup> *originally* Gardubius.

<sup>4</sup> -d- altered.

<sup>5</sup> ad deleted.

<sup>6</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>7</sup> written over deletion.

<sup>8</sup> in and a word of about six or seven letters deleted.

<sup>9</sup> -ri- altered.

<sup>10</sup> *ms* Vitalem.

<sup>11</sup> *ms* adorantes.

<sup>12</sup> *ms* audientes; -ntes added.

Item, he said that on one occasion | when the same witness had 325<sup>v</sup>  
 come from Lombardy and was hiding in the scrubland of Stephen Donat  
 of Montgaillard, he came one night to the house of Gardouch, knight  
 of Montgaillard, who wanted to speak with the same witness, so the  
 aforesaid Stephen had said to him. And there were there at this time in  
 the said house the same knight and Lady Matilda, his mother, and Peter  
 Garin,<sup>104</sup> and William of Gomerville, and Peter the Elder of Montgaillard.  
 And the same witness dined there with all of them at the same table,  
 and after dinner the aforesaid Gardouch and his mother questioned the  
 same witness about the state of the land of Lombardy and about the  
 heretics, [asking] if they lived there openly. And the said Gardouch asked  
 him if he could live there like a knight in his fief, and if he would find  
 there a lord with whom he could have what he needed—the marquess of  
 Monferrato<sup>105</sup> or | another. And the said Peter the Elder and the others 326<sup>r</sup>  
 who were there will have heard these words there. The said Gardouch  
 also said that if the same witness returned to Lombardy he should greet  
 his friends for him.

Asked about which friends he meant to say this, he replied that the  
 same witness understood the said knight to mean this about the heretics.  
 And this was twenty-four years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Las Tapias near Avignonet, in the house of the  
 Papiers—in which, as was said above, he often saw Hugh Dominic and  
 his companion, and Pons of Sainte-Foy and his companion, heretics, and  
 with them the aforesaid people of that house—he often saw Peter Castel,  
 the illegitimate son of the late Vital Papier, who now lives at Limoux,  
 adoring the aforesaid heretics with the other people of the aforesaid  
 house, and hearing their admonition. And this was | thirty years ago or 326<sup>v</sup>  
 thereabouts.

He also said that the said Peter Castel was then aged fifteen years or  
 more.

<sup>104</sup> Petrus Garini of Montgaillard was questioned twice, July 1 and 7 1245, and admitted contacts with heretics from around 1227; Toulouse 609, f. 44<sup>v</sup>–45<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> In a conversation occurring in the early to mid-1250s, this is a reference to either Boniface II (1225–1253) or William VII (1253–1292), successive marquesses.

Item dixit quod quadam nocte<sup>1</sup> Hugo Dominici et Pontius<sup>2</sup> Aynardi, hæretici, exeuntes ex<sup>3</sup> domo germanorum de Monte Calvello prope Avinionem, venerunt in aream Guillelmi Baudrici senioris quondam, et credit quod iacuerunt illa nocte in manso dicti Guillelmi Baudrici apud Grandem Vallem, in quo ipse testis similiter tunc iacuit. Et mane sequenti vidit in batudo prope dictum mansum prædictos hæreticos, et cum eis Bernardum Razez, generum dicti Guillelmi Baudrici senioris—qui *Bernardus* modo manet apud Avinionem apud Veteres<sup>4</sup> Areas—et Raymundum Baudrici, et, sicut credit, Guillelmum Baudrici, fratres, filios  
 327<sup>r</sup> dicti Guillelmi. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti, ipso teste | vidente, adorarunt<sup>5</sup> dictos hæreticos. Et sunt viginti septem anni vel circa—sed<sup>6</sup> anno quo dictus Hugo, hæreticus, fuit captus.

Item dixit quod prædictus Guillelmus Baudrici senior, et Guillelma uxor eius quondam, et Guillelmus et Raymundus, filii eius, commendaverunt ipsi testi Bertrandum de Quideriis, fugitivum propter mortem inquisitoris, ducendum versus Lombardiam. Et duxit eum usque ad Sanctum Anthonium Viennensem. Et in prima dieta venerunt ad Podium Siuranum, in borda Petri Stephani, qui dedit eis ibi ad comedendum, et per totam diem sequentem celavit eos in dicta borda; et associavit eos Raymundus Baudrici prædictus donec recesserunt de dicta borda. Et sunt triginta duo anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod mense Augusto proxime transacto, prædictus  
 327<sup>v</sup> Ray|mundus Baudrici habuit colloquium cum ipso teste apud Villam Francam, in borda Petri Donati. Et dixit ipsi ex parte Guillelmi<sup>7</sup> Baudrici, fratris<sup>8</sup> sui, sicut dicebat, quod idem Guillelmus fuerat confessus inquisitoribus hæresis quod viderat Hugonem Dominici et socium eius, hæreticos, ad molendina venti<sup>9</sup> de Avinione, et cum eis ipsum testem et Raymundum Cotonis de Sancto Romano; et quod ipse testis confiteretur

<sup>1</sup> *originally* noctæ.

<sup>2</sup> *originally* Pontus.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* et.

<sup>4</sup> *first -e- altered.*

<sup>5</sup> *-runt added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-ed altered.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms* Guillel/lelmi over end of line.

<sup>8</sup> *originally* fratres.

<sup>9</sup> *ms* nenti.

Item, he said that one night Hugh Dominic and Pons Aynard, heretics, coming out of the house of the siblings of Montcalvel near Avignonet<sup>106</sup> came onto the plot of land<sup>107</sup> of the late William Baudric<sup>108</sup> the elder, and he believes that they lay that night in the *mas* of the said William Baudric the elder at Grandval,<sup>109</sup> where the same witness also lay then. And on the following morning he saw the aforesaid heretics on the uncultivated land near the said *mas*, and with them Bernard Razez, son-in-law of the said William Baudric the elder—which Bernard lives now in Avignonet at the Old Grounds—and Raymond Baudric, and, so he believes, William Baudric, brothers, sons of the said William. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid, in the | sight of the same witness, adored the said heretics. And this was twenty-seven years ago or thereabouts—but in the year that the said Hugh, heretic, was captured. 327<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that the aforesaid William Baudric the elder and Guil-elma, his late wife, and William and Raymond, his sons, entrusted to the same witness Bertrand of Quiriès, a fugitive for the death of an inquisitor, to be taken towards Lombardy. And he took him as far as Saint-Antoine of Vienne.<sup>110</sup> And on the first day's journey they came to Pexiora, the scrubland of Peter Stephen, who gave them food to eat there, and for the whole of the following day he hid them in the said scrubland; and the aforesaid Raymond Baudric accompanied them until they left the said scrubland. And this was thirty-two years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that during the month of August immediately past, the aforesaid Raymond | Baudric had a conversation with the same witness at Villefranche, in the scrubland of Peter Donat. And he told him on behalf of William Baudric, his brother, as he said, that the same William had confessed to the inquisitors of heresy that he had seen Hugh Dominic and his companion, heretics, at the Avignonet windmills, and with them the same witness and Raymond Coton of Saint-Romain; and that the same 327<sup>v</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Maurens, cant. Revel, arrond. Toulouse, 11 km from Avignonet; *DTF* and IGN 22440.

<sup>107</sup> See above, 6<sup>v</sup> n. 4.

<sup>108</sup> The confiscated goods of William Baudric—the Elder or his son of the same name?—were still rendering revenue in 1293–1294, *Comptes Royaux*, no. 9594, i.456.

<sup>109</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Avignonet-Lauragais, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; *DTF*.

<sup>110</sup> Saint-Antoine-de-Viennois, pilgrimage centre: Isère, cant. Saint-Marcellin, arrond. Grenoble; *DTF*.

illud. Et ipse testis respondit ei quod non diceret aliquid de Raymundo Cotonis, quia non vidit eum ibi cum hæreticis.

Item dixit quod in supradicta domo dels Ricards de Avinione vidit Valentiam, uxorem Arnaldi Darborenx, adorantem<sup>1</sup> ibi Hugonem Dominici et socium eius, hæreticos, pluries. Et sunt triginta anni vel circa.

328<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod in supradicta | domo Bernardi et Arnaldi Furnerii, fratrum de Berrell<sup>2</sup>, vidit ibi cum supradictis personis quæ ibi erant, Guillelmum Barravi de Villafranca adorantem<sup>2</sup> Pontium de Sancta Fide, Bernardum Columbi, et Petrum de Prato, hæreticos, et audientem prædicationem eorum. Et sunt viginti septem anni vel circa.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram<sup>3</sup> fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: frater Pontius de Parnaco, frater Raymundus Aymerici, et frater Bernardus de Insula, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

In crastinum prædictus testis adiecit testimonio suo, dicens quod apud Tholosam, in domo Petri de Ranevilla, vidit Pontium de Sancta Fide et Petrum de Prato, hæreticos, qui manserunt duobus diebus et noctibus.  
328<sup>v</sup> Et vidit ibi cum eis | ipsum Petrum de Ranevilla et Raymundam filiam eius, et Bernardum de Narbona de Tholosa. Et ibi ipse testis, et omnes prædicti, adorarunt<sup>4</sup> dictos hæreticos, et audierunt<sup>5</sup> verba et monitiones eorum. Et sunt viginti quinque anni vel circa.

Item, interrogatus si, quando ipse testis et Guillelmus Baudrici de Avinione associaverunt Hugonem Dominici et Guillelmum Raymundi, hæreticos, de porta Leubardi de Avinione usque ad molendina de vento, fuit ibi aliquis alius associans<sup>6</sup> cum eis dictos hæreticos, respondit quod nullus alius.

Item dixit quod apud Ianuam, in domo Henrici de Mediolano, vidit Raymundum de Bauto<sup>7</sup>, Pontium Boerii, Iohannem del Azeraul, et Petrum de Prato, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis Bonellam del Ase

<sup>1</sup> -ntem added.

<sup>2</sup> -ntem added.

<sup>3</sup> superscript.

<sup>4</sup> -runt added.

<sup>5</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>6</sup> -s altered.

<sup>114</sup> Not identified.

<sup>115</sup> Capital city of Tuscany.

witness should confess this. And the same witness replied to him that he would not say anything about Raymond Coton, because he had not seen him there with heretics.

Item, he said that in the aforesaid house of the Richards of Avignonet he saw Valentia, wife of Arnold of *Arborenx*,<sup>111</sup> often adoring there Hugh Dominic and his companion, heretics. And this was thirty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that in the aforesaid | house of Bernard and Arnold 328<sup>r</sup>  
Fournier, brothers of Barelles, he saw there with the aforesaid persons who were there William Barrau of Villefranche, adoring Pons of Sainte Foy, Bernard Colomb and Peter of Prat, heretics, and hearing their preaching. And this was twenty-seven years ago or thereabouts.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Pons of Parnac, brother Raymond Aimery, and brother Bernard of L'Isle, of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

On the following day<sup>112</sup> the aforesaid witness added to his testimony, saying that at Toulouse, in the house of Peter of Renneville,<sup>113</sup> he saw Pons of Sainte-Foy and Peter of Prat, heretics, who stayed for two days and nights. And he saw there with them | the same Peter, of Renneville 328<sup>v</sup>  
and Raymonda his daughter, and Bernard of Narbonne of Toulouse. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid adored the said heretics and heard their words and admonitions. And this was twenty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, asked if, when the same witness and William Baudric of Avignonet accompanied Hugh Dominic and William Raymond, heretics, from the Lombard gate of Avignonet as far as the windmills, there was anyone else there accompanying the said heretics with them, he replied no-one else.

Item, he said that at Genoa, in the house of Henry of Milan, he saw Raymond of Vaux, Pons Boer, John of Lauzeral, and Peter of Prat, heretics. And he saw there with them Bonella *del Ase*<sup>114</sup> of Florence,<sup>115</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Not identified. Perhaps one of the places called Arboras in Hérault; Font-Réaulx, p. 863.

<sup>112</sup> Based on the date assigned to the previous deposition, 14 December 1278.

<sup>113</sup> Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 193, states that a *Petrus de Ranciulla*, denounced by Stephen Massa of Toulouse, D23, f. 288<sup>r</sup> (*recte* 298<sup>r</sup>), was Peter of Renneville.



329<sup>r</sup> de Florentia,<sup>1</sup> Iacobum de Martesana de Cuni, | Henricum de Mediolano, et uxorem eius, Iohannem filium eorum. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti adoraverunt dictos hæreticos. Et sunt duodecim anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Ianuam, in platea Sancti Laurentii, in volta quam tenebant conductam Bonetus de Cuni et Creiss, frater eius, vidit Raymundum de Bauto' et Pontium Boerii, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis dictos Bonetum<sup>2</sup> et Creiss, fratres, et Iacobum de Martesana. Et ipse testis, et omnes prædicti, adoraverunt ibi prædictos hæreticos. Et sunt septem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod ipse testis vidit apud Ianuam, in domo Petri Pellicerii de Placentia Raymundum de Bauto' et Guillelmum Audorni, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis Iacobum de Martesana, et Ric de Ribaura de Laseu, 329<sup>v</sup> Rogerium Argenti, iuvenem, Obertum | Castanh, et Ambrosium Consar, omnes de Mediolano, et dictum Petrum Pellicerii. Et ibi ipse et omnes prædicti adoraverunt dictos hæreticos. Et sunt sex anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Papiam, in domo Berengarii<sup>3</sup> de Monte Accuto, in rippa fluminis de Thosii, vidit Philippum Cathalanum, Raymundum de Bauto', Pontium Boerii, et Bernardum Barbam, hæreticos, et cum eis Petrum Escolani, Petrum Olibam, Guillelmum Belissen, et dictum Berengerium de Monte Accuto. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti adoraverunt dictos hæreticos. Et sunt septem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Papiam, in domo ipsius testis, vidit Bernardum Barbam et Petrum Dominici, hæreticos, et cum eis Berengarium de Monte Acuto, Petrum Escolani,<sup>4</sup> et Petrum Olibam, qui apportavit eis 330<sup>r</sup> pisces, Guillelmum | Belissen, qui fuit de Fanoiovis, Raymundum de Traspont de Savartes, Raymundum Paperii de Avinione, Bertrandum Mercer de Castris, et Guillelmam, uxorem ipsius testis. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti, ipso teste vidente, adoraverunt dictos hæreticos. Et sunt duo anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Papiam vidit Raymundum de Bauto' et Guillelmum de Suelh de Tholosa et plures alios, hæreticos, quos non novit. Et vidit ibi cum eis Arnaldum Guerrerii de Tholosa, qui modo manet apud

<sup>1</sup> -t- *perhaps altered*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Brunetum.

<sup>3</sup> -a- *altered from -e-*.

<sup>4</sup> -c- *altered*.

<sup>122</sup> The family names means warrior.

James of Martesana<sup>116</sup> of Cuneo, | Henry of Milan, and his wife, [and] 329<sup>r</sup>  
John their son. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid adored  
the said heretics. And this was twelve years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that in Genoa, in Saint Lawrence Square,<sup>117</sup> in a vault that  
Bonet of Cuneo and Creiss his brother were renting, he saw Raymond of  
Vaux and Pons Boer, heretics. And he saw there with them the said Bonet  
and Creiss, brothers, and James of Martesana. And the same witness and  
all the aforesaid adored the aforesaid heretics there. And this was seven  
years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the same witness saw at Genoa, in the house of Peter  
Pellicciaio (*or* Peter, furrier) of Piacenza, Raymond of Vaux and William  
Audoyne, heretics. And he saw there with them James of Martesana, and  
Ric of Ribaura of *La Seu*,<sup>118</sup> Roger Argenti, a youth, Oberto | Castanh, 329<sup>v</sup>  
and Ambrose Consar, all from Milan, and the said Peter Pellicciaio. And  
there he and all the aforesaid adored the said heretics. And this was six  
years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Pavia, in the house of Berengar of Montégut, on  
the banks of the Ticino river,<sup>119</sup> he saw Philip Catalan, Raymond of Vaux,  
Pons Boer, and Bernard Barba, heretics, and with them Peter Escolau,  
Peter Oliba, William Belissen, and the said Berengar of Montégut. And  
there the same witness and all the aforesaid adored the said heretics. And  
this was seven years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Pavia, in the same witness's house, he saw Bernard  
Barba and Peter Dominic, heretics, and with them Berengar of Montégut,  
Peter Escolau, and Peter Oliba, who brought them fish, William | Belis- 330<sup>r</sup>  
sen, who was from Fanjeaux, Raymond of *Traspont*<sup>120</sup> from the Sabarthès,  
Raymond Papier of Avignonet, Bertrand Mercer (*or* Bertrand, mercer) of  
Castres, and Guillelma, the same witness's wife. And there the same wit-  
ness and all the aforesaid, in the sight of the same witness, adored the said  
heretics. And this was two years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Pavia he saw Raymond of Vaux and William of  
Seilh<sup>121</sup> of Toulouse, and many others, heretics, whom he did not know.  
And he saw there with them Arnold Guerrier<sup>122</sup> of Toulouse, who now

<sup>116</sup> County (Contado della Martesana) in the region of Milan, Lombardy.

<sup>117</sup> Piazza San Lorenzo, Genoa.

<sup>118</sup> Not identified.

<sup>119</sup> River of Switzerland and north Italy, that flows past Pavia.

<sup>120</sup> Not identified.

<sup>121</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Grenade-sur-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1079.

Cuneum, qui, et ipse testis, adoraverunt ibi dictos hæreticos. Et sunt triginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Alexandriam, in domo Arnaldi Lombardi, vidit Pontium Boerii et Petrum Vasconis, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis Aymericum Servientis et Guillelmum Ferrandi, qui, et | ipse testis, adoraverunt ibi dictos hæreticos. Et sunt decem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Alexandriam, in domo dels Sedassers, vidit Bernardum Barbam et Pontium Boerii, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis Guiraldum Sedacerii et fratrem eius, qui fuerunt de Lauraco, Aymericum Servientis, et Arnaldum Lombardi de Savartesio, morantes, Petrum de Caturco, Iohannem Talagra, Arnaldum Gros de Monte Mauro et Guillelmum Gossi eiusdem loci, Iohannem Radulfi et Petrum Mulaterii de Vauro, et Petrum Galhardi, Arnaldum dels Cassers et Arnaldum filium eius, Bertrandum Deumerii, et Bernardum Gosini de Albigesio. Et omnes isti sunt fautores, credentes et receptatores hæreticorum.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: frater Raymundus<sup>1</sup> de Caubosio, prior, | frater Arnaldus Iohannis, et frater Bernardus de Insula, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, sexto idus Martii, prædictus testis adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod apud Avinionem, in domo Stephani de Villanova, vidit quadam nocte Guillelmum Cambraire et socium eius, hæreticos, qui venerant de Monte Securo; et prædicaverunt ibi. Et interfuerunt illi prædicationi Ademarius de Varanhano, qui legebat in libro hæreticorum, Isarnus frater eius, et Stephanus de Villanova, dominus illius domus, Raymundus de Villanova, Petrus Vitalis, Petrus de<sup>2</sup> Bueuvilla, pater ipsius testis, Atho del Artigat, Bernardus de Gardubio, Durandus Macellarius, Raymundus Grossi, Guillelmus de | Batinhano, Pontius Fabri, et Bernardus Isarni, omnes de Avinione. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti, ipso

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Bernardus.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Pride.

<sup>124</sup> March 10 [1278 (1279)].

<sup>125</sup> Disappeared place, Haute-Garonne, comm. Avignonet, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; *Saisimentum*, p. 357.

lives at Cuneo, who, and the same witness, adored the said heretics there. And this was thirty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Alessandria, in the house of Arnold Lombard, he saw Pons Boer and Peter Vascon, heretics. And he saw there with them Aymeric Sirvent<sup>123</sup> and William Ferrand, who, and the | same 330<sup>v</sup> witness, adored the said heretics there. And this was ten years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Alessandria, in the house of the Sedassers, he saw Bernard Barba and Pons Boer, heretics. And he saw there with them Guiraud Sedacer and his brother, who were from Laurac, Aymeric Sirvent, and Arnold Lombard from the Sabarthès, living [there], Peter of Cahors, John Talagra, Arnold Gros of Montmaur and William Gros from the same place, John Radulf and Peter Mulatier (*or* Peter, muleteer) from Lavaur, and Peter Galhard, Arnold of Les Cassés and Arnold his son, Bertrand Deumier and Bernard Gosin of the Albigeois. And all of these are supporters, believers and receivers of the heretics.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Raymond of Caubous, prior, | brother 331<sup>r</sup> Arnold John, and brother Bernard of L'Isle, of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, six days before the ides of March,<sup>124</sup> the aforesaid witness added to his confession, saying that at Avignonet, in the house of Stephen of Villeneuve, he saw one night William Cambiaire and his companion, heretics, who had come from Montségur; and they preached there. And present at that preaching were Adémar of Baraigne, who read in the book of the heretics, Isarn his brother, and Stephen of Villeneuve, master of that house, Raymond of Villeneuve, Peter Vital, Peter of Beauville, the same witness's father, Atho of Artigat, Bernard of Gardouch, Durand Boucher (*or* Durand, butcher), Raymond Gros, William of | Batignan,<sup>125</sup> Pons Faure (*or* Pons, smith) and Bernard Isarn, 331<sup>v</sup> all from Avignonet. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid, in

<sup>123</sup> Aimericus Serviens / Sirvent was seen with heretics in Fanjeaux around 1229, 1233 and 1240; Toulouse 609, f. 149<sup>v</sup>, 151<sup>r</sup>, 153<sup>r</sup>, 154<sup>r</sup>, 156<sup>r</sup>, 162<sup>r</sup>.

teste [vidente], adoraverunt<sup>1</sup> dictos hæreticos in adventu et recessu, et audiverunt<sup>2</sup> prædicationes eorum. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Audivit etiam ipse testis dici quod alia sequenti nocte iidem hæretici prædicaverint apud Avinionem in domo Guillelmi de Varanhano, et quod fuit ibi magna congregatio hominum dicti castri, et quod, veniente Bertrando de Quideriis de Avinione, fuit extincta candela.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: frater Raymundus de Caubosio, prior, frater Arnaldus Iohannis, et frater *Bernardus* de Insula, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Doat 26 1<sup>r</sup> Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo nono, quarto idus Maii,<sup>3</sup> prædictus testis adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod apud Montem Galhardum, in domo Bertrandi de Rocovilla et Begonis, fratrum, militum, vidit ipse testis in aula Petrum de Prato et Pontium de Sancta Fide, hæreticos, qui prædicaverunt<sup>4</sup> ibi. Et interfuerunt illi prædicationi ipse testis et Bertrandus de Rocovilla et Bego, fratres, milites, et Ayce-lina, mater eorum, et India,<sup>5</sup> uxor dicti Bertrandi, et Lauracus, famulus eorum, et *Bernardus* Donadeu, Stephanus Donati, et Guillelmus, fratres<sup>6</sup> de Monte Galhardo. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti, ipso teste vidente, adorarunt<sup>7</sup> dictos hæreticos. Et sunt viginti tres anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quadam mane, cum Petrus de Prato et *Bernardus* 1<sup>v</sup> Colum|bi, hæretici, essent in camera Bertrandi de Rocovilla et Begonis, fratrum prædictorum,<sup>8</sup> et ipse testis cum eis tunc fugitivus propter hæresim, prædictus Bertrandus dixit eis se audivisse dici quod baiulus de Sancto Romano volebat<sup>9</sup> ibi venire ad quærendum hæreticos. Unde dictus Bertrandus consuluit quod exirent inde; et exiverunt inde per quoddam foramen parietis, et ipse testis præcessit eos. Et post, cum venerunt hæretici supradicti, et cum eis Bertrandus et Bego prædicti, duo et duo, scilicet singuli cum singulis hæreticis, et convenerunt ad fugiendum<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>2</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>3</sup> a later hand has written 1279. 4<sup>o</sup> Id. Maii in the margin.

<sup>4</sup> altered, possibly from prædicaverint.

<sup>5</sup> ms India.

<sup>6</sup> ms frater.

<sup>7</sup> -runt added.

<sup>8</sup> altered from prædicatorum.

<sup>9</sup> ms nolebat.

<sup>10</sup> altered.

the sight of the same witness, adored the said heretics when they arrived and when they departed, and they heard their preachings. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts. The same witness also heard it said that on another subsequent night the same heretics preached at Avignonet in the house of William of Baraigne, and that there was a great gathering of people of the said stronghold there, and that when Bertrand of Quiriès of Avignonet came the candle was put out.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Raymond of Caubous, prior, brother Arnold John, and brother Bernard of L'Isle, of the Order of Brothers Preacher, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine, Doat 26 1<sup>r</sup> four days before the ides of May,<sup>126</sup> the aforesaid witness added to his confession, saying that at Montgaillard, in the house of Bertrand of Roqueville and Bego, brothers, knights, the same witness saw, in the hall, Peter of Prat and Pons of Sainte-Foy, heretics, who preached there. And present at this preaching were the same witness and Bertrand of Roqueville and Bego, brothers, knights, and Aicelina their mother, and India, the said Bertrand's wife, and Laurac, their servant, and Bernard Donadeu,<sup>127</sup> Stephen Donat, and William, brothers of Montgaillard. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid, in the sight, of the same witness, adored the said heretics. And this was twenty-three years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that one morning, when Peter of Prat and Bernard Colomb, | heretics, were in the chamber of Bertrand of Roqueville and Bego, the aforesaid brothers, and the same witness, at that time a fugitive for heresy, with them, the aforesaid Bertrand said to them that he had heard it said that the *bailli* of Saint-Romain was intending to come there to search for heretics. Therefore the said Bertrand advised them to go away from there; and they left there through a certain hole in the wall, and the same witness went in front of them. And afterwards, when the aforesaid heretics came, and with them the aforesaid Bertrand and Bego, two by two, that is to say one of them with each one of the heretics, they came together to flee at the newly-planted vineyard of the aforesaid 1<sup>v</sup>

<sup>126</sup> May 12 1279.

<sup>127</sup> Bernard's confiscated goods were still rendering income in 1293–1294, *Comptes Royaux*, no. 9598, i.456.

maleoli Bertrandi de Rocovilla et Begonis prædictorum, et steterunt ibi ipse testis et dicti hæretici usque ad vesperum. Et ipsa die visitavit dictos hæreticos in dicto maleolo Bernardus Donadeu de Monte Galhardo, et  
 2<sup>r</sup> adoravit<sup>1</sup> eos ibi, præsentibus ipso | teste et dictis militibus, et sedit ibi per aliquod spatium, postea<sup>2</sup> rediit ad opus suum.

Dixit etiam quod instanti<sup>3</sup> sero,<sup>4</sup> dicti hæretici iverunt nescit quo, et ipse testis rediit ad domum militum prædictorum. Et sunt viginti sex anni vel circa.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: frater *Bernardus* de Insula, frater Guillelmus Aymerici, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, secundo nonas Augusti, prædictus testis, iuratus et requisitus ut supra, dixit se recordari quod quando vidit, ut superius dictum est, apud Grandem Vallem in batudo prope mansum Guillelmi  
 2<sup>v</sup> Baudrici, Hugonem Dominici et Pontium Aynardi, hæreticos, et | cum eis Bernardum Vizerz, Raymundum Baudrici, et, sicut credebat, Guillelmum Baudrici, iuniorem—sed dubitat de ipso—vidit ibi similiter cum prædictis hæreticis et personis aliis Bertrandum de Quideriis de Avinione, qui similiter cum eis adoravit<sup>5</sup> dictos hæreticos, ipso teste vidente.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratribus Hugone Amelii et Iohanne Galandi, Ordinis Prædicatorum, inquisitoribus.<sup>6</sup> Testes: frater Arnaldus Arcambaldi et frater *Petrus* de Lauris, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -it *perhaps added*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms post ea*.

<sup>3</sup> *perhaps altered; superfluous abbreviation mark over in-*.

<sup>4</sup> *ms soro*.

<sup>5</sup> -vit *perhaps added*.

<sup>6</sup> *ms inquisitore; -ore added*.

Bertrand of Roqueville and Bego, and the same witness and the said heretics stayed there until evening. And that day Bernard Donadeu of Montgaillard visited the said heretics in the said vineyard, and adored them there, in the presence of the | same witness and the said knights, <sup>2<sup>r</sup></sup> and he sat there for a while, [and] afterwards he returned to his work.

He also said that when evening came the said heretics went he does not know where, and the same witness returned to the house of the aforesaid knights. And this was twenty-six years ago or thereabouts.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother William Aimery, of the Order of Brothers Preacher, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, two days before the nones of August,<sup>128</sup> the aforesaid witness, sworn in and questioned as above, said that he remembered that when, as has been said above, he saw Hugh Dominic and Pons Aynard, heretics, in the wasteland beside the *mas* of William Baudric at Grandval, and | with them Bernard Vizerz, Raymond Baudric, <sup>2<sup>v</sup></sup> and, so he thinks, William Baudric the younger—but he is doubtful about him—he saw there likewise with the aforesaid heretics and other persons Bertrand of Quiriès of Avignonet, who likewise adored the said heretics with them, in the sight of the same witness.

These things he attested at Toulouse before the brothers Hugh Amiel and John Galand, of the Order of Preachers, inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Arnold Archambaud and brother Peter of Laures,<sup>129</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

<sup>128</sup> August 4 [1279].

<sup>129</sup> Aude, comm. Belcastel-et-Buc, cant. Saint-Hilaire, arrond. Limoux; Font-Réaulx, p. 958. Peter of Laures is not found in *ACP*.



*Deposition de Jean Clericus, quil avoit veu, il y avoit 50 ans, Rixendis  
3<sup>r</sup> Baussana et Bernarde Ovezinis, hereti|ques, demeurans dans Soreze, et  
qu'Orpaix, vefue de Pierre Raymond de Drulha, chevalier, et Nigra, sa  
soeur, femme de Galhard de Drulha, chevalier, conversoient avec lesdites  
heretiques, et que Raymond Tirevilla, chapelain de Soreze, pere dudit  
deposant, mangeoient souvent ches elles.*

*6<sup>o</sup> nonas Martii audit an.*

Anno quo supra, sexto nonas Martii, Iohannes Clericus, citatus, testis  
3<sup>v</sup> iuratus et requisitus, dixit quod vidit apud Sorici|num, morantes publice,  
Rixendim Baussanam et Bernardam de Ovezinis, sociam eius, hæreticas.  
Et manebant cum eis Raymundus Arquerius, et Guillelmus Espanhol, et  
Arnaldus Baussani, frater dicti Raymundi Arquerii, continue in eadem  
domo. Et sunt quinquaginta anni elapsi vel circa, quod hoc fuit.

Item dixit quod ipse testis vidit multotiens intrantes et exeuntes do-  
mum prædictæ Rixendis Baussanæ, et in ostio ipsius domus loquentes  
cum ea, Fabrißam, uxorem Petri Pictavini, et matrem eius, et Bernardum  
Trilham, patrem dictæ Fabrißæ, et Raymundam den Ath, et Bernardum  
Rosselli, et Bernardam Rossellam, filiam eius, de Soricino. Et fuit eodem  
tempore.

Item vidit Orpaiss, uxor quondam Petri Raymundi de Drulia, mili-  
tis, et Nigram, sororem dictæ Orpaiss, uxorem Galhardi de Drulia, mili-  
4<sup>r</sup> tis, | et Adalmurs, sororem dictorum militum, uxorem<sup>1</sup> Pontii Berengerii  
quondam, euntes simul ad ecclesiam de Soricino et redeuntes cum ea,  
et colloquentes. Et tunc dicebatur publice, et sciebatur apud Soricinum,  
quod dicta Rixendis et socia eius erant hæreticæ vestitæ. Et fuit eodem  
tempore.

Dixit etiam quod dicta Rixendis audiebat missas et offerebat capellano  
ad altare in ecclesia de Soricino.<sup>2</sup>

Item dixit quod vidit quadam die Guillelmum Bernardi Sabaterium  
ducentem et associantem de domo sua Arnaldum Hugonis et quemdam

<sup>1</sup> -em added.

<sup>2</sup> ubi dictus hæreticus prædicavit *deleted*.

*The deposition of John Clerc, that he had seen, fifty years before, Rixendis Baussan and Bernarda of Auvezines, heretics, | living in Sorèze, and that Orpaissa, widow of Peter Raymond of Dreuilhe, knight, and Nigra, her sister, wife of Galhard of Dreuilhe, knight, used to speak with the said heretics, and that Raymond Tréville, chaplain of Sorèze, father of the said deponent, often used to eat at their house.* 3<sup>r</sup>

*6 days before the nones of March in the said year.*

In the same year as above, six days before the nones of March,<sup>1</sup> John Clerc, summoned, sworn in as a witness and questioned, said that he saw at Sorèze, | living publicly, Rixendis Baussan and Bernarda of Auvezines, 3<sup>v</sup> her companion, heretics. And there were living with them Raymond Arquier, and William Espanhol, and Arnold Baussan, the brother of the said Raymond Arquier, continually in the same house. And fifty years have passed, or thereabouts, since this took place.

Item, he said that the same witness often saw, going into and out of the house of the aforesaid Rixendis Baussan, and in the doorway of the same house talking to her, Fabrissa, the wife of Peter Pictavin, and his<sup>2</sup> mother, and Bernard Trilha, father of the said Fabrissa, and Raymonda den Ath, and Bernard Rossel, and Bernarda Rossel, his daughter, of Sorèze. And this was at the same time.

Item, he saw Orpaissa, the wife of the late Peter Raymond of Dreuilhe, knight, and Nigra, the sister of the said Orpaissa, the wife of Galhard of Dreuilhe, knight, | and Adalmurs, the sister of the said knights, the 4<sup>r</sup> wife of the late Pons Berengar, going together to the church of Sorèze and returning with her, and talking. And it was then said publicly, and known at Sorèze, that the said Rixendis and her companion were robed heretics. And this was at the same time.

He also said that the said Rixendis used to hear masses and make offerings to the chaplain at the altar in the church of Sorèze.

Item, he said that he saw one day William Bernard Sabatier (or William Bernard, shoemaker), leading and accompanying Arnold Hugh and a

<sup>1</sup> March 2 [1277 (1278)].

<sup>2</sup> The Latin word 'eius' is ambiguous: this might actually be 'her mother', but it has been taken as contrasting with the following 'father of the said Fabrissa'.

socium eius, cuius nomen nescit, hæreticos, ad domum Adæ<sup>1</sup> Barta de Soricino, ubi dictus hæreticus prædicavit, sicut ipse testis audivit dici.

Dixit etiam se audivisse dici quod Guillelmus de Calhavo, olim monachus, prior de Serris, disputavit ibi cum prædictis hæreticis.

4<sup>v</sup> Interrogatus,<sup>2</sup> dixit se nihil | amplius scire de facto hæresis.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Petro Arsivi, inquisitore, in præsentia et testimonio fratris Pontii de Prato, fratris Bernardi de Insula, et fratris Raymundi de Ruppe Agennensi,<sup>3</sup> et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, sexto kalendas Aprilis, prædictus Iohannes, detentus in carcere, testis iuratus et requisitus *etcetera*, correxit se, dicens quod Raymundus de Trievilla, pater ipsius testis, tunc capellanus de Soricino, quadam die, invitatus<sup>4</sup> a Rixendi Baussana, hæretica, ivit<sup>5</sup> ad hospitium dictæ hæreticæ. Et ipse testis, qui tunc addiscebat psalterium, puer novem vel decem annorum, ivit cum eo; et comederunt ibi cum dicta hæretica, et Bernarda de Ovezinis, socia sua, similiter hæretica. Et erant<sup>6</sup> ibi similiter Raymundus Sord, Guillelmus Espanhol, Raymundus Baus|sani, sicut credit, frater dictæ hæreticæ, et Raymundus Arquerii vel Baussani, filius spurius prædicti Raymundi Baussani; qui omnes similiter comederunt ibi cum dictis hæreticabus ad eandem mensam cibos quadragesimales. Et tunc morabantur hæretici. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel ...<sup>7</sup>

Item dixit quod quadam vespere<sup>8</sup> Guiraldus Terrerii, senior, de Soricino, adduxit ad domum prædicti capellani apud Soricinum duas hæreticas, vocatas<sup>9</sup> las Raynaldas, de Drulia, quas dictus capellanus recepit et tenuit ibi per octo dies, comedentes ibi de bonis prædicti capellani quæ

<sup>1</sup> -æ altered from -e.

<sup>2</sup> -tus added.

<sup>3</sup> -ensi added.

<sup>4</sup> ms in vitatus.

<sup>5</sup> ms vidit.

<sup>6</sup> ms erat.

<sup>7</sup> gap left.

<sup>8</sup> probably altered from vespera.

<sup>9</sup> altered, probably from notatas.

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<sup>8</sup> Dots have been left here to indicate something which the seventeenth-century copyist was unable to read. Probably no more is missing than the word 'thereabouts' or 'more'.

certain companion of his, whose name he does not know, heretics, from his house to the house of Adam Barta of Sorèze, where the said heretic preached, as the same witness heard said.

He also said that he had heard it said that William of Cailhau,<sup>3</sup> formerly a monk, prior of Serres,<sup>4</sup> disputed there with the aforesaid heretics.

Questioned, he said that he knew nothing | more about the matter of 4<sup>v</sup> heresy.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor, in the presence and testimony of brother Pons of Prat,<sup>5</sup> brother Bernard de l'Isle, and brother Raymond of Laroque of the Agenais,<sup>6</sup> and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, six days before the kalends of April,<sup>7</sup> the aforesaid John, held in prison, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., corrected himself, saying that Raymond of Tréville, the same witness's father, then chaplain of Sorèze, one day, invited by Rixendis Baussan, heretic, went to the said heretic's lodging. And the same witness, who was then learning the psalter, a boy of nine or ten years, went with him; and they ate there with the said heretic, and with Bernarda of Avezines, her companion, likewise a heretic. And there were there likewise Raymond Sord, William Espanhol, Raymond Baussan, | as he believes, the said 5<sup>r</sup> heretic's brother, and Raymond Arquier or Baussan, the illegitimate son of the aforesaid Raymond Baussan; who all likewise ate Lenten foods there with the said heretics at the same table. And male heretics were then living there. And this was fifty years ago or ...<sup>8</sup>

Item, he said that one evening Guiraud Terrier, the elder, of Sorèze, brought to the house of the aforesaid chaplain at Sorèze two female heretics, called 'las Raynaldas', from Dreuilhe, whom the said chaplain received and kept there for eight days, eating there of the goods of the aforesaid chaplain which Rixendis Cibrand, the said chaplain's

<sup>3</sup> Aude, cant. Alaigne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Limoux; Font-Réaulx, pp. 504, 517, 525.

<sup>4</sup> Benedictine monastery in the diocese of Auch. Gers, comm. Lupiac, cant. Aignan, arrond. Mirande; L.H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 3 vols (Mâcon, 1939-1970), ii.3018.

<sup>5</sup> Not found in ACP.

<sup>6</sup> Not found in ACP. Laroque-Timbaut: Lot-et-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Agen; *Saisimentum*, p. 418.

<sup>7</sup> March 27 [1277 (1278)].

præparabat eis, et ministrabat Rixendis Cibranda, ancilla dicti capellani. Sed iacebant in domo dictæ Rixendis.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis recepit de pane<sup>1</sup> et nucibus de mensa earum, et comedit de ipsis, et bibit de vino, invitatus ab eis.

5<sup>v</sup> Dixit insuper<sup>2</sup> quod Guil|lelmus de Monte Mauro, de Soricino, eduxit inde dictas hæreticas, et duxit eas, sicut credit, ad domum suam—sed ipse testis non vidit eas ibi. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Interrogatus,<sup>3</sup> dixit se nihil amplius scire de facto hæresis.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre *Bernardo* de Insula, tenente<sup>4</sup> locum inquisitoris, in præsentia et testimonio fratris Arnaldi de Valle Capraria, fratris Amelii de Blanno, fratris Ademarii de Sancto Paulo, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> *ms* panis.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* in super.

<sup>3</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>4</sup> *altered from* tenentem.

maidservant, prepared and served to them.<sup>9</sup> But they slept in the house of the said Rixendis.

He said also that the same witness received bread and nuts from their table, and ate of them, and drank of their wine, invited by them.

He said moreover that | William of Montmaur, of Sorèze, took the said 5<sup>v</sup> heretics away from there, and took them, as he believes, to his house—but the same witness did not see them there. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Questioned, he said that he knows nothing more about the matter of heresy.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Bernard of L'Isle, the inquisitor's lieutenant, in the presence and testimony of brother Arnold of Valcabrière,<sup>10</sup> brother Amiel of Blan, brother Adémar of Saint-Paul, of the Order of Preachers,<sup>11</sup> and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>9</sup> Deposing in front of Ferrier, August 29 1243, Peter of *Cabanil* said that he had seen the heretics Bofilh and Bernard of Bovila preaching in the house which the heretics 'las Raynardas' maintained publicly at the castle of Saint-Felix, around 1228; D24, f. 24<sup>v</sup>–25<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Not found in *ACP*. Haute-Garonne, cant. Barbazan, arrond. Saint-Gaudens; Font-Réaulx, p. 1098.

<sup>11</sup> Adémar was assigned as *lector naturarum* (lecturer in natural philosophy) to Orthez (1274) and Narbonne (1276), and as lecturer in theology to various convents, beginning with Brives in 1286, while the last decree assigned him as visitor of four convents (1302); *ACP*, pp. 185, 208, 217, 226, 259, 287, 295, 304, 313, 365, 373, 415, 474. He founded the new convent of Saint-Gaudens in 1290, and was its prior (1296–1297); Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 217–218; Douais, *Gascogne*, p. 357.

*Deposition d'Isarn de Cornelhan, domicellus de Toell', qui declara avoir  
 6<sup>r</sup> veu adorer les heretiques a Isarn de Fossato, domicellus, et a Si|card de St  
 Michel, dans le bois de Cornelhan.*

*10 kalendas Aprilis 1278.*

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo octavo, decimo ka-  
 lendas Aprilis, Isarnus de Corneliano, domicellus<sup>1</sup> de Toellis, diocesis  
 Tholosanensis, captus et in carcere detentus, testis iuratus et requisitus  
 etcetera, dixit quod ipse testis, olim puer, venit in nemus de Corneliano  
 causa pignorandi, et invenit in dicto nemore Grazidam, uxorem quon-  
 dam Petri de Sancto Michaeli de Toellis, quæ duxit ipsum testem ad  
 6<sup>v</sup> duos hæreticos, qui erant in dicto nemore, de quorum nominibus ipse  
 testis non recolit. Et cum stetit|sent ibi aliquantulum, venit ibi Isarnus  
 de Fossato, domicellus, de Blanno, et cum eo quidam de Romenx cogno-  
 minatus de la Sala, et Sicardus de Sancto Michaeli de Toellis. Et ibi ipse  
 testis, instructus<sup>2</sup> a dictis hæreticis, et Grazida et omnes prædicti, ipso  
 teste vidente, adorarunt<sup>3</sup> dictos hæreticos, et audierunt<sup>4</sup> prædicationem  
 eorum. Et sunt triginta sex anni vel amplius quod hoc fuit.

Interrogatus si pluries vidit ibi dictos hæreticos, dixit quod non, nec  
 amplius scit de facto hæresis.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Bernardo de Insula, gerente vices  
 fratris Petri Arsivi, inquisitoris,<sup>5</sup> in præsentia et testimonio fratris Ber-  
 nardi de Villela, fratris Vitalis de Valle Seron, fratris Amelii de Blanno,  
 Ordinis Prædicatorum, et mei, Athonis de Sancto Victore, publici notarii,  
 qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* domicel/cellus over end of line.

<sup>2</sup> aliquid *deleted*.

<sup>3</sup> -runt *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -ierunt *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -is *added, probably over deletion*.

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December 20–24 1271 (*Saisimentum*, pp. 94, 95 and 213), and Arnold headed  
 the October list. On William see above, 259<sup>v</sup> n. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Probably to be identified with Vital of Vassarón.

*The deposition of Isarn of Corneilhan, squire, of Las Touzeilles, who stated that he had seen Isarn of Foissac, squire, and | Sicard of Saint-Michel adore 6r the heretics in the wood of Corneilhan.*

*10 days before the kalends of April 1278.*

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-eight, ten days before the kalends of April,<sup>1</sup> Isarn of Corneilhan,<sup>2</sup> squire, of Las Touzeilles, in the diocese of Toulouse, captured and held in prison, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that the same witness, once, as a boy, came into the wood of Corneilhan in order to scavenge, and he found in the said wood Grazida, the wife of the late Peter of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles, who led the same witness to two heretics who were in the said wood, whose names the same witness does not recall. And when they had | been there a little while, there came there Isarn of 6v Foissac, squire, of Blan, and with him a man from Roumens surnamed of La Salle, and Sicard of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles. And there the same witness, instructed by the said heretics, and Grazida and all the aforesaid, in the sight of the same witness, adored the said heretics, and heard their preaching. And it was thirty-six years ago or more that this took place.

Asked if he saw the said heretics there more often, he said no—nor does he know any more about the matter of heresy.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Bernard of L'Isle, acting in place of brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor, in the presence and testimony of brother Bernard of Villèle, brother Vital of *Valle Seron*,<sup>3</sup> brother Amiel of Blan, of the Order of Preachers, and of me, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

<sup>1</sup> March 23 1278. As this is before Easter day (17 April), April 1 and even the Annunciation, it should in fact be a year later, n.s. 1279. However, if this is followed to its logical conclusion, the earlier depositions of William Raffard would take place in August 1279, after the fifth (26, 42<sup>v</sup>), which definitely takes place on 16 May 1279. So this must be 1278, our style, although this poses serious problems for the start of the year.

<sup>2</sup> Arnold and Isarn of Corneilhan, sons of William of Corneilhan, were co-lords of Las Touzeilles. Arnold and Isarn were in the lists of nobles of Saint-Félix who took the oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 and



7<sup>r</sup> *Audition d'Arnaud | de Cornelhan de Toell', chevalier, qui declara n'avoir  
jamais commis aucun crime d'heresie depuis qu'il avoit confessé a Guil-  
laume B. Aquen', qu'il luy avoit enjoint sa penitence.*

3<sup>o</sup> *kalendas Iunii audit an.*

Anno quo supra, tertio kalendas Iunii, Arnaldus de Corneliano de Toellis, diocesis Tholosanensis, citatus veniens, testis iuratus et requisitus *etce-tera*, dixit quod ipse testis fuit olim confessus de hæresi fratri Guillelmo Bernardi de Aquen'—a quo habuit pœnitentiam. Et postea<sup>1</sup> in dicto  
7<sup>v</sup> crimine non deliquit—| nec amplius scit de facto hæresis.

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<sup>1</sup> *ms* post ea

*The hearing of Arnold | of Corneilhan of Las Touzeilles, knight, who stated 7<sup>r</sup>  
that he had never committed any crime of heresy after he had confessed to  
William Bernard of Dax, and that he had given him his penance.*

*3 days before the kalends of June in the said year.*

In the same year as above, three days before the kalends of June,<sup>1</sup> Arnold of Corneilhan<sup>2</sup> of Las Touzeilles, in the diocese of Toulouse, appearing having been summoned, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that the same witness had previously confessed about heresy to brother William Bernard of Dax<sup>3</sup>—from whom he had a penance. And afterwards he did not transgress in the said crime—| nor does he know 7<sup>v</sup> any more about the matter of heresy.

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<sup>1</sup> May 30 [1278].

<sup>2</sup> See Isarn of Corneilhan, above, 6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Avignon-Lauragais, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 920.

*Audition de Guilabert de Foissaco, chevalier, qui dit n'estre point retombé dans l'heresie depuis qu'il avoit receu la penitence de Jean de St Pierre, inquisiteur.*

*Desdits jour et an.*

Anno et die prædictis, Guilabertus de Foissaco, miles, de Podio Laurentio, citatus veniens, testis iuratus et requisitus *etcetera*, dixit quod fuit confessus fratri Iohanni de Sancto Petro, inquisitori, omnia quæ sciebat de facto hæresis—a quo pœnitentiam habuit. Et postea in dicto crimine  
8<sup>r</sup> non deliquit—nec amplius scit | de facto hæresis.

*The hearing of Guilabert of Foissac, knight, who said that he had not relapsed into heresy after receiving a penance from John of Saint-Pierre, inquisitor.*

*From the same day and year.*

In the aforesaid year and on the aforesaid day,<sup>1</sup> Guilabert of Foissac,<sup>2</sup> knight, of Puylaurens, appearing having been summoned, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that he had confessed to brother John of Saint-Pierre, inquisitor, everything which he knew about the matter of heresy—from whom he had a penance. And afterwards he did not transgress in the said crime—nor does he know any more | about the 8<sup>r</sup> matter of heresy.

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<sup>1</sup> [May 30 1278].

<sup>2</sup> On Guilabert, see above, 31<sup>r</sup> n. 24.

*Deposition de Pierre Geraud de Monte Jovis, contenant qu'il avoit adoré Guillaume Carrière et Bonetus de Ovezinis, heretiques; qu'il avoit veu que Raymond de Camiss fournissoit du blé a Arnaud Raymond, chevalier, de Durfort; et que Guillaume de Cornelhan et Guilabert de Rossilhas, chevaliers, visitoient deux femmes heretiques qui demeuroient dans un bois.*

8<sup>v</sup> 10<sup>o</sup> kalendas Iulii 1278.

Anno quo supra, decimo kalendas Iulii, Petrus Geraldi de Monteiovis, sponte et secreto veniens apud Montemiovis coram fratre Petro Arsivi, inquisitore, petita gratia et securitate de muro et amissione bonorum et poenitentia publica et confusibili, et obtenta, testis iuratus et requisitus etcetera, dixit quod ipse fuit olim confessus magistro Arnaldo Cancellario et domino Amelio, quondam inquisitoribus, a quibus habuit poenitentiam de crucibus et peregrinationibus quam complevit. Et tunc prætermisit hæc<sup>1</sup> dicere quæ sequuntur, propter timorem partim, et partim propter oblivionem: videlicet quod apud Montem Iovis, in loco vocato La Gar|riga,<sup>2</sup> vidit quadam nocte<sup>3</sup> Guillelmum Carreriæ,<sup>4</sup> qui fuit de Monteiovis, et Bonetum de Ovezinis, qui fuit de Vaure, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis Bernardum Guiraudi, patrem ipsius testis, Raymundum de Camis de Monteiovis. Et ibi ipse testis et alii prædicti, ipso teste vidente, adoraverunt<sup>5</sup> dictos hæreticos, et loqui fuerunt cum eis familiariter. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum Arnaldus Raymundi, miles, de Duroforti, esset hæreticus vestitus et latitaret, vidit ipse testis prædictum Raymundum de Camis tradentem Petro Grimaudi de Monteiovis tres sextarios frumenti sub specie venditionis in prædicto loco de La Garriga, in solo Guillelmi de Corneliano, cui dictus Arnaldus Raymundi, hæreticus, dimiserat

<sup>1</sup> *ms hoc.*

<sup>2</sup> *-i- deleted before page break.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms noctæ.*

<sup>4</sup> *-æ perhaps altered from -e.*

<sup>5</sup> *-erunt, or perhaps -verunt, added.*

*The deposition of Peter Gerald of Montgey, containing that he had adored William Carrier and Bonet of Auvezines, heretics, that he had seen Raymond of Camis supplying corn to Arnold Raymond, knight, of Durfort, and that William of Corneilhan and Guilabert of Roussilles, knights, visited two female heretics who were living in a wood.*

*10 days before the kalends of July 1278.*

8<sup>v</sup>

In the same year as above, ten days before the kalends of July,<sup>1</sup> Peter Gerald of Montgey, appearing spontaneously and in secret at Montgey before brother Peter Arsieu, inquisitor, having requested grace and security from prison, and the loss of his goods, and any public and shameful penance, and obtained this, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that he had previously confessed to master Arnold the Chancellor and lord Amiel, formerly inquisitors, from whom he had a penance of crosses and pilgrimages which he completed. And then he omitted to mention the things that follow, through fear partly, and partly through forgetfulness: namely that at Montgey, in the place called La Garrigue,<sup>2</sup> 9<sup>r</sup> he saw one night William Carrier, who was from Montgey, and Bonet of Auvezines, who was from Lavaur, heretics. And he saw there with them Bernard Guiraud, the same witness's father, [and] Raymond of Camis of Montgey. And there the same witness and the aforesaid others, in the sight of the same witness, adored the said heretics, and spoke with them in a familiar way. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when Arnold Raymond, knight, of Durfort,<sup>3</sup> was a robed heretic and in hiding, the same witness saw the aforesaid Raymond of Camis giving Peter Grimaud of Montgey three sesters of wheat, under pretence of selling it, in the aforesaid place of La Garrigue, on the land of William of Corneilhan, to whom the said Arnold Raymond,

<sup>1</sup> June 22 [1278].

<sup>2</sup> 1 km SE of Montgey; IGN 2244 O.

<sup>3</sup> Otherwise Arnold Raymond of Roquefort, uncle of William and Peter of Cornheilhan. William stated that Arnold Raymond had been a vested heretic before the crusade (1209). He had left heresy then, but returned to the sect about 1238 or 1239. He was still alive at the date of this deposition, November 14 1243; D23, f. 76<sup>v</sup>.

9<sup>v</sup> quandam partem hæreditatis suæ. Et ipse testis interrogavit prædictum Raymundum de Camiss quomodo dictus Petrus Grimaudi iam emebat bladum; et respondit, dicens quod non emebat, sed ipse Raymundus, de mandato prædicti Guillelmi de Corneliano, tradebat sibi dictum bladum ut ipse *Petrus* Grimaudi daret illud supradicto Arnaldo Raymundi. Adiecit etiam dictus Raymundus de Camis verbis suis, dicens, 'Modo det sibi Petrus de Corneliano, si<sup>1</sup> voluerit,<sup>2</sup> alios tres sextarios'. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod audivit prædictum Raymundum de Camiss refferentem ipsi testi quod ipse et Petrus de Sancto Michaeli de Toellis duxerant duos hæreticos ad Escuram ad mansum Alamannorum, sed ipse Raymundus de Camiss non demonstravit dictis Alamannis, imo remansit ad 10<sup>v</sup> fontem prope dictum mansum | et<sup>3</sup> Petrus de Sancto Michaeli introduxit eos. Et hoc fuit tempore quo dicti Alamanni fuerunt capti: interrogabat enim dictus Raymundus de Camiss<sup>4</sup> ipsum testem utrum sciebant<sup>5</sup> aliquid de ipso teste de quo possent eum discooperire.<sup>6</sup> Et sunt viginti quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod ipse testis audivit prædictum Raymundum de Camiss referentem ipsi testi etiam<sup>7</sup> quod ipse fuerat rogatus—sed non dixit a quo vel a quibus—ut teneret Guillelmam Guitbertam, hæreticam—sed noluit<sup>8</sup> hoc<sup>9</sup> facere. Et sunt triginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit Pontium Rogerii, sæcum<sup>10</sup> et debilem, manentem cum Rixendi de Vueiasac et Ermengardi Melona, hæreticabus, in quadam cabana de ramis,<sup>11</sup> in nemore de la Escura, in loco vocato Leissard den Pelissa.

10<sup>v</sup> Dixit etiam quod quadam die | vidit quasi accedentes ad dictam cabanam Guillelmum de Corneliano et Guilbertum de Rossilhas, milites, et Petrum de Luganno, notarium de Vaure—sed non vidit eos cum

<sup>1</sup> -i altered.

<sup>2</sup> altered, perhaps from voluerint.

<sup>3</sup> added.

<sup>4</sup> originally Canis or Caniss.

<sup>5</sup> ms sciebat; altered, perhaps from sciebant.

<sup>6</sup> ms eumdis cooperire.

<sup>7</sup> ms et.

<sup>8</sup> ms voluit.

<sup>9</sup> originally hæc.

<sup>10</sup> -æ- probably altered from -e-.

<sup>11</sup> ms Rama.

heretic, had demised a certain part of his inheritance. And the same witness asked the | aforesaid Raymond of Camis how the said Peter 9<sup>v</sup> Grimaud was already buying corn; and he answered, saying that he was not buying it, but that the same Raymond, at the command of the aforesaid William of Corneilhan, was giving him the said corn so that the same Peter Grimaudi could give it to the aforesaid Arnold Raymond. The said Raymond of Camis also added, in his words, saying, 'Now let Peter of Corneilhan give himself, if he wishes, another three sesters'. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he heard the aforesaid Raymond of Camis telling the same witness that he and Peter of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles had taken two heretics to Lescure,<sup>4</sup> to the *mas* of the Alamans, but the same Raymond of Camis did not inform the said Alamans, but rather remained by the spring near the said *mas*, | and Peter of Saint-Michel took them 10<sup>r</sup> in. And this was at the time when the said Alamans were captured: for the said Raymond of Camis asked the same witness whether they knew anything about the same witness, through which they could expose him. And this was twenty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the same witness heard the aforesaid Raymond of Camis also telling the same witness that he had been asked—but he did not say by what person or persons—to shelter Guillelma Guitberta, heretic—but he refused to do this. And this was thirty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he saw Pons Roger, blind and weak, living with Rixendis of *Vueiasac*<sup>5</sup> and Ermengardis Melon, heretics, in a certain hut made of branches, in the wood of Lescure, in the place called 'the Assart den Pelissa'.

He also said that one day | he saw as if going to the said hut William 10<sup>v</sup> of Corneilhan and Guilabert of Roussilles, knights, and Peter of Lugan, notary of Lavaur—but he did not see them with the aforesaid heretics,

<sup>4</sup> Tarn, comm. Montgey, cant. Cuq-Toulza, arrond. Castres; *DTF*. Between Nogaret and Garrevaques; IGN 2244 O.

<sup>5</sup> Not identified.



prædictis hæreticis vel hæreticabus, nec ipse testis adoravit eos ibi, nec vidit alios adorare. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod ipse testis vidit et audivit Petrum Arnaldi, textorem, iacentem quadam ægritudine<sup>1</sup> de qua convaluit, et clamantem, ‘Sancte Spiritus, vale<sup>2</sup> mihi!’, et frequenter iterantem hæc verba, donec Bernardus Arnaldi, frater eius, dixit ei, ‘Tace<sup>3</sup> frater, gent von capidelatz’. Et credit ipse testis quod erat hæreticatus. Et sunt viginti quinque anni.

Item dixit quod apud Montem Iovis, in quadam cumba ubi<sup>4</sup> vocatur A  
 11<sup>r</sup> Las Cuntas, vidit quādam nocte<sup>5</sup> Petrum Boterii et Villa Manhan, hæreticos, et vidit ibi cum eis supradictum Petrum Grimaudi, qui ducebat eos, et Raymundum de las Conquas de Monte Iovis—sed non recordatur si tunc adorarunt<sup>6</sup> eos. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod prope La Escura, in loco vocato Las Cartas Maldinnat, vidit Pontium Grimaudi et Guillelmum Carrerie, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis Bernardum Guiraudi, fratrem ipsius testis, Arnaldum de Sancto Quirino, seniore, et Guillelmam uxorem eius. Et ibi ipse testis et alii prædicti adorarunt<sup>7</sup> dictos hæreticos, ipso teste vidente, et audierunt<sup>8</sup> verba et monitiones eorum. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Hæc deposuit apud Montem Iovis in domo capellani, et iuravit etcetera  
 11<sup>v</sup> coram dicto inquisitore. Testes: frater Bernardus de Insula, Ordinis | Prædicatorum, Petrus Aymais, capellanus<sup>9</sup> [de Monte Iovis, et ego, Atho] de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> æ- perhaps altered from e-.

<sup>2</sup> -te deleted.

<sup>3</sup> ms Tacete.

<sup>4</sup> u- altered from i-.

<sup>5</sup> -e altered from -æ.

<sup>6</sup> -runt added.

<sup>7</sup> -runt added.

<sup>8</sup> altered from audiente.

<sup>9</sup> -us added.

male or female, nor did the same witness adore them there, nor did he see others adore. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the same witness saw and heard Peter Arnold Tisserand (*or* Peter Arnold, weaver) in bed with a certain illness from which he recovered, and crying out, 'Holy Spirit, help me!', and frequently repeating these words, until Bernard Arnold, his brother, said to him, 'Be quiet, brother, people will understand'.<sup>6</sup> And the same witness believes that he was hereticated. And this was twenty-five years ago.

Item, he said that at Montgey, in a certain valley which is called *A Las Cuntas*,<sup>7</sup> he saw | one night Peter Botier and Villa Manhan, heretics, and 11<sup>r</sup> he saw there with them the aforesaid Peter Grimaud, who was leading them, and Raymond of *Las Conquas*<sup>8</sup> of Montgey—but he does not remember if they adored them then. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that near Lescure, in the place called *Las Cartas Maldin-nat*,<sup>9</sup> he saw Pons Grimaud and William Carrier, heretics. And he saw there with them Bernard Guiraud, the same witness's brother, Arnold of Saint-Quirin,<sup>10</sup> the elder, and Guillelma his wife. And there the same witness and the aforesaid others adored the said heretics, in the sight of the same witness, and heard their words and admonitions. And this was at the same time.

These things he attested at Montgey in the house of the chaplain, and he took an oath etc., before the said inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Bernard of L'Isle, of the Order | of Preachers, Peter Aymais, chaplain [of 11<sup>v</sup> Montgey,<sup>11</sup> and I, Atho] of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

<sup>6</sup> That is to say, will guess heresy from these words; compare 60<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Not identified.

<sup>8</sup> Same as *Las Cuntas*?

<sup>9</sup> Not identified.

<sup>10</sup> Saint-Quirin in the Moselle is unlikely. Perhaps a mistake for Saint-Quirc, one in Ariège, another in Aude; *DTF*.

<sup>11</sup> Noted by Douais, *Documents*, p. clxxxi.

*Deposition de Guillaume Rafardi de Ruppe forti, contenant qu'il avoit esté eslevé dans la maison de B. Rafardi, son pere, parmi des heretiques, et que depuis il s'estoit rendu heretique, et avoit voyagé en Lombardie et a Pavie pour voir les heretiques de ce pays, et qu'à son retour il avoit assisté a leurs adorations et predications, et s'estoit fait adorer, et avoit eu commerce*  
 12<sup>r</sup> *avec Ray|mond Raffredi son frere et ceux de la famille de Bauza<sup>1</sup> ses neveux, Guillaume de Cornilian, Raymond Baure, et Raymond de Durfort, Chevaliers, et plusieurs autres personnes y nommées.*

4<sup>o</sup> idus Augusti 1278.

Anno quo supra, quarto idus Augusti, Guillelmus Rafardi de Ruppeforti, qui erat hæreticus vestitus, fuit conversus ad fidem Catholicam, et abiu-  
 12<sup>v</sup> rans in primis, ac detestans<sup>2</sup> omnem sectam hæreticorum extollentem se contra fidem Catholicam et Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam, quo|cumque nomine censeantur, promisit et iuravit ad sancta Dei evangelia, manu tacta, quod fidem Catholicam quam Sancta Romana Ecclesia prædicat et observat tenebit a modo fideliter et servabit imperpetuum, et ab ea nunquam recederet; et quod de omnibus quæ scit, de visu et auditu, vel alio quocumque modo, super crimine hæresis meram<sup>3</sup> et plenam dicet ac revelabit<sup>4</sup> inquisitoribus vel eorum loca<sup>5</sup> tenentibus veritatem.

Incipiente<sup>6</sup> igitur a se ipso, dixit quod cum ipse testis esset puer ætatis sex vel decem annorum, vel circa, vidit apud Rocafort, in domo Bernardi Raffardi, patris ipsius testis quondam, Raymundam Auteriam et Beldo-  
 13<sup>r</sup> nam de Verduno et duas alias, hæreticas, quarum nomina ignorat, quas adduxit ibi Bernardus Faber de Verduno iuxta Bessetam, textor, qui erat sororius præ|dictæ Beldonæ, hæreticæ. Et prædicta Raymunda Auteria,

<sup>1</sup> altered, apparently from Mauza.

<sup>2</sup> ms detestestans; -ans perhaps added later.

<sup>3</sup> ms moram.

<sup>4</sup> ms revelavit.

<sup>5</sup> originally locum.

<sup>6</sup> -e perhaps added.

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<sup>4</sup> Labécède-Lauragais: Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 951.

*The deposition of William Raffard of Roquefort, containing that he had been brought up in the house of Bernard Raffard, his father, among heretics, and that afterwards he had become a heretic, and had travelled into Lombardy and to Pavia to see the heretics of that country, and that on his return he had been present at their adorations and preachings, and had had himself adored, and had had dealings with | Raymond Raffard 12<sup>r</sup> his brother and the Nauza family his nephews, William of Corneilhan, Raymond Baure, and Raymond of Durfort, knights, and several other people named here.*

*4 days before the ides of August 1278.*

In the same year as above, four days before the ides of August,<sup>1</sup> William Raffard of Roquefort, who was a robed heretic, was converted to the Catholic faith, and abjuring, in the first place, and detesting every sect of heretics extolling itself against the Catholic faith and the Holy Roman Church, by | whatever name they might be known, promised and swore 12<sup>v</sup> on God's holy gospels, touching them with his hand, that he will henceforth faithfully hold, and serve in perpetuity, the Catholic faith which the Holy Roman Church preaches and observes, and will never fall away from it; and that concerning everything which he knows, through sight or hearing, or any other means whatsoever, concerning the crime of heresy, he will tell and reveal the pure and full truth to the inquisitors or to their lieutenants.

Beginning therefore with himself, he said that when the same witness was a boy of the age of six or ten years, or thereabouts, he saw at Roquefort, in the house of Bernard Raffard, the same witness's late father, Raymonda Autier and Beldona of Verdun<sup>2</sup> and two others, heretics, whose names he does not know, whom Bernard Faure of Verdun<sup>3</sup> near Labécède,<sup>4</sup> weaver, who was the brother-in-law of the aforesaid | Beldona, 13<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> August 10 [1278].

<sup>2</sup> Not Verdun-le-Lauragais, given the immediate specification of the latter. Perhaps Tarn-et-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Montauban, or Aude, cant. Castelnaudary, arrond. Carcassonne; *Saisimentum*, p. 1101. See others listed in *DTF*.

<sup>3</sup> Verdun-le-Lauragais: Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1101.

hæretica, erat soror Guillelmi et Bernardi Auterii, fratrum, de Villa Picta, qui comendaverant eam prædicto *Bernardo* Rafardi, patri ipsius testis. Et vidit ibi pluries cum dictis hæreticabus prædictum *Bernardum* Rafardi, patrem ipsius testis, et Raymundam uxorem eius, matrem eiusdem testis,<sup>1</sup> et Raymundum Raffardi, tunc puerum, fratrem ipsius testis, et *Bernardum* et Guillelmum Arimandi, fratres, Rogerium Maiorem, Augerium Mercatorem, qui tenuerat dictas hæreticas primo in domo sua, *Bernardum* Petri et Petrum Mercaderii, fratres eius, Ermengardim, uxorem Raymundi Mercatoris, Aladaiciam, uxorem Guillelmi Arimandi, Aladaiciam, uxorem Stephani Arlandi, omnes de Ruppeforti, Raymundum de  
 13<sup>v</sup> Bassenx de Bordis, Guillelmum Auterii et *Bernardum* Auterii de Villa | Picta: qui omnes adorarunt<sup>2</sup> ibi dictas hæreticas, ipso teste vidente. Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Rocafort, in domo prædicti *Bernardi* Raffardi, patris ipsius testis, fuit hæreticata<sup>3</sup> Raymunda, mater ipsius testis, in ægritudine<sup>4</sup> qua decessit—ipso teste vidente, qui tunc erat puer. Et credit quod hæreticaverunt eam Rogerius et Vilacilho, hæretici, qui tunc manebant in domo Guillelmi Arimandi et Raymundi, fratrum, de Ruppeforti. Et interfuerunt prædictæ hæreticationi *Bernardus* Rafardi, pater ipsius testis, Pontius Mercaderii, Ermengardis uxor eius, et Aladaicis, mater dictæ Ermengardis, uxor<sup>5</sup> Stephani Arnaldi, omnes de Ruppeforti. Et dubitat utrum interfuit ibi Raimundus Raffardi, frater ipsius testis, sed interfuerunt prædictæ hæreticationi supradictæ hæreticæ.

14<sup>r</sup> Interrogatus,<sup>6</sup> dixit quod ipse testis non adoravit<sup>7</sup> dictos hæreticos tunc, nec Raymundus frater eius, quia multum erant iuvenes; sed vidit alios adorare.

Dixit tamen quod multotiens ipse testis et dictus frater eius comederunt cum dictis hæreticabus ad eandem mensam, et de pane benedicto ab eis. Docuerunt etiam ipsum testem et prædictum Raymundum, fratrem ipsius testis, dicere pater noster, et quomodo antequam sumerent cibum dicerent 'Benedicite'.

<sup>1</sup> -is added.

<sup>2</sup> -runt added.

<sup>3</sup> -ta added.

<sup>4</sup> æ- perhaps altered from e-.

<sup>5</sup> ms uxoris; -is added.

<sup>6</sup> -tus or -atus added.

<sup>7</sup> -it added.

heretic, brought there. And the aforesaid Raymonda Autier, heretic, was the sister of William and Bernard Autier, brothers, of Villepinte,<sup>5</sup> who had commended her to the aforesaid Bernard Raffard, the same witness's father. And he often saw there with the said heretics the aforesaid Bernard Raffard, the same witness's father, and Raymonda his wife, the same witness's mother, and Raymond Raffard, then a boy, the same witness's brother, and Bernard and William Arimand, brothers, Roger Major, Auger Mercadier, who had first had the said heretics in his house, Bernard Peter and Peter Mercadier, his brothers, Ermengardis, the wife of Raymond Mercadier, Aladaicis, the wife of William Arimand, Aladaicis, the wife of Stephen Arland, all from Roquefort, Raymond of Bassens<sup>6</sup> of Lasbordes,<sup>7</sup> William Autier and Bernard Autier of Villepinte: | all of whom adored the said heretics there, in the sight of the same witness. 13<sup>v</sup>  
And this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Roquefort, in the house of the aforesaid Bernard Raffard, the same witness's father, Raymonda, the same witness's mother, was hereticated in the illness of which she died—in the sight of the same witness, who was then a boy. And he believes that Roger and Vilacilho, heretics, who were then living in the house of William Arimand and Raymond, brothers, of Roquefort, hereticated her. And present at the aforesaid heretication were Bernard Raffard, the same witness's father, Pons Mercadier, Ermengardis his wife, and Aladaicis, the mother of the said Ermengardis, the wife of Stephen Arnold, all from Roquefort. And he is uncertain whether Raymond Raffard, the same witness's brother, was present there, but the aforementioned female heretics were present at the aforesaid heretication.

Questioned, he said that the same witness did not then adore the said heretics, nor did Raymond his brother, because they were very young; but they saw the others adore. 14<sup>r</sup>

He said however that the same witness and his said brother often ate with the said female heretics at the same table, and of bread blessed by them. They also taught the same witness and the aforesaid Raymond, the same witness's brother, to say the Our Father, and how before they took food they should say 'Bless us.'

<sup>5</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Sud, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1108.

<sup>6</sup> Aude, comm. Saint-Martin-Lalande, cant. Castelnaudary-Sud, arrond. Carcassonne; *DTF*.

<sup>7</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Sud, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 957.

Item dixit quod apud Verdunum iuxta Becetam, in nemore de Migrona, vidit ipse testis prædictas Beldonam et Raymundam Alteriam, et duas alias hæreticas, et Saxium Brostalho, hæreticum. Et vidit ibi cum eis Bernardam, uxorem Petri Andrææ—tunc morabatur apud Ferrals, 14<sup>v</sup> et modo manet apud Verdunum—et quæ<sup>1</sup> cum ipso | teste portavit dictis hæreticis panem, de mandato dicti viri sui, et Pontii Andrææ, fratris dicti Petri, cum quibus ipse testis pro nuntio morabatur, et custodiebat vaccas. Et tam ipse testis quam dicta Bernarda adorarunt<sup>2</sup> ibi prædictos hæreticum et hæreticas, quos tenebant ibi supradicti fratres. Et hoc sciebat etiam Dyas, uxor prædicti Pontii Andrææ. Et sunt triginta octo anni vel circa. Et dictæ hæreticæ fuerunt captæ per Guillelmum Pontii, capellanum de Verduno, et combustæ apud Castrum Novum de Arrio.

Item dixit quod apud Palatz Villam in domo Iohannis de Bugairal, vidit Guillelmum Prunelli et Bonetum de Sanctis, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis dictum Iohannem Bugaralh, Aladaiciam, uxorem eius, Grasidam de 15<sup>r</sup> Toellis, matrem dictæ Aladaicis, et Bonetum Fabri de Contrasto, | qui venerat ibi cum ipso teste. Et ipse testis et dictus Bonetus adoraverunt<sup>3</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos, sed non vidit alios adorare.<sup>4</sup> Et sunt viginti anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod ante prædictus Bonetus de Sanctis, hæreticus, ivit in Lombardiam ad hæreticandum, et<sup>5</sup> significavit hoc ipsi testi, et rogavit eum quod iret cum eo ad idem faciendum; cui respondit ipse testis quod nondum poterat, quia non habebat peccuniam donec vendidisset vaccas<sup>6</sup> suas. Et sunt viginti tres anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quando ipse testis voluit ire in Lombardiam ad hæreticandum, se ivit versus Montem Pessullanum cum vaccis suis ad modum mercatoris; et ibi vendidit eas. Et inde cum peccunia sua et Petro Maurilli de Auriaco vel de Tholosa, nuntio hæreticorum, qui erat ductor

<sup>1</sup> *ms et quæ.*

<sup>2</sup> *-runt or -unt added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-erunt added.*

<sup>4</sup> *-re written over deletion.*

<sup>5</sup> *letter deleted at start of word.*

<sup>6</sup> *-cc- written over deletion.*

<sup>12</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1101. Possibly identifiable with the William Pons who acted as an inquisition witness in Carcassonne (1250, 1251, 1254); Douais, *Documents*, pp. 121, 133, 136, 151, 251, 275, 276.

<sup>13</sup> Verdun-le-Lauragais; see 12<sup>v</sup> n. 3 above.

Item, he said that at Verdun near Labécède, in the wood of *Migrona*,<sup>8</sup> the same witness saw the aforesaid Beldona and Raymonda Alteria,<sup>9</sup> and two other female heretics, and Saix Brostalho, a male heretic. And he saw there with them Bernarda, the wife of Peter Andrew<sup>10</sup>—she then lived at Ferrals,<sup>11</sup> and now lives at Verdun—and who, with the same | 14<sup>v</sup> witness, brought the said heretics bread, at the command of her said husband, and of Pons Andrew, the brother of the said Peter, with whom the same witness was living as a messenger—and he guarded the cows. And both the same witness and the said Bernarda adored the said male heretic and female heretics there, whom the aforesaid brothers kept there. And Dyas, the wife of the said Pons Andrew, also knew of this. And this was thirty-eight years ago or thereabouts. And the said female heretics were captured by William Pons, chaplain of Verdun,<sup>12</sup> and burnt at Castelnaudary.

Item, he said that at Palleville in the house of John of Bugarel, he saw William Prunel and Bonet of Saintes, heretics. And he saw there with them the said John Bugarel, Aladaicis, his wife, Grazida of Las Touzeilles, the mother of the said Aladaicis, and Bonet Faure of Contrast,<sup>13</sup> | 15<sup>r</sup> who had come there with the same witness. And the same witness and the said Bonet adored the said heretics there, but they did not see the others adore. And this was twenty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that before the aforesaid Bonet of Saintes, heretic, went into Lombardy to be hereticated, he both told the same witness this, and asked him to go with him to do the same thing: and the same witness answered him that he could not yet do so, because he would not have the money until he had sold his cows. And this was twenty-three years ago or thereabouts. Item, he said that when the same witness wished to go into Lombardy to be hereticated, he went to Montpellier with his cows in the manner of a merchant; and there he sold them. And from there, with his money and Peter Maurel of Auriac or of Toulouse, messenger

<sup>8</sup> Not identified.

<sup>9</sup> Probably mistake for Auteria.

<sup>10</sup> A Peter Andrew of Labécède was imprisoned for heresy, and conversations with him about heretics (including Bernard Thilol) were recalled by William Hugh, son of Raymond Hugh of Roquevidal, in his confession to Gui, August 4, 1312; Gui, *Livres des sentences*, ii.1034.

<sup>11</sup> Aude, Saint-Papoul, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; DTF.



15<sup>v</sup> suus, ivit | in Lombardiam. Et quando fuerunt in civitate Papiæ, declina-  
verunt in domum Petri de Monte Accuto, qui facit se vocari Berengerium,  
in qua fuerunt tribus mensibus vel circa. De inde venerunt ad castrum  
de Serminione in comitatu Veronensi. Ibi Bernardus Oliba, episcopus  
hæreticorum, Guillelmus Petri de Verona, episcopus<sup>1</sup> hæreticorum de  
Francia, et Henricus, episcopus hæreticorum de Lombardia, hæreticave-  
runt ipsum testem, et Pontium Olibam, fratrem dicti *Bernardi*, et Guil-  
lelmm Boneti de terra Mirapiscensi,<sup>2</sup> et *Bernardum* de Scaupont, quon-  
dam dominum de Scaupont. Et, facta consolatione, prædictus *Bernardus*  
Oliba, episcopus hæreticorum Tholosæ, exegit et habuit totam peccu-  
niam ipsius testis, exceptis triginta Turonensibus<sup>3</sup> albis. Et sunt sex vel  
septem anni vel circa.

16<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod quando recessit | de Serminione, dimissis ibi multis  
hæreticis et hæreticabus, rediit iterum Papiam cum Pontio Boerii, socio  
suo, hæretico. Et intravit domum Petri de Bueuvilla de Avinione, in quo  
steterunt fere per annum. Et ibi obiit tunc circa festum Natalis Domini  
dictus Pontius Boerii, hæreticus; et fuit sepultus in ipsa domo in quodam  
sotulo. Et sunt sex anni vel circa.

Requisitus<sup>4</sup> qui visitaverunt ibi ipsum testem et socium suum, hæreti-  
cos, respondit quod Guillelmus Belissen de Fanoiovis, Petrus Escola de  
Tholosa, Raymundus Paperii de Avinione, et Raymundus<sup>5</sup> Baussani de  
Garda—qui cum dicto Raymundo Paperii sepelivit ibi prædictum Pon-  
tium Boerii, hæreticum—et cum eis Petrus de Bueuvilla, et Guillelma,  
uxor eiusdem *Petri*, et Berengerius<sup>6</sup> de Monte Accuto, qui alias voca-  
batur<sup>7</sup> Petrus, et Mathæus de Querio | Cerverio, miles. Et ibi omnes præ-  
dicti multotiens adoraverunt<sup>8</sup> ipsos hæreticos. Tempore quo supra.

Item dixit quod tempore illo, circa Carniprivium, exivit Papiam solus  
cum quibusdam mercatoribus, et venit equitando usque Ianuam, ubi  
iacuit per duas noctes. Et inde egrediens venit per dietas equitando,  
quia infirmus erat, ad Fraxinum ad Carcassesium, ubi mansit a festo  
Paschæ usque ad sequens festum Penthecosten, in domo Raymundi

<sup>1</sup> -s altered.

<sup>2</sup> -ensi added.

<sup>3</sup> -sibus or -ensibus added.

<sup>4</sup> -situs added.

<sup>5</sup> de deleted.

<sup>6</sup> ms Berengeruis.

<sup>7</sup> -batur or -abatur added.

<sup>8</sup> -erunt added.

of the heretics, who was his guide, he went | into Lombardy. And when 15<sup>v</sup>  
they were in the city of Pavia, they stayed in the house of Peter of  
Montégut, who had himself called Berengar, in which they were for three  
months or thereabouts. Then then came to the castle of Sirmione, in the  
county of Verona. There Bernard Oliba, bishop of the heretics, William  
Peter of Verona, bishop of the heretics of France,<sup>14</sup> and Henry, bishop  
of the heretics of Lombardy,<sup>15</sup> hereticated the same witness, and Pons  
Oliba, brother of the said Bernard, and William Bonet of the land of  
Mirepoix, and Bernard of Scopont, formerly lord of Scopont. And, when  
the consolation had been performed, the aforesaid Bernard Oliba, bishop  
of the heretics of Toulouse, demanded and had all the same witness's  
money, except for thirty white Tournois. And this was six or seven years  
ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when he left | Sirmione, leaving many heretics, 16<sup>r</sup>  
male and female, there, he returned again to Pavia with Pons Boer, his  
companion, heretic. And he entered the house of Peter of Beauville of  
Avignonet, in which they stayed for almost a year. And the said Pons  
Boer, heretic, died there then, around the feast of Christmas; and he was  
buried in the same house in a certain cellar. And this was six years ago or  
thereabouts.

Asked who visited the same witness and his companion, heretics,  
there, he answered William Belissen of Fanjeaux, Peter Escola of Tou-  
louse, Raymond Papier of Avignonet, and Raymond Baussan of Lagar-  
de—who with the said Raymond Papier buried the aforesaid Pons Boer,  
heretic, there—and with them Peter of Beauville, and Guillelma, the wife  
of the same Peter, and Berengar of Montégut, who was otherwise called  
Peter, and Matthew | of Cuqserviès, knight. And there all the aforesaid 16<sup>v</sup>  
often adored the same heretics. At the same time as above.

Item, he said that at that time, around Lent, he left Pavia alone with  
certain merchants, and came on horseback to Genoa, where he slept for  
two nights. And leaving there he came on horseback, a day at a time,  
because he was ill, to Fraisse<sup>16</sup> in the Carcassès, where he stayed from  
the feast of Easter until the following feast of Pentecost, in the house

<sup>14</sup> Bishop of the heretics of Francia, here meaning northern France; on the  
line of these bishops, see Borst, *Katharer*, p. 231. His arrest is known from a  
letter written by Nicholas IV in February 1289, on the request of Peter Arsieu  
and Hugh of Bouniols and addressed to Philip OFM, inquisitor of Treviso, asking  
for his transfer to France; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 128 and *Registre*, p. 204 n. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Probably to be identified with Andricus of Arosio; see above 145<sup>r</sup> and n. 31.

<sup>16</sup> Fraisse-Cabardès: Aude, cant. Saissac, arrond. Carcassonne; DTF.

Nauza, et Aladaiciæ, uxoris eius, quæ est soror ipsius testis, comedens et bibens de bonis eorum, quæ idem vir et uxor ministrabant ei. Et viderunt eum ibi multotiens tam ipsi quam filii eorum, scilicet Guillelmus, Bernardus et Raymundus de Lanauza, scientes esse hæreticum. Sed nunquam adorarunt<sup>1</sup> eum; verumtamen<sup>2</sup> audierunt<sup>3</sup> verba et monitiones ipsius, et  
 17<sup>r</sup> recipiebant de pane benedicto ab eo, et docebat eos | dicere ‘Benedicite’ in mensa, antequam sumerent cibum.

Item dixit quod postea misit ipse testis prædictum Guillelmum de la Nauza, nepotem ipsius testis, ad castrum de Ruppeforti ad Raymundum Raffardi, fratrem ipsius testis, ut diceret ei quod veniret ibi pro ipso teste. Et venit ibi prædictus Raymundus Rafardi, sed non adoravit<sup>4</sup> eum.

Item dixit quod tempore illo, in festo Penthecostes, exivit ipse testis de Fraxino cum dicto Raymundo Raffardi, fratre suo, et<sup>5</sup> Guillelmo<sup>6</sup> de la Nauza, nepote suo, qui de nocte<sup>7</sup> duxerunt ipsum testem usque ad quemdam fluvium,<sup>8</sup> qui vocatur Lampa, inter Saxiacum et Ruppemfortem. Et inde rediit dictus Guillelmus de la Nauza, nepos suus, ad propria; et ipse testis venit cum dicto Raymundo, fratre suo, usque ad nemus quod  
 17<sup>v</sup> vocatur Batut, iuxta Rup|pem Fortem, ubi dictus Raymundus Raffardi reliquit<sup>9</sup> ipsum testem, et intravit castrum de Ruppeforti. Et significavit adventum ipsius testis Bernardo Cererii de Ruppeforti, qui apportavit sibi unum barrillum vini in dicto nemore. Et postea de nocte<sup>10</sup> Raymundus Raffardi, frater ipsius testis, introduxit ipsum testem in dictum castrum, in domum Petri Arimandi, consanguinei dicti Bernardi Cererii, cum quo idem *Bernardus* morabatur. Et mansit ipse<sup>11</sup> testis<sup>12</sup> in illa domo per vices a dicto festo Penthecoste usque ad vindemias proxime sequentes, comedendo et bibendo de bonis ipsius domus, sicut dictus *Bernardus* Cererii et Arnalda, mater Petri Arimandi ministrabant sibi. Et viderunt eum  
 18<sup>r</sup> ibi pluries prædicti *Bernardus* Cererii, Arnalda Arimanda, et Petrus Arimandi, filius eius—non simul—et Iohannes Clerici de Ruppeforti, | qui

<sup>1</sup> -runt added.

<sup>2</sup> first -m- altered.

<sup>3</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>4</sup> -it perhaps added.

<sup>5</sup> Ray deleted.

<sup>6</sup> altered.

<sup>7</sup> ms noctæ.

<sup>8</sup> ms fluium.

<sup>9</sup> -t altered.

<sup>10</sup> originally noctæ.

<sup>11</sup> ms ipso.

<sup>12</sup> ms teste.

of Raymond [of] La Nauze,<sup>17</sup> and Aladaicis, his wife, who is the same witness's sister, eating and drinking of their goods, which the same man and wife served to him. And both they and their sons, that is William, Bernard and Raymond of La Nauze, often saw him there, knowing him to be a heretic. But they never adored him; however they heard his words and admonitions, and received bread blessed by him, and he taught them | to say 'Bless us' at table, before they took food. 17<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that afterwards the same witness sent the aforesaid William of La Nauze, the same witness's nephew, to the stronghold of Roquefort to Raymond Raffard the same witness's brother, to tell him to come there for the same witness's sake. And the aforesaid Raymond Raffard came there, but did not adore him. Item, he said that at that time, at the feast of Pentecost, the same witness left Fraisse with the said Raymond Raffard, his brother, and William of La Nauze, his nephew, who took the same witness by night to a certain river which is called Le Lampy,<sup>18</sup> between Saissac and Roquefort.

And from there the said William of La Nauze, his nephew, returned to his own affairs; and the same witness came with the said Raymond, his brother, to the wood which is called 'Batut',<sup>19</sup> near | Roquefort, where the 17<sup>v</sup> said Raymond Raffard left the same witness, and went into the stronghold of Roquefort. And he informed Bernard Cerier of Roquefort of the same witness's arrival, who brought him a cask of wine in the said wood. And afterwards, by night, Raymond Raffard, the same witness's brother, brought the same witness into the said stronghold, into the house of Peter Arimand, a kinsman of the said Bernard Cerier, with whom the same Bernard lived. And the same witness remained in that house, on and off, from the said feast of Pentecost until the following grape harvest, eating and drinking of the goods of the same house, as the said Bernard Cerier and Arnalda, the mother of Peter Arimand, served to him. And the aforesaid Bernard Cerier, Arnalda Arimand, and Peter Arimand, her son—not together—and John Clerc of Roquefort, | who often 18<sup>r</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Common place-name; *DTF*.

<sup>18</sup> To the N of Saissac; IGN 2344 OT.

<sup>19</sup> Not identified.

pluries rasisit sibi barbam et multotiens misit sibi pisces et fructus; sed nullus adoravit eum. Ibi prædictus<sup>1</sup> *Bernardus* Cererii, tamen, revocat istam adorationem, sed confitetur quod adoravit eum in dicto batudo. Et sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

Adiecit etiam quod Raymunda Arimanda de Saxiaco, quæ alias cognominabatur Cereria, et fuit uxor Arnaldi vel Bernardi Cererii de Montelivo—sed commorabantur apud Saxiacum—soror dictæ Arnaldæ, vidit ibi pluries ipsum testem. Et omnes sciebant ipsum testem esse hæreticum.

Item dixit quod postea ipse testis exivit de nocte<sup>2</sup> prædictam domum Petri Arimandi, et intravit domum Raymundi Raffardi, fratris ipsius testis, apud Ruppem Fortem. Et fuit ibi per unum mensem vel circa, 18<sup>v</sup> comedens et bibens de his quæ dictus frater suus | et Ricardis,<sup>3</sup> uxor eius, ministrabant sibi. Et viderunt eum<sup>4</sup> ibi dictus frater et uxor eius, et Bernardus, et Guillelmus, et Pontius Raffardi, filii, et Petronilla, filia, eorum, Iohannes Clerici, Arnalda Arimanda, et Bernardus Cererii de Ruppelforti, qui aliquando apportabant<sup>5</sup> sibi fructus; sed nullus, excepto *Bernardo* Cererii, adoravit eum. Et sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod prædictus Iohannes Clerici, de mandato ipsius testis, significavit adventum suum de Lombardia Petronæ, uxori<sup>6</sup> Iohannis Brunni de Duroforti, quæ valde gaviza fuit de adventu prædicto, secundum quod dictus Iohannes retulit ipsi testi. Et dixit dicta Petrona quod libenter videret ipsum testem si posset. Et dictus Iohannes dixit ei quod ipse adduceret eum sibi si vellet; quæ respondit quod<sup>7</sup> nolebat, quia<sup>8</sup> vir suus 19<sup>r</sup> videret | eum.<sup>9</sup> Et ideo non sustinuit quod adduceret eum ad domum in qua morabatur cum viro suo extra castrum vetus, sed dixit ei quod introduceret eum in aliam domum quam habebant in castro veteri de Duroforti, in qua nullus morabatur, sed tenebant ibi fenum, et quod ibi videret eum. Et dixit dicto Iohanni ubi inveniret clavem dictæ domus, ut

<sup>1</sup> *altered.*

<sup>2</sup> *ms noctæ.*

<sup>3</sup> *ms Ricardus.*

<sup>4</sup> *ms cum.*

<sup>5</sup> *-b- altered.*

<sup>6</sup> *ms uxor.*

<sup>7</sup> *q and part of another letter deleted.*

<sup>8</sup> *ms quæ.*

<sup>9</sup> *wrongly given as cum at bottom of preceding page; e- apparently altered from c-.*

shaved his beard and frequently sent him fish and fruit, saw him there often; but no-one adored him. (There the aforesaid Bernard Cerier, however, retracts that adoration, but he confesses that he adored him in the said wasteland.)<sup>20</sup> And this was four years ago or thereabouts.

He also added that Raymonda Arimand of Saissac, who was otherwise surnamed Cerier, and was the wife of Arnold or Bernard Cerier of Montolieu<sup>21</sup>—but they lived at Saissac—the sister of the said Arnalda, often saw the same witness there. And they all knew that the same witness was a heretic.

Item, he said that afterwards the same witness left the aforesaid house of Peter Arimand by night, and went into the house of Raymond Raffard, the same witness's brother, at Roquefort. And he was there for a month or thereabouts, eating and drinking what his said brother | and Richardis, 18<sup>v</sup> his wife, served him. And his said brother and his wife and Bernard, and William, and Pons Raffard, their sons, and Petronilla, their daughter, John Clerc, Arnalda Arimand, and Bernard Cerier of Roquefort—which people sometimes brought him fruit—saw him there; but no-one, except Bernard Cerier, adored him. And this was four years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the aforesaid John Clerc, at the same witness's command, informed Petrona, the wife of John Brun of Durfort, of his arrival from Lombardy, who was very happy about the aforesaid arrival, according to what the said John told the same witness. And the said Petrona said that she would gladly see the same witness if she could. And the said John told her that he would bring him to her if she wished; and she replied that she did not wish it, because her husband would see | him. 19<sup>r</sup> And therefore she could not bear him to bring him to the house in which she lived with her husband outside the old stronghold, but told him to bring him into another house which they had in the old stronghold of Durfort, in which no-one lived, but they kept hay there, and that she would see him there. And she told the said John where he would find

<sup>20</sup> Note inserted by inquisitor, in the original it was probably a note in the margin. See another example 35<sup>v</sup> above. When transferring this note from the margin, the Doat copyist seems to have inserted it at the wrong place. It makes more sense below, at 21<sup>r</sup>, where an abbreviated version of the retraction follows the allegation that Bernard Cerier/del Cirer had adored heretics.

<sup>21</sup> Aude, cant. Alzonne, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 990.

de nocte introduceret eum ibi; quod et fecit, una cum Petro<sup>1</sup> Arimandi, qui venit ibi cum eis. Sed dicta Petrona non venit ibi, secundum quod condixerat<sup>2</sup> cum dicto Iohanne. Et videntes quod non veniebat, dictus Iohannes et *Petrus* Arimandi eduxerunt ipsum testem de dicta domo, et reduxerunt eum ad Rocam Fortem, ad domum Petri Arimandi; in qua mansit postea per unum mensem vel circa, comedens et bibens de bonis ipsius domus, sicut idem Petrus et *Bernardus* Cererii<sup>3</sup> ministrabant ei.

19<sup>v</sup> Et | egressus inde reversus fuit in domum Raymundi Raffardi, fratris sui, qui tenuit eum ibi per unum mensem vel circa. Et inde egressus ivit de nocte versus Becetam et Savardunum, et Calvum Montem, et per multa et diversa castra in comitatu Tholosæ, sicut ignotus, mendicando, per annum et amplius. Postremo venit apud Trapam, ubi stetit cum<sup>4</sup> quadam paupere muliere, quæ recepit eum in hospitium suum amore Dei per duos annos, scilicet usque ad dominicam ante festum Beati Laurentii proxime transactam, qua fuit ibi repertus et captus.

Dixit etiam, interrogatus, quod nunquam usque modo fuit coram aliquo inquisitore, nec confessus de hæresi, nec abiur[avit]<sup>5</sup> hæresim, usque modo.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, gerente vices  
20<sup>r</sup> inquisitoris, qui absolvit eum a senten|tia excommunicationis secundum formam Ecclesiæ, in præsentia et testimonio fratris *Bernardi* de Insula, fratris Arnaldi de Valle Capraia, et *Petri* Vitalis, notarii inquisitoris.

Anno quo supra, decimo septimo kalendas Septembris, prædictus Guillelmus Raffardi, conversus ab hæresi, adiecit testimonio suo, dicens quod apud Rocafort, in domo Raymundi Raffardi, fratris ipsius testis, scilicet in soluto, venit ad videndum ipsum testem, tunc hæreticum,<sup>6</sup> Pontius Faber de Mota, consanguineus uxoris prædicti fratris ipsius testis, procurante hoc prædicta Ricarde;<sup>7</sup> et introduxit eum ad ipsum testem Petronilla, filia dictæ Ricardis. Quæ statim dimisit eos ambos, et apportavit et dedit

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Petri.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* conduxerat; *altered from* condixerat.

<sup>3</sup> *C-* *altered, probably from* S-.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* eum.

<sup>5</sup> *space left for expansion of word.*

<sup>6</sup> *i and another letter, possibly part of p, deleted.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms* Ricardo; *altered, possibly from* Rixendi.

the key of the said house, so that he might bring him in there by night; which he did, together with Peter Arimand, who came there with them. But the said Petrona did not come there, as she had arranged with the said John. And, seeing that she did not come, the said John and Peter Arimand brought the same witness out of the said house, and brought him back to Roquefort, to Peter Arimand's house; in which he lived afterwards for a month or thereabouts, eating and drinking of the goods of the same house, as the same Peter and Bernard Cerier served to him.

And, | leaving there, he returned to the house of Raymond Raffard, 19<sup>v</sup> his brother, who kept him there for a month or thereabouts. And, leaving there, he went by night towards Labécède and Saverdun,<sup>22</sup> and Calmont,<sup>23</sup> and through many varied strongholds in the county of Toulouse, as an unknown, begging, for a year and more. Finally he came to Latrape,<sup>24</sup> where he lived with a certain poor woman, who received him into her lodging for the love of God for two years, that is until the Sunday before the feast of the Blessed Lawrence immediately past, on which he was found there and captured.

He also said, questioned, that never until now was he before any inquisitor, nor did he confess about heresy, nor did he abjure heresy, until now.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons of Parnac, acting in place of the inquisitor, who absolved him from his | sentence of 20<sup>r</sup> excommunication, according to the form of the Church, in the presence and testimony of brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother Arnold of Valcabrière, and Peter Vital, notary of the inquisitor.<sup>25</sup>

In the same year as above, seventeen days before the kalends of September,<sup>26</sup> the aforesaid William Raffard, convert from heresy, added to his testimony, saying that at Roquefort, in the house of Raymond Raffard, the same witness's brother, that is in the cellar, there came to see the same witness, then a heretic, Pons Faure (*or* Pons, smith) of Lamothe, a kinsman of the wife of the same witness's aforesaid brother, this being arranged by the aforesaid Richardis; and Petronilla, daughter of the said Richardis, brought him in to the same witness. She immediately

<sup>22</sup> Ariège, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Pamiers; Font-Réaulx, p. 1078.

<sup>23</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Nailloux, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 993.

<sup>24</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Rieux, arrond. Muret; Font-Réaulx, p. 958.

<sup>25</sup> On Peter, see the discussion of notaries above, p. 87.

<sup>26</sup> August 16 [1278].



20<sup>v</sup> ipsi testi dictus Pontius Faber nuces et | pira et poma. Et adoravit eum, flexis ter genibus, dicendo ‘Benedicite’ sicut ipse testis docuit eum: dicebat enim quod nunquam usque tunc viderat bonum hominem. Et audivit ibi prædicationem ipsius testis usque ad noctem.

Addidit etiam quod ibi supervenit<sup>1</sup> prædicta Ricardis, et vidit eos simul.

Adiecit præterea quod dictus Pontius Faber obtulit ipsi testi quod si vellet teneret eum apud Motam in domo sua per totam noctem. Et ipse testis interrogavit tunc dictum Pontium Fabri, utrum sciebat ubi erat Guillelmus Prunelli, quia multum vellet esse cum eo. Qui respondit ei quod ipse quæreret eum et procuraret quod videret eum in domo ipsius Pontii<sup>2</sup> Fabri,<sup>3</sup> et quod quidam homo qui moratur in Maderia, inter Podium Laurentium et Sanctum Paulum, fuerat sibi loquutus de  
21<sup>r</sup> dicto Guillelmo Prunelli, hæretico, non erat diu, et | sperabat quod cum illo inveniret certitudinem. Et post hæc omnia dictus Pontius Fabri de nocte rediens ad propria, et non procuravit prædictam visitam,<sup>4</sup> quia nec ipse testis spectavit tantum. Et fuerunt quatuor anni circa festum Natalis Domini proxime transactum.

Item quod *Bernardus* del Cirer de Ruppeforti visitavit semel ipsum testem in prædicta domo Raymundi Raffardi.

Dixit præterea quod idem *Bernardus* adoravit eum in supradicto<sup>5</sup> batudo extra castrum de Rocafort, et etiam in domo supradicti Petri Arimandi<sup>6</sup> de Rupeforti—tempore supradicto. Revocat istam adorationem.

Item dixit quod eodem tempore supradicta Arnalda Arimanda de Ruppeforti visitavit ipsum testem in domo prædicti Raymundi Raffardi,  
21<sup>v</sup> et adoravit eum ibi semel. Et apportavit et | dedit sibi unum fogacetum et nuces.

Item dixit quod quando Petrus Maurelli, nuntius hæreticorum prædictus, duxit ipsum testem in Lombardiam, duxit similiter Pontium Merca-derii de Ruppeforti, consanguineum ipsius testis, qui obiit apud Papiam, hæreticatus a Philippo Catalano et *Bernardo* Barba, hæreticis—sicut

<sup>1</sup> *ms* super venit.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Pontius.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* Faber.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* vistam.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* supra dicto.

<sup>6</sup> *altered from, or perhaps to, Aymandi.*

left them both, and the said Pons Faure brought and gave to the same witness nuts and | pears and apples. And he adored him, genuflecting 20<sup>v</sup> three times, saying 'Bless me' as the same witness taught him: for he said that never until then had he seen a good man. And he heard the same witness's preaching there until night.

He also added that the aforesaid Richardis happened to come in there, and saw them together.

He added moreover that the said Pons Faure offered the same witness that if he wished he would have him at Lamothe in his house for the whole night. And the same witness then asked the said Pons Faure whether he knew where William Prunel was, because he very much wished to be with him. He answered him that he would look for him and arrange for him to see him in the house of the same Pons Faure; and that a certain man who lives in La Madière,<sup>27</sup> between Puylaurens and Saint-Paul, had spoken to him about the said William Prunel, heretic, not long before, and | he hoped that with him he would find some certain information. 21<sup>r</sup> And after all these things the said Pons Faure returning to his own affairs by night, and he did not arrange the aforesaid visit, because the same witness did not expect as much. And this was four years ago around the feast of Christmas immediately past.

Item, Bernard del Cirer of Roquefort<sup>28</sup> visited the same witness once in Raymond Raffard's aforesaid house.

He said furthermore that the same Bernard adored him in the aforesaid wasteland outside the fortress of Roquefort, and also in the house of the aforesaid Peter Arimand of Roquefort—at the aforesaid time. (He retracts this adoration.)<sup>29</sup>

Item, he said that at the same time the aforesaid Arnalda Arimand of Roquefort visited the same witness in the house of the aforesaid Raymond Raffard, and adored him there once. And she brought and | 21<sup>v</sup> gave him a 'focaccia' and nuts.

Item, he said that when Peter Maurel, the aforesaid messenger of the heretics, took the same witness into Lombardy, he likewise took Pons Mercadier of Roquefort, the same witness's kinsman, who died at Pavia, hereticated by Philip Catalan (*or* Philip the Catalan) and Bernard Barba,

<sup>27</sup> Tarn, cant. Puylaurens, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres; DTF. 3 km from Puylaurens, 8 km from Saint-Paul.

<sup>28</sup> The same as Bernard Cerier of Roquefort, 17<sup>v</sup> above.

<sup>29</sup> Note inserted by inquisitor: Bernard Cerrier denies this adoration. It repeats the inquisitor's earlier note, 18<sup>r</sup> above, and was also probably a marginal note in the original.

postea retulit ipsi testi Berengerius sive Petrus de Monte Accuto, qui dicebat se interfuisse,<sup>1</sup> et quod fuit hæreticatus in hospitio dictorum hæreticorum. Credit etiam ipse testis quod interfuit dictæ hæreticationi Petrus de Buevilla apud Papiam.

Dixit etiam quod prædictus *Petrus* Maurelli duxit tunc in Lombardiam Bernardam Isarnam de Sancto Martino de Landa.

22<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod quando ipse [tes]|tis<sup>2</sup> voluit ire in Lombardiam, voluit ire cum eo ad hæreticos Bernardus Vedel de Mota, filius quondam *Bernardi* Vedel, consanguineus ipsius testis—cui ipse prædicaverat quod non erat salvatio nisi cum hæreticis, et promiserat ipsi testi cum osculo quod iret secum; sed ipse testis consideravit postea quod habebat pueros parvulos, et, compassus illis, noluit eum ducere.

Item dixit quod antequam Petrus Maurelli duxisset ipsum testem ad<sup>3</sup> hæreticos<sup>4</sup> in Lombardiam, Guillelmus Garriga de Drulia, iuvenis, significavit ipsi testi adventum *Petri* Maurelli de Lombardia, qui faciebat se vocari Petrum Raymundi, et quod eum inveniret in domo leprosororum de Lauraco, cuius domus erat rector Guillelmus, qui fuit de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis, credens et amicus hære|ticorum, sicut ipse testis audivit postea dici a Guillelmo Prunelli, hæretico, apud Veronam. Et ivit ipse testis versus Lauracum ad dictam domum leprosororum,<sup>5</sup> et invenit ibi dictum *Petrum* Maurelli, et loquutus fuit cum eo de præparatione recessus ipsius testis, et præposito eundi in Lombardiam. Et credit quod dictus Guillelmus alias recepisset nuntios hæreticos, et scivisset de secretis eorum.

Item dixit quod Bernarda, uxor quondam *Petri* Dolsai' de Dornhano, misit per ipsum testem pannum lineum pro camisiis Guillelmo Prunelli et Boneto de Sanctis, hæreticis. Quem pannum recepit ab ipso teste Grazida de Toellis, et dedit illum dictis hæreticis—qui postea retulerunt grates ipsi testi. Et sunt tresdecim anni vel circa.

23<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod ipse testis, et | Raymundus de Sancto Michaeli, fugitivus propter hæresim, venerunt quadam die apud Dornhanum, ad domum Guillelmæ Guitardæ, concubinæ ipsius testis, cum qua pransi fuerunt. Et volebat dictus Raymundus tunc rogare magistrum Arnaldum de

<sup>1</sup> -t- altered from s or f.

<sup>2</sup> whole word written as catchword at foot of 21<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* ab.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* hæreticis.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* læprosororum.

heretics—as Berengar or Peter of Montégut afterwards told the same witness: who said that he had been present, and that he was hereticated in the said heretics' lodging. The same witness also believes that Peter of Beauville was present at the said heretication at Pavia.

He also said that the aforesaid Peter Maurel took Bernarda Isarn of Saint-Martin-Lalande into Lombardy then.

Item, he said that when the same | witness wished to go into Lombardy, Bernard Vedel of Lamothe, the son of the late Bernard Vedel, the same witness's kinsman, wished to go with him to the heretics—he had preached to him that there was no salvation except with the heretics, and he had promised the same witness with a kiss that he would go with him; but the same witness reflected afterwards that he had small children, and, taking pity on them, refused to take him. 22<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that before Peter Maurel had taken the same witness to the heretics in Lombardy, William Garrigue of Dreuilhe, a youth, informed the same witness of the arrival of Peter Maurel from Lombardy, who was calling himself Peter Raymond, and that he would find him in the leper house at Laurac,<sup>30</sup> the rector of which house was William, who was from Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, a believer and friend of the | heretics, 22<sup>v</sup> as the same witness afterwards heard said by William Prunel, heretic, at Verona. And the same witness went to Laurac to the said leper house, and found there the said Peter Maurel, and spoke with him about the preparation for the same witness's departure, and his plan of going into Lombardy. And he believes that the said William had previously received the messengers of heretics, and had known their secrets.

Item, he said that Bernarda, the wife of the late Peter Dolsai' of Dourgne,<sup>31</sup> sent linen cloth for shirts by the same witness to William Prunel and Bonet of Saintes, heretics. Grazida of Las Touzeilles received this cloth from the same witness, and gave it to the said heretics—who afterwards thanked the same witness. And this was thirteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the same witness, and | Raymond of Saint-Michel, a fugitive for heresy, came one day to Dourgne, to the house of Guillelma Guitard, the same witness's concubine, with whom they ate. And the said Raymond then wanted to ask master Arnold of Bauzelle, the rector of 23<sup>r</sup>

<sup>30</sup> This leper-house received 20 shillings from Alphonse of Poitiers in 1265; A. Ramière de Fortanier, 'Hospitalité à Fanjeaux et dans sa région: les confréries de Notre-Dame', *CaF* 13 (1978), pp. 147–167 (156). See above, 149<sup>r</sup> n. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Tarn, cant and arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, pp. 772, 775.

Besancela, rectorem ecclesiæ de Dornhaco, ut de facto suo loqueretur inquisitoribus, et intercederet pro ipso—sed non invenerunt ibi dictum magistrum Arnaldum. Tamen invenerunt ibi Arnaldam, matrem dicti rectoris, quæ misit eis panem et vinum ad prandium prædictum, per supradictam Guillelmam Guitardam. Et sunt octodecim anni vel circa.

Dixit etiam se credere quod dicta Guillelma Guitarda sit credens hæreticorum, et audivit eam dicentem quod Guillelma, uxor Petri Aurussa de Dornhano, soror Guillelmi Barta de Podio Laurentio, est credens  
23<sup>v</sup> hære|ticorum.

Item dixit quod quando ipse testis manebat absconditus in domo Petri Arimandi de Rocafort, quadam vice quando Bernardus Cererii de Ruppe Forti, hæreticus<sup>1</sup> eiusdem domus fuit captus de mandato inquisitorum,<sup>2</sup> et bene sciebat dictus *Bernardus* ipsum testem ibi esse tunc hæreticum.

Item dixit quod quando ipse testis manebat hæreticus apud Rupemfortem, in domo dicti Petri Arimandi, audivit Arnaldam Arimandam, matrem dicti Petri, dicentem quod quando Guillelmus Prunelli et Bernardus Tilhol, socius eius, hæretici, venerunt de Lombardia, et fuerunt prope Rocham Fortem, miserunt nuntium ad Arnaldam Arimandam, qui dixit ei quod prædicti hæretici, venientes de Lombardia, volebant ibi  
24<sup>r</sup> venire quiescere, si placeret ei, et quod ipsa tunc iacens | in lecto respondit ei quod infirmabatur, et non erat parata eos recipere—et ideo non venerunt ibi. De quo dixit ipsi testi<sup>3</sup> quod penitebat quia non receperat eos.

Dixit etiam quod dicta Arnalda retulit ipsi testi quod postea idem hæretici miserunt nuntium prædictum ad Petronam, uxorem Iohannis Bruni de Duroforti, et quod ipsa portabit prandium dictis hæreticis supra castrum de Duroforti, ad locum qui vocatur Petra Ficata, in quodam genestario<sup>4</sup>—scilicet panem, et vinum, et nuces; et quod hoc retulerat dicta Petrona ipsi Arnaldæ.

Item dixit quod quando erat puer, vidit apud Rocafort, in domo Guillelmi Arimandi et Raymundi, fratrum, de Ruppeforti, Rogerium de Bordis Lauraguesio, et Villacilho, socium eius, hæreticos, et duas hæreticas<sup>5</sup> | quæ vocabantur Las Rogerias, sorores dicti Rogerii. Et vidit ibi cum

<sup>1</sup> *ms* hæreticæ.

<sup>2</sup> -um, -rum *or* -orum *added*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* testis.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* genestarii.

<sup>5</sup> *h-* *altered*.

the church of Dourgne, to speak to the inquisitors about his case, and to intercede for him—but they did not find the said master Arnold there. However, they found there Arnalda, the mother of the said rector, who sent them bread and wine for the aforesaid meal, through the aforesaid Guillelma Guitard. And this was eighteen years ago or thereabouts.

He also said that he believes that the said Guillelma Guitarda is a believer of the heretics, and he heard her saying that Guillelma, the wife of Peter Aurussa of Dourgne, the sister of William Barta of Puylaurens, is a believer of the | heretics.

23<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that when the same witness was living in hiding in the house of Peter Arimand of Roquefort, once when Bernard Cerier of Roquefort, a heretic of the same house, was captured at the command of the inquisitors,<sup>32</sup> the said Bernard knew well that the same witness, then a heretic, was there.

Item, he said that when the same witness was living as a heretic at Roquefort, in the house of the said Peter Arimand, he heard Arnalda Arimand, the mother of the said Peter, saying that when William Prunel and Bernard Tilhol, his companion, heretics, came from Lombardy, and were near Roquefort, they sent a messenger to Arnalda Arimand, who told her that the aforesaid heretics, coming from Lombardy, wished to come there to rest, if it pleased her, and that she, then lying | in bed answered him that she was ill, and was not ready to receive them—and therefore they did not come there. About which she told the same witness that she was sorry that she had not received them.

24<sup>r</sup>

He also said that the said Arnalda told the same witness that afterwards the same heretics sent the aforesaid messenger to Petrona, the wife of John Brun of Durfort, and that she carried a meal to the said heretics above the stronghold of Durfort, to the place called Peyre Ficade,<sup>33</sup> in a certain area of broom shrubs—that is bread, and wine, and nuts; and that the said Petrona had told the same Arnalda this.

Item, he said that when he was a boy, he saw at Roquefort, in the house of William Arimand and Raymond, brothers, of Roquefort, Roger of Lasbordes in the Lauragais, and Villacilho, his companion, heretics, and two female heretics | who were called ‘The Rogers,’ sisters of the said

24<sup>v</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The ms. here has ‘et’ (and).

<sup>33</sup> Tarn, comm. Durfort, cant. Dourgne, arrond. Castres; *DTF*. It is a high point 1 km E of Durfort; IGN 2344 OT.

eis supradictos Guillelmum et Raymundum Arimandi, et Aladaiciam, uxorem dicti Guillelmi, et Arnalda, uxor dicti Raymundi Arimandi, Raymundum de Bacenx et Guillelmum de Bacenx de Bordis, fratres dictæ Aladaicis, qui tunc morabantur ibi simul cum dictis Arimandis, sororiis suis. Sed non vidit tunc eos adorantes. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quando Petrus Maurelli, nuntius hæreticorum<sup>1</sup> prædictus, duxit Bernardam Isarnam in Lombardiam, uxorem quondam Arnaldi Isarni de Sancto Martino de Landa, simul cum ipso teste, audi-  
 25<sup>r</sup> vit eum dicentem quod quidem clericus, filius dictæ Bernardæ, scive-  
 rat recessum dictæ matris suæ, et promiserat ei mittere necessa|ria; et  
 postea quod misit peccuniam dictæ matri<sup>2</sup> suæ, per dictum Petrum Mau-  
 relli.

Item dixit quod audivit dictum Petrum Maurelli dicentem quod Be-  
 rengeria, uxor Guillelmi Rotberti de Soricino, erat credens hæreticorum,  
 et volebat per eum mittere in Lombardiam in proximo sequenti redditu  
 suo Guiraldam filiam suam ad hæreticos, et quod promiserat eidem  
 nuntio dare decem libras Turonenses<sup>3</sup> pro ipsa ducenda.

Item dixit quod quando Grazida de Toellis<sup>4</sup> fuit capta per inquisitores,  
 Raymundus de Sancto Michaeli, filius eius, misit ipsum testem ad Ray-  
 mundum de Puteo de Soricino, augurem, ut respiceret auguria, et respon-  
 deret si dicta Grazida evaderet de manibus<sup>5</sup> inquisitoris.<sup>6</sup> Et dictus Ray-  
 25<sup>v</sup> mundus de Puteo respondit ipsi testi quod non evaderet; et | tunc ipse  
 testis dixit quod in malo statu erant omnes credentes et amici ecclesiæ  
 hæreticorum,<sup>7</sup> quia deinceps non poterant habere consilium bonorum  
 hominum, scilicet hæreticorum, et dictus augur<sup>8</sup> respondit ipsi<sup>9</sup> testi<sup>10</sup>  
 quod in ita malo sicut illi tendunt omnes ad diabolium.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ms* hæreticus.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* matris.

<sup>3</sup> *altered.*

<sup>4</sup> *-e- altered from -l-.*

<sup>5</sup> *-bus added.*

<sup>6</sup> *-is added.*

<sup>7</sup> *-rum added.*

<sup>8</sup> *space left for expansion of word.*

<sup>9</sup> *originally ipse.*

<sup>10</sup> *originally testis.*

<sup>11</sup> *ms* addiabolium.

Roger.<sup>34</sup> And he saw there with them the aforesaid William and Raymond Arimand, and Aladaicis, the wife of the said William, and Arnalda, the wife of the said Raymond Arimand, Raymond of Bassens<sup>35</sup> and William of Bassens<sup>36</sup> of Lasbordes, brothers of the said Aladaicis, who were then living there together with the said Arimands, their brothers-in-law. But he did not see them adoring then. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when Peter Maurel, the aforesaid messenger of the heretics, took Bernarda Isarn into Lombardy, the wife of the late Arnold Isarn of Saint-Martin-Lalande, together with the same witness, he heard him saying that a certain cleric, the son of the said Bernarda, had known of the departure of his said mother, and had promised to send her what she | needed; and afterwards that he sent money to his said mother, 25<sup>r</sup> through the said Peter Maurel.

Item, he said that he heard the said Peter Maurel saying that Berengaria, the wife of William Robert of Sorèze, was a believer of the heretics, and wished to send Guirauda, her daughter, into Lombardy by him, to the heretics, the next time he returned, and that she had promised the same messenger to give ten pounds Tournois for her to be taken.

Item, he said that when Grazida of Las Touzeilles was captured by the inquisitors, Raymond of Saint-Michel, her son, sent the same witness to Raymond of Pouts of Sorèze, augur, so that he could observe the auguries, and answer if the said Grazida would escape the hands of the inquisitors. And the said Raymond of Pouts answered the same witness that she would not escape; and | then the same witness said that all the believers 25<sup>v</sup> and friends of the church of the heretics were in a bad way, because henceforth they could not have the counsel of the good men, that is the heretics, and the said augur answered the same witness that in such a bad way that they are all going to the devil.

<sup>34</sup> Dias, Willelma and Petrona Rotgeira were seen living openly in the heretics' own houses in Lasbordes around 1215, and later they lived at Cremona in Lombardy. They refused to return from there around 1232; Toulouse 609, f. 115<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Questioned December 1 1245, Raymond admitted escorting the female 'Rogers' heretics to Saint-Martin-Lalande around 1235, but denied belief in heretics and adoration; Toulouse 609, f. 115<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Questioned on the same day, William denied belief or involvement, saying only that he had once driven the heretic Bernarda Brugueira off his land; Toulouse 609, f. 115<sup>v</sup>.



Audivit etiam dictum Raymundum de Sancto Michaelē dicentem quod prādictus Raymundus de Puteo erat credens hāreticorum, et respiciebat auguria pro credentibus hāreticorum.<sup>1</sup> Et sunt decem anni vel circa, sicut credit,<sup>2</sup> quod hoc fuit.

Item dixit quod Grazida de Toellis prādicta retulit ipsi testi quod Fabrissa, uxor Petri Pictavini, senioris, de Soricinio, mittebat frequenter hāreticis per ipsam Grazidam multa comestibilia, et quod maius bonum  
26<sup>r</sup> faciebat eis quam aliqua alia credens de par|tibus suis, et quod in quodam festo Natalis Domini misit eis de melle quod tunc habere non poterant aliunde.

Item dixit quod audivit Guillelmum de Balho de Saxiaco, qui habebat cabanam in montanis ad Golinam<sup>3</sup> Azinariam, dicentem quod ipse et<sup>4</sup> Guillelma uxor eius, quæ fuit de Calhavello, erant amici et credentes hāreticorum, et quod si boni homines—scilicet<sup>5</sup> hāretici—transirent per illa montana, possent venire secure ad dictam cabanam, et ibi quiescere uno vel duobus diebus.<sup>6</sup> Et sunt triginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod audivit Raymundum de Sancto Michaelē referentem quod Guillelmus de Corneliano, miles, de Toellis, fuerat hāreticatus apud Toellas in domo sua, in ægritudine<sup>7</sup> qua decessit, per Guillelmum<sup>8</sup>  
26<sup>v</sup> Rosselli, | Petrum de Lassus, Raymundum de Couizano, et Arnaldum de Couizano, hāreticos.

Dixit etiam quod audivit eum referentem quod circa idem tempus fuit hāreticatus in eadem domo per eosdem hāreticos Guillelmus Petri de Rocafera, miles exhæredatus de Carcasseo, in ægritudine<sup>9</sup> qua decessit.

<sup>1</sup> -rum added.

<sup>2</sup> -it written over longer deletion.

<sup>3</sup> G- written over deletion.

<sup>4</sup> ms testis.

<sup>5</sup> ms silicet.

<sup>6</sup> superscript.

<sup>7</sup> æ- perhaps altered from e-.

<sup>8</sup> -i- altered from -l-.

<sup>9</sup> æ- perhaps altered from e-.

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<sup>41</sup> According to Raymond Aifre, knight, questioned November 14 1143, his brother had been hereticated in William Peter of Roquefère's house around 1227. At this point in the Doat copy William Peter is described as Raymond Aifre's brother, but this seems to rest on a confusion between William Siguier and William Peter, both of Roquefère, who are clearly distinguished later in the deposition; D23, f. 82<sup>v</sup>.

He also heard the said Raymond of Saint-Michel saying that the aforesaid Raymond of Pouts was a believer of the heretics, and observed the auguries for believers of the heretics. And it was ten years ago or thereabouts, as he believes, that this took place.

Item, he said that the aforesaid Grazida of Las Touzeilles told the same witness that Fabrissa, the wife of Peter Pictavin, the elder, of Sorèze, often sent many provisions to the heretics by the same Grazida, and that she did more good for them than any other woman believer from her | parts, 26<sup>r</sup> and that one Christmas she sent them honey—which they could then not get from anywhere else.

Item, he said that he heard William of *Balho*<sup>37</sup> of Saissac, who had a hut in the mountains at *Golina Azinaria*,<sup>38</sup> saying that he and Guillelma his wife, who was from Cailhavel, were friends and believers of the heretics, and that if the good men—that is, the heretics—were passing by that mountain, they could come safely to the said hut, and rest there for a day or two. And this was thirty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he heard Raymond of Saint-Michel saying that William of Corneilhan, knight, of Las Touzeilles, was hereticated at Las Touzeilles in his house, in the illness of which he died, by William Rossel, | Peter of Lassus, Raymond of Couiza,<sup>39</sup> and Arnold of Couiza, 26<sup>v</sup> heretics.

He also said that he heard him saying that around the same time, William Peter of Roquefère<sup>40</sup> a disinherited knight of the Carcassès, was hereticated in the same house by the same heretics, in the illness of which he died.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Not identified.

<sup>38</sup> Not identified.

<sup>39</sup> William (Guillelmus Rosel) and Raymond of Couiza (Ramundus de Couizano), heretics, visited Stephana of Château-Verdun and her companion Arsenidis at Château-Verdun around 1245–1246; Cazenave, 'Ms 124', and n.s 2–3. The heretic Saurina Rigaud was staying with Raymond (of Couiza) and other heretics in the house of Peter Arnold of Fanjeaux around 1253; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 264.

<sup>40</sup> Aude, cant. Mas-Cabardès. arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1024.

Item dixit quod dum ipse testis erat puer, vidit apud Rocafort, in domo *Bernardi* Raffardi, patris ipsius testis, Guillelmum Vitalis, qui fuit de Beceta vel de Exilio, tenentem locum diachoni hæreticorum<sup>1</sup> Veteris Moresii, qui prædicavit ibi, et socium eius, de cuius nomine non recolit. Et vidit ibi cum eis prædictum<sup>2</sup> patrem ipsius testis, Raymundum Raffardi, fratrem ipsius testis, tunc similiter puerum, Pontium Mercaderii, Petrum Mercaderii, Raymundum Mercaderii, et cum eo Petrum Raymundum Mercaderii, filium eius, Ermengardim, uxorem dicti Raymundi, matrem dicti Petri Raymundi, Arnaldum de Dornhanello, iuvenem, Raymundum Arimandi, patrem Petri Arimandi, Pontium Clerici, patrem Iohannis, Raymundum Clerici, patrem Petri, Arnaldam Arimandam, matrem Petri Arimandi, Aladaicim Arnaldam, matrem Guillelmi Mercatoris, Ermengardim, uxorem Pontii Mercaderii; et ibi ipse testis et omnes alii, ipso teste vidente, adorarunt<sup>3</sup> dictos hæreticos, et audierunt<sup>4</sup> prædicationem eorum. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Dixit etiam quod prædictos hæreticos adduxit ibi Durandus de Taxeriis, filius Michaelis de Taxeriis de Duroforti, in cuius domo prædicaverant die præcedente, sicut audivit dici. Et prædictus Durandus erat tunc | iuvenis. Et erat vespere<sup>5</sup> quando venerunt.

Item dixit quod postea audivit ipse testis Guillelmum Raseire de Soricino colloquentem cum Bernardo Raffardi, patre ipsius testis, de prædicto Guillelmo Vitalis, hæretico, quem valde comendabant quod bene visitabat, et bene prædicabat, et bene exequabatur officium sibi commissum. Et refferebat dictus Guillelmus Raseire quod alia die, quando recessit de domo Bernardi Raffardi, patris ipsius testis, dictus hæreticus venerat Soricinum in domum Petri Raymundi de Drulia, ubi similiter prædicaverat, et quod illi prædicationi interfuerat ipse Guillelmus Raseire, et quod viderat ibi dictum Petrum Raymundi, et Orpaiss, uxor eius, et Raymundum Sicredi, filium eorum, Raymundum Baussani, patrem | Arque|rii, Bernardum Medici, patrem istius qui nunc est, Petrum Pictavini, Arnaldum Piscatoris, sororium eius de Soricino, Petrum Carpini, et

<sup>1</sup> -rum or -orum added.

<sup>2</sup> -m altered from -n.

<sup>3</sup> -runt added.

<sup>4</sup> -runt or erunt added.

<sup>5</sup> -e altered, perhaps from -æ.

Item, he said that while the same witness was a boy, he saw at Roquefort, in the house of Bernard Raffard, the same witness's father, William Vital,<sup>42</sup> who was from Labécède or from Issel, the lieutenant of the deacon of the heretics of Vielmorès, who preached there, and his companion, whose name he does not recall. And he saw there with them the same witness's aforesaid father, Raymond Raffard, the same witness's brother, then likewise a boy, Pons Mercadier, Peter Mercadier, Raymond Mercadier, | 27<sup>r</sup> and with him Peter Raymond Mercadier, his son, Ermengardis, the wife of the said Raymond, the mother of the said Peter Raymond, Arnold of Dourgne, a youth, Raymond Arimand, the father of Peter Arimand, Pons Clerc, the father of John, Raymond Clerc, the father of Peter, Arnalda Arimand, the mother of Peter Arimand, Aladaicis Arnalda, the mother of William Mercadier, Ermengardis, the wife of Pons Mercadier; and there the same witness and all the others, in the sight of same witness, adored the said heretics, and heard their preaching. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

He also said that Durand of Teyssières<sup>43</sup> brought the aforesaid heretics there, the son of Michael of Teyssières of Durfort, in whose house they had preached on the previous day, as he heard said. And the aforesaid Durand was then | a youth. And it was the evening when they came. 27<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that afterwards the same witness heard William Raseire (*or* William, barber) of Sorèze speaking with Bernard Raffard, the same witness's father, about the aforesaid William Vital, heretic, whom he strongly commended that he had made a good visit, and had preached well, and had performed the office entrusted to him well. And the said William Raseire said that on another day, when he returned from the house of Bernard Raffard, the same witness's father, the said heretic had come to Sorèze, to the house of Peter Raymond of Dreuilhe, where he had likewise preached, and that the same William Raseire had been present at that preaching, and that he had seen there the said Peter Raymond, and Orpaissa, his wife, and Raymond Sicre, their son, Raymond Baussan, the father of Arquier, | Bernard Médecin (*or* Bernard, doctor), the father of the present one, Peter Pictavin, Arnold Pêcheur (*or* Arnold, fisherman), his brother-in-law from Sorèze, Peter Carpin, and 28<sup>r</sup>

<sup>42</sup> William Vital, heretic from 1220, interim deacon of Vielmur in 1228, deacon of Labécède 1237–1240. Captured by the abbot of Saint-Papoul in 1241. The evidence about him is listed by Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 53, n. 15.

<sup>43</sup> Tarn, comm. Lagardiolle, cant. Dourgne, arrond. Castres; DTF.

Stephanum Carpini de Duroforti. Et dicebat dictus Guillelmus Raseire quod valde displicuerat dicto Petro Raymundi, domino domus, quia dictum Guillelmum Raseire vidit, et monuit<sup>1</sup> eum quod teneret secretum. Dicebat etiam dictus Guillelmus Raseire quod multi alli de melioribus<sup>2</sup> Soricini *interfuerunt* dictæ prædicationi.

Item dixit quod quando ipse testis manebat absconditus, ut supradictum est, et hæreticus vestitus, in cellario prædicti Raymundi Raffardi, fratris sui, apud Rocafort, prædictus Raymundus apportavit sibi unam carteriam de nucibus, [dicens] ei quod dictas nuces mittebat sibi domina<sup>3</sup>  
 28<sup>v</sup> Ma|thelio, uxor Iordani de Ruppelforti, quæ tunc morabatur apud Causacum.

Item dixit quod Guillelma Arimanda de Causaco apportavit ei unam cannam et duos palmos de blanqueto, dicens ei quod dicta domina Mathelio mittebat ipsi testi prædictum pannum pro tunica facienda. Et hoc scivit Raymundus Raffardi, frater ipsius testis. Et sunt quinque anni vel circa.

Postea correxit se, dicens quod non Guillelma Arimanda, sed Raymundus Raffardi, frater ipsius testis, apportavit ei<sup>4</sup> dictum pannum, et dixit eidem testi quod dicta domina Mathelio mittebat<sup>5</sup> sibi pro tunica facienda.

Item dixit quod dicta domina<sup>6</sup> Mathelio et domina Poma, uxor quondam  
 29<sup>r</sup> Guillemi de Moismoreno, voluerunt ire in | Lombardiam ad hæreticos, et dimittere viros suos. Et spectabant redditum Petri Maurelli,<sup>7</sup> nuncii hæreticorum, de Lombardia, qui promiserat eis quod produceret eas illuc—sicut retulit ipsi<sup>8</sup> testi Guillelma Fabrissa de Mota.

<sup>1</sup> letter, possibly a-, deleted at beginning of word.

<sup>2</sup> altered from mulieribus.

<sup>3</sup> letter perhaps deleted.

<sup>4</sup> ms et.

<sup>5</sup> deletion, possibly eum.

<sup>6</sup> written domi/mina, over end of line.

<sup>7</sup> M- altered.

<sup>8</sup> -i altered.

<sup>45</sup> Cane or rod, a linear measure of cloth, given as 8 palms by *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources: C* (London, 1981), p. 259, 'Canna: 4'. See above, 224<sup>v</sup> and n. 31.

<sup>46</sup> Not identified. 3 km from Sorèze is Montmoure, comm. Saint-Amance, cant. Dourgne, arrond. Castres; DTF.

Stephen Carpin of Durfort. And the said William Raseire said that it had greatly displeased the said Peter Raymond, the master of the house, because he saw the said William Raseire, and warned him to keep it secret. The said William Raseire also said that many others of the better people of Sorèze were present at the said preaching.

Item, he said that when the same witness was living in hiding, as has been said above, and as a robed heretic, in the cellar of the aforesaid Raymond Raffard, his brother, at Roquefort, the aforesaid Raymond brought him a quarter of nuts, telling him that lady Mathelio, | the wife of Jordan of Roquefort,<sup>44</sup> who was then living at Cahuzac, sent the said nuts to him. 28<sup>v</sup>

Item, he said that Guillelma Arimand of Cahuzac brought him a *canna*<sup>45</sup> and two palms of blanket, telling him that the said lady Mathelio sent the same witness the aforesaid cloth to make a tunic. And Raymond Raffard, the same witness's brother, knew this. And this was five years ago or thereabouts.

Afterwards he corrected himself, saying that it was not Guillelma Arimand, but Raymond Raffard, the same witness's brother, who brought him the said cloth, and told the same witness that the said lady Mathelio sent it to him to make a tunic.

Item, he said that the said lady Mathelio and lady Poma, the wife of the late William of *Moismoreno*,<sup>46</sup> wished to go into | Lombardy to the heretics, and to leave their husbands. And they were waiting for the return of Peter Maurel, messenger of the heretics, from Lombardy, who had promised them that he would take them there—as Guillelma Faure of Lamothe told the same witness. 29<sup>r</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Alongside his brother Aimery, Jordan of Roquefort was among the nobles of the *bailie* of Saint-Félix who took an oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 8–9 and December 20–24 1271, *Saisimentum*, pp. 95, 21. Married to Mathelio, Jordan is to be distinguished from his father of the same name, married to Beatrix and mentioned 30<sup>r</sup> below. Giving witness in 1288, Bernard Benedict of Villardonnell (Aude, cant. Mas-Cabardès, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 110), claimed to have seen Jordan being hereticated during the illness from which he died at his house in Cahuzac, in the presence of his wife Mathebueu (sic), Jordan of Saissac and others. He could not remember the date; D26, f. 305<sup>r</sup>–306<sup>r</sup>.

Item dixit quod Richardis, uxor Raymundi Raffardi, retulit ipsi testi quod fuerat loquta cum Emengarda Fabrissa—correx[it] quod vocabatur Iordana—sorore Pontii Fabri de Mota, apud Soricinum in foro, de Guillelmo Prunelli, hæretico, inveni[en]do, pro eo quod ipse testis, qui venerat de Lombardia, hæreticus, volebat videre dictum Guillelmum Prunelli; et dicta Ermengardis responderat dictæ Ricardi quod interrogaret super hoc generum suum, de quo credebat quod sciret ubi erat. Et audivit dicentem dictam Ricardim quod prædicta Ermengardis et dictus gener  
 29<sup>v</sup> eius, | qui erat Gallicus, erant amici et credentes, et sciebant multum de facto hæreticorum terræ Podiis Laurentiis. Et morabantur dicta Ermen-gardis et gener eius in quodam manso inter Empeutum et Podium Lau-rentium. Et sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod audivit Guillelmum Prunelli, hæreticum, in Lombard[ia], dicentem ipsi testi quod Adam avunculus eius, et Cabanesius et Petrus de Ripparia, de Sancto Paulo, erant credentes et amici hæretico-rum. Et sunt quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod Bernardus Ricardi et Arnaldus Ricardi de Milsegle, sunt amici et credentes hæreticorum. Et credit quod aliquis ex istis,<sup>1</sup> vel Arnaldus, filius dicti Petri de Ripparia, sciant ubi est Guillelmus Prunelli, hæreticus, si est in partibus istis.

Item dixit quod supradictus Guillelmus Vitalis, et socius eius, præ-  
 30<sup>r</sup> di|caverunt alia vice apud Rocafort, in domo supradicti Bernardi Raf-fardi, patris ipsius testis. Et interfuerunt dictæ prædicationi<sup>2</sup> omnes mili-tes et dominæ de Veteris Moresio, quia tunc morabantur ibi, de man-dato domini Iordani de Ruppeforti, ratione castlanie: scilicet idem domi-nus Iordanus, domina Beatrix, uxor eius, Arnaldus Raymundi de Duro-forti, miles, et Maurinus baiulus eius, qui modo moratur apud Sorici-num, Guillelmus de Corneliano, miles, domina Bernarda de Camiss, uxor eius, Raymundus de Baure, miles, domina Raymunda, uxor eius de Drulia, Petrus de Drulia, Quererius de Romenx et uxor eius, Petrus

<sup>1</sup> *ms* existis.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* prædicationis.

<sup>50</sup> Possibly Raymond Peter of Dreuilhe; see 27<sup>n</sup> above.

Item, he said that Richardis, the wife of Raymond Raffard, told the same witness that she had spoken with Ermengardis Faure—he corrected himself that she was called Jordana—the sister of Pons Faure of Lamothe, at Sorèze in the market, about finding William Prunel, heretic, because the same witness, who had come from Lombardy a heretic, wished to see the said William Prunel; and the said Ermengardis had answered the said Richardis that she would ask her son-in-law about this, whom she believed knew where he was. And he heard the said Richardis saying that the aforesaid Ermengardis and her said son-in-law, | who was French, 29<sup>v</sup> were friends and believers, and knew a lot about the matter of the heretics of the land at Puylaurens. And the said Ermengardis and her son-in-law lived in a certain *mas* between Lempaut and Puylaurens. And this was four years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he heard William Prunel, heretic, in Lombardy, telling the same witness that Adam his uncle, and Cabanès and Peter of La Rivière,<sup>47</sup> of Saint-Paul, were believers and friends of the heretics. And this was five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that Bernard Richard and Arnold Richard of Missècle, are friends and believers of the heretics. And he believes that one of these, or Arnold, the son of the said Peter La Rivière, knows where William Prunel, heretic, is, if he is in these parts.

Item, he said that the aforesaid William Vital, and his companion, | 30<sup>r</sup> once preached at Roquefort, in the house of the aforesaid Bernard Raffard, the same witness's father. And there were present at the said preaching all the knights and ladies of Vielmorès, who were then living there, at the command of lord Jordan of Roquefort,<sup>48</sup> by reason of his office of castellan: that is the same lord Jordan, lady Beatrix, his wife,<sup>49</sup> Arnold Raymond of Durfort, knight, and Maurin his *bailli*, who now lives at Sorèze, William of Corneilhan, knight, lady Bernarda of Camis, his wife, Raymond of Vaure, knight, lady Raymonda, his wife, from Dreuilhe, Peter of Dreuilhe,<sup>50</sup> Querier of Roumens and his wife, Peter of

<sup>47</sup> Tarn, comm. and cant. Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castres. It is 1 km from Saint-Paul; *DTF*.

<sup>48</sup> This is the older Jordan of Roquefort, father of the Jordan mentioned above.

<sup>49</sup> Convicted of heresy, she was sentenced to life imprisonment by Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre, September 29 1247; Douais, *Documents*, pp. 58–60.



de Corneliano, domina Baia del Falgar de Saxiaco, Raymundus de Rocovilla, gener eius, Bernardus Raymundi de Sancto Martino Veteri, miles,  
 30<sup>v</sup> domina Auda, soror eius, Guiraudus Terrerii, senex, | de Soricino et Iohannes Bruni, gener eius de Duroforti, qui adduxerunt ibi dictos hæreticos, et Bernarda Bosca de Verduno, tunc ancilla et concubina patris ipsius testis, quæ modo est uxor Perrini Burgundi, et moratur apud Sanctum Paulum. Et omnes prædicti, excepto ipso teste, qui erat puer, adaverunt<sup>1</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos, ipso teste vidente, et audiverunt<sup>2</sup> prædicationem eorum. Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod ad instantiam Aladaicis dels Estreitz de Duroforti,<sup>3</sup> ipse testis quæsivit Guillelmum Prunelli et Bonetum de Sanctis, hæreticos, apud Palatzvillam, et recepit eos ibi a Raymundo de Sancto Michael de Toellis et Iohanne de Bugairol de Palatzvilla quadam nocte. Et duxit  
 31<sup>r</sup> eos ad Durumfortem, ad domum prædictæ Aladaicis, quæ valde le|tanter<sup>4</sup> recepit eos. Et erat<sup>5</sup> tunc cum ea Guillelma Bascola, neptis dictæ Aladaicis. Et steterunt ibi dicti hæretici duobus diebus. Et postea ipse testis audivit referentem dictam Aladaicim quod Berengeria, uxor Guillelmi Rotberti, Arnauda de Basaucela, Petrona Bauraria, Senglara vel Auda, Guillelmus Spes, et alii credentes de Soricino, visitaverunt ibi dictos hæreticos. Et sunt quindecim anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod ipse testis et Bernardus Cererii eduxerunt dictos hæreticos de domo prædictæ Aladaicis, et introduxerunt eos in domum Petri Arimandi de Ruppeforti. Ibi manserunt octo diebus vel circa.

Item dixit quod ipse testis et Bernardus Cererii eduxerunt dictos hæreticos de domo Petri Arimandi et duxerunt eos de mane ad domum Boneti Fabri de Contrasto, consanguinei dicti Bernardi Cererii; ubi invenerunt<sup>6</sup>  
 31<sup>v</sup> dictum Bonetum et uxor eius, de | cuius nomine non recolit, qui receperunt et tenuerunt eos ibi octo diebus vel circa. Sed non vidit eos adorantes.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -verunt added.

<sup>2</sup> ms audiente.

<sup>3</sup> -s deleted.

<sup>4</sup> -er added.

<sup>5</sup> ms erant.

<sup>6</sup> ms in venerunt.

<sup>7</sup> -ntes added.

Corneilhan, lady Baia of Falgar<sup>51</sup> of Saissac, Raymond of Roqueville, her son-in-law, Bernard Raymond of Saint-Martin-le-Vieil,<sup>52</sup> knight, lady Auda, his sister, Guiraud Terrier, an old man, | from Sorèze, and John 30<sup>v</sup> Brun, his son-in-law from Durfort, who had brought the said heretics there, and Bernarda Bosc of Verdun, then the maidservant and concubine of the same witness's father, who is now the wife of Perrin Bergonho, and lives at Saint-Paul. And all the aforesaid, except for the same witness, who was a boy, adored the said heretics there, in the sight of the same witness, and heard their preaching.<sup>53</sup> And this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that, at the request of Aladaicis of the Estreits of Durfort, the same witness searched for William Prunel and Bonet of Saintes, heretics, at Palleville, and he received them there from Raymond of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles and John of Bugarel of Palleville one night. And he led them to Durfort, to the house of the aforesaid Aladaicis, who | 31<sup>r</sup> received them very happily. And at that time Guillelma Bascol, the niece of the said Aladaicis, was with her. And the said heretics stayed there for two days. And afterwards the same witness heard the said Aladaicis saying that Berengaria, the wife of William Robert, Arnalda of Bauzelle, Petrona Baur, Senglara or Auda, William Spes, and other believers from Sorèze, visited the said heretics there. And this was fifteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the same witness and Bernard Cerier brought the said heretics out of the house of the aforesaid Aladaicis, and brought them into the house of Peter Arimand of Roquefort. They stayed there for eight days or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the same witness and Bernard Cerier brought the said heretics out of the house of Peter Arimand and took them one morning to the house of Bonet Faure (*or* Bonet, smith) of Contrast, a kinsman of the said Bernard Cerier; where they found the said Bonet and his wife, | whose name he does not recall, who received and kept them 31<sup>v</sup> there for eight days or thereabouts. But he did not see them adoring.

<sup>51</sup> Falgar: traditional form of name of a noble family originating from Fauga, Haute-Garonne, cant. Muret, ch.-lieu arrond.; *Saisimentum*, p. 388.

<sup>52</sup> Aude, cant. Alzonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1043.

<sup>53</sup> The text actually says 'with the same witness seeing, and hearing their preaching.' But as the witness would not have been the only one to hear the preaching, this seems likely to be incorrect.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> si in domo Petri Arimandi vidit ipse testis aliquem cum dictis hæreticis, dixit quod vidit ibi cum eis Arnaldam Arimandam, matrem dicti *Petri* Arimandi, et Bernardum Cererii de Ruppelforti; audiuit etiam dictos hæreticos dicentes quod dictus *Petrus* Arimandi vidit et scivit eos ibi esse—sed non erant contenti facto suo, sicut videbatur ex verbis eorum.

Item dixit quod ipse testis audivit Fabrissam, uxorem Petri Raymundi Mercatoris refferentem quod ipsa dederat<sup>2</sup> Guillelmo Garriga de Drulia duodecim denarios Tholosanos ut daret eos Petro Maurelli, nuntio hæreticorum, portandos hæreticis in Lombardiam.

32<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod Pontius Du|randi de Saxiaco est credens hæreticorum. Et ipse testis cum venisset de Lombardia, hæreticus vestitus, mandavit dicto Pontio per Raymundum Raffardi, fratrem suum, quod veniret loquutus cum ipso teste; sed non venit.

Dixit etiam quod hæretici rogaverant ipsum testem in Lombardia<sup>3</sup> quod procuraret ut dictus Pontius et frater eius venirent ad hæreticos cum bonis suis.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone, priore Fratrum Prædicatorum Tholosæ. Testes: frater Pontius de Parnaco, frater *Petrus* Vasconis, frater Iacobus de Cunno Faverio, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, decimo quinto kalendas Septembris, prædictus testis 32<sup>v</sup> adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod apud Toellas, in | domo Grazidæ,<sup>4</sup> vidit Guillelmum Prunelli, Petrum de Lassus, Raymundum Vitalis de Sanctis, hæreticos, et cum eis ipsam Grazidam, et Raymundum de Sancto Michaeli, filium eius, et Iohannem de Bagairai,<sup>5</sup> generum dictæ Grazidæ. Et ibi ipse testis, et omnes alii propedicti, adoraverunt<sup>6</sup> dictos hæreticos, et audiverunt<sup>7</sup> prædicationem eorum. Et sunt quatuor<sup>8</sup> anni vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> -tus *perhaps added*.

<sup>2</sup> *altered*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms Lombardiam*.

<sup>4</sup> *ms Grazide*.

<sup>5</sup> *first -a- altered from -r-*.

<sup>6</sup> -verunt *added*.

<sup>7</sup> -verunt *added, possibly over deletion*.

<sup>8</sup> -uor *perhaps added*.

Asked if the same witness saw anyone with the said heretics in the house of Peter Arimand, he said that he saw there with them Arnalda Arimand, the mother of the said Peter Arimand, and Bernard Cerier of Roquefort; he also heard the said heretics saying that the said Peter Arimand saw and knew that they were there—but they were not happy with what he had done, as appeared from their words.

Item, he said that the same witness heard Fabrissa, the wife of Peter Raymond Mercadier saying that she had given William Garrigue of Dreuilhe twelve Toulouse pence to give to Peter Maurel, messenger of the heretics, to carry to the heretics in Lombardy.

Item, he said that Pons | Durand of Saissac is a believer of the heretics. 32<sup>r</sup>  
And the same witness, when he had come from Lombardy, a robed heretic, ordered the said Pons, through Raymond Raffard, his brother, to come to speak with the same witness; but he did not come.

He also said that the heretics asked the same witness in Lombardy to arrange for the said Pons and his brother to come to the heretics with their goods.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse. Witnesses: brother Pons of Parnac, brother Peter Vascon, brother James of *Cunno Faverio*,<sup>54</sup> and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, fifteen days before the kalends of September,<sup>55</sup> the aforesaid witness added to his confession, saying that at Las Touzeilles, in | Grazida's house, he saw William Prunel, Peter of Lassus, 32<sup>v</sup>  
Raymond Vital of Saintes, heretics, and with them the same Grazida, and Raymond of Saint-Michel, her son, and John of *Bagairai*,<sup>56</sup> the said Grazida's son-in-law. And there the same witness, and all the others aforesaid, adored the said heretics, and heard their preaching. And this was four years ago or thereabouts.

<sup>54</sup> Not found in ACP.

<sup>55</sup> August 18 [1278].

<sup>56</sup> Bugarel.

Item dixit quod quando ipse testis voluit ire in Lombardiam ad hæreticos, significavit hoc dominæ Marquesiæ, uxori quondam Aymerici de Ruppe Forti, apud Soricinum in camera<sup>1</sup> Saniciani, baiuli sui, ubi ipse testis venit ad eam. Et erat ibi cum ea domina Mathelio, uxor quondam Iordani de Ruppeforti. Et tunc ipse [tes]tis<sup>2</sup> ammonuit prædictam dominam Marquesiam quod mitteret aliquam summam peccuniæ ecclesiæ hæreticorum in Lombardiam, vel | Guirauda Unaudi, avunculo suo, hæretico. Et dicta domina Marquesia interrogavit ipsum testem quisnam<sup>3</sup> dedit<sup>4</sup> illam peccuniam: qui respondit ei quod nuntius ecclesiæ, scilicet Petri Maurelli. Et ipsi dixit quod non habebat paratum. Et tunc ipse testis redarguit eam, dicens quod bene haberet paratum pro Guillelmo Unaudi, filio suo, si vellet facere aliquam vanitatem, et non habebat aliquid pro ecclesia Dei. Et ipsa cepit redire. Et hæc omnia audivit dicta domina Mathelio, quæ dixit ipsi testi quod melius erat fortunatus ipse testis, qui erat pauper homo, quam ipsæ<sup>5</sup> dominæ,<sup>6</sup> quæ divites erant. Et hoc dixit, sicut ipse testis credit, quia paraverat se ad eundum in Lombardiam. Et sunt decem anni vel circa.

33<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod cum ipse testis rediisset de Lombardia, hæreticus vestitus, audivit Iohannem Clerici refe|rentem sibi quod Petrona, uxor Iohannis Bruni, accesserat ad dictam dominam Marquesiam et significaverat ei quod boni homines, scilicet hæretici, venerant in montana circa Ruppem Fortem. Et interrogavit eam si vellet eos videre, et quod dicta domina quæsivit quot<sup>7</sup> erant. Et ipsa respondit quod unus solus ad unam partem. Et dicta domina respondit quod si hoc esset, libentius videret illum solum. Et sunt quatuor anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum ipse testis, hæreticus, maneret apud Ruppemfortem, in domo Petri Arimandi ut superius dictum est, Arnalda, mater ipsius Petri, procurabat quod ipse testis hæreticaret Ermengardim, matrem Petri Raymundi Mercaderii, tunc infirmam quadam ægritudine,<sup>8</sup> de qua convaluit. Et audivit dictam Arnaldam referentem ipsi testi quod

<sup>1</sup> *ms camerara; -ra added.*

<sup>2</sup> *first three letters, at end of line, omitted.*

<sup>3</sup> *-nam added.*

<sup>4</sup> *added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-æ altered from -e.*

<sup>6</sup> *-æ altered from -e.*

<sup>7</sup> *ms quod.*

<sup>8</sup> *æ- perhaps altered from e-.*

Item, he said that when the same witness wished to go into Lombardy to the heretics, he informed lady Marquesia, the wife of the late Aimery of Roquefort, of this, at Sorèze in the chamber of Sanician, her *bailli*, where the same witness came to her. And there with her was lady Mathelio, the wife of the late Jordan of Roquefort. And then the same witness instructed the aforesaid lady Marquesia to send some sum of money to the church of the heretics in Lombardy, or | to Gerald Unaud, her uncle, 33<sup>r</sup> heretic. And the said lady Marquesia asked the same witness who gave that money: and he answered her that the messenger of the church, that is Peter Maurel. And she told him that she did not have it ready. And then the same witness reproved her, saying that she would certainly have it prepared for William Unaud, her son, if he wanted it for some folly, and she had nothing for the church of God. And she began to change her mind. And the said lady Mathelio heard all these things, and told the same witness that the same witness, who was a poor man, was more fortunate than the same ladies, who were rich. And she said this, as the same witness believes, because he had prepared himself to go into Lombardy. And this was ten years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when the same witness had returned from Lombardy, a robed heretic, he heard John Clerc | telling him that Petrona, the 33<sup>v</sup> wife of John Brun, had gone to the said lady Marquesia and informed her that the good men, that is the heretics, had come into the mountain around Roquefort. And she asked her if she wished to see them, and the said lady asked how many they were. And she replied only one in one place. And the said lady replied that if this was so, she would gladly see him only. And this was four years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when the same witness, a heretic, was living at Roquefort, in the house of Peter Arimand, as has been said above, Arnalda, the mother of the same Peter, arranged for the same witness to hereticate Ermengardis, the mother of Peter Raymond Mercadier, who was then sick with a certain illness, from which she recovered. And he heard the said Arnalda telling the same witness that the said sick woman

34<sup>r</sup> dicta infirma consenciebat in hoc; sed Petrus Raymun|di, filius eius, et Fabrisa uxor ipsius, nolebant sustinere dictam hæreticationem. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod quando ipse testis iuit in Lombardiam ad hæreticos cum prædicto Petro Maurelli, nuntio hæreticorum, Bernardus del Cirer de Ruppeforti iuit cum eis cum eodem præposito, sicut dicebat, usque ad Montem Pessullanum; et ibi mutavit præpositum, audito quod hæretici similiter patiebantur scandalum et persecutionem in Lombardia sicut in terra ista. Et ideo dictus *Bernardus* non iuit ulterius, sed rediit ad domum suam.

Item dixit quod quando ipse testis erat puer, portavit, de mandato patris sui, pisces et fructus Rogerio et Villacilho apud Rocafort ad domum Guillelmi Arimandi et Aladaicis uxoris eius; quos invenit ibi comedentes, et cum eis etiam Raymundum de Batenx et Guil|lelmum de Batenx de Bordis, fratres dictæ Aladaicis, qui tunc temporis simul cum eis in dicta domo morabantur. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quando Guillelmus, gerens vices diaconi hæreticorum Veteris Moresii, prædicavit prima vice in domo Bernardi Raffardi, patris ipsius testis, ut superius dictum est, interfuerunt dictæ prædicationi, et adoraverunt<sup>1</sup> ipsos hæreticos, ipso teste vidente, Sicardus Arlandi et Raymundus Stephani, nepos eius, de Ruppeforti.

Item dixit quod Raymunda Arlanda, uxor quondam Pontii Arlandi, fabri de Rocafort, quæ modo moratur apud Becetam, visitavit bis vel ter Alamandam et Beldonam et Raymundam Auteriam, hæreticas, manentes tunc in domo Bernardi<sup>2</sup> Raffardi, pater ipsius testis. Et apportavit eis 35<sup>r</sup> fructus, et adol|rav<sup>3</sup> eas, ipso teste vidente. Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod ipse testis, olim hæreticus, mansit apud Papiam in Lombardia, in hospitio Raymundi de Caramanno qui fuerat hæreticus, et ad huc erat credens hæreticorum. Et viderunt ibi pluries ipsum testem, hæreticum, idem Raymundus de Caramanno, et Raymunda uxor eius, et Bernardus Fissa de Caramanno, et<sup>4</sup> Antigonía quæ fuit de Auriagesio. Et omnes prædicti adoraverunt<sup>5</sup> ibi ipsum testem, tunc hæreticum.

<sup>1</sup> -verunt *added*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms de*.

<sup>3</sup> -vit *added*; catchword on 34<sup>v</sup> has only -ra.

<sup>4</sup> *ms et et*; *superfluous, or perhaps abbreviated etiam*.

<sup>5</sup> -verunt *added*.

consented to this; but Peter Raymond, | her son, and Fabrisa his wife, 34<sup>r</sup>  
would not hear of the said heretication. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that when the same witness went into Lombardy to the heretics with the aforesaid Peter Maurel, messenger of the heretics, Bernard del Cirer of Roquefort went with them with the same intention, as he said, as far as Montpellier; and there he changed his plan, having heard that the heretics suffered similar shame and persecution in Lombardy as in this land. And therefore the said Bernard did not go further, but returned to his house.

Item, he said that when the same witness was a boy, he carried, at the command of his father, fish and fruit to Roger and Villacilho at Roquefort, at the house of William Arimand and Aladaicis his wife; and he found them there eating, and with them also Raymond of Bassens and | William of Bassens of Lasbordes, brothers of the said Aladaicis, 34<sup>v</sup>  
who at that time lived with them in the said house. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when William, acting in place of the deacon of the heretics of Vielmorès, preached for the first time in the house of Bernard Raffard, the same witness's father, as has been said above, Sicard Arland and Raymond Stephen, his nephew, of Roquefort, were present at the said preaching and adored the same heretics, in the sight of the same witness.

Item, he said that Raymonda Arland, the wife of the late Pons Arland Faure (*or* Pons Arland, smith), of Roquefort, who now lives at Labécède, two or three times visited Alamanda and Beldona and Raymonda Autier, heretics, then living in the house of Bernard Raffard, the same witness's father. And she brought them fruit, and | adored them, in the sight of the 35<sup>r</sup>  
same witness. And this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the same witness, once when he was a heretic, lived at Pavia in Lombardy, in the lodging of Raymond of Caraman, who had been a heretic, and was still a believer of the heretics. And the same Raymond of Caraman, and Raymonda his wife, and Bernard Fissa of Caraman, and Antigone who was from the Auriacais region, often saw the same witness, a heretic, there. And all the aforesaid adored the same witness, then a heretic, there.



Dixit etiam quod audivit tunc dictum *Bernardum* Fissam referentem ipsi testi quod ipse *Bernardus* fuerat hæreticus vestitus, et quod non potuit sustinere abstinentiam hæreticorum, sed dimisit Raymundum Vitalis, socium suum, hæreticum,<sup>1</sup> et rediit versus Caramannum  
 35<sup>v</sup> ad uxorem<sup>2</sup> et fratres suos, qui valde redarguerunt eum,<sup>3</sup> et | male receperunt, in tantum quod coegerunt eum recedere et ire in Lombardiam. Et promiserunt sibi mittere, sicut dicebat, tres marchas<sup>4</sup> argenti, et non miserant<sup>5</sup> sibi nisi unam, quam portavit sibi Petrus Maurelli, sicut idem *Bernardus* refferebat.

Dixit etiam ipse testis se firmiter credere quod dictus *Bernardus* Fissa personaliter rediit ad Caramannum et ad fratres suos post modum pro dicta peccunia habenda, et prius recessit de Lombardia quod ipse testis.

Dixit insuper<sup>6</sup> quod præfata Antigonía<sup>7</sup> obiit in Papia ab hæreticis consolata. Et sunt quinque vel sex anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod prædicta Raymunda Arlanda, quæ moratur apud Becetam, retulit ipsi testi quod Arnalda Arimanda de Ruppeforti ostenderat ei bonos homines, scilicet Guillelmum Prunelli et Bonetum de  
 36<sup>r</sup> Sanctis, hæreticos, quando dicta Arnalda habebat | eos in domo sua, ut supradictum est, sed ipsa non nominavit<sup>8</sup> eos ipsi testi.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, priore Fratrum Prædicatorum Tholosæ. Testes: frater Pontius de Parnaco, frater *Petrus* Vasconis, frater Iacobus de Cunno Faberio, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, secundo kalendas Septembris, prædictus testis adiecit testimonio suo, dicens quod ipse testis quadam vice duxit Grazindam de Toellis, quærentem lanam pro faciendo lodice ad opus hæreticorum, ad mulieres credentes eorum—vel quas<sup>9</sup> suspicabantur esse tales, et primo ad Raymundam Arlandam, quæ tunc morabatur in quodam manso extra castrum de Ruppeforti. Et dicta Raymunda [dedit] de  
 36<sup>v</sup> lana sua prædictæ Gra|zidæ, ipso teste vidente. Deinde duxit eam ad

<sup>1</sup> -um *added*.

<sup>2</sup> ad *deleted*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* cum.

<sup>4</sup> -has *added*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* miserat.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* in super.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* Antigoina.

<sup>8</sup> -vit *altered*.

<sup>9</sup> *originally* aliquas.

He also said that at that time he heard the said Bernard Fissa telling the same witness that the same Bernard had been a robed heretic, and that he could not bear the abstinence of the heretics, but left Raymond Vital, his companion, heretic, and returned to Caraman to his wife and brothers, who strongly rebuked him and | received him badly, so much so that they 35<sup>v</sup> forced him to go away and go into Lombardy. And they promised to send him, as he said, three silver marks, and they only sent him one, which Peter Maurel brought him, as the same Bernard said.

The same witness also said that he firmly believes that the said Bernard Fissa afterwards returned in person to Caraman and to his brothers to have the said money, and left Lombardy before the same witness.

He said moreover that the aforementioned Antigone died in Pavia consoled by the heretics. And this was five or six years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the aforesaid Raymonda Arlanda, who lives at Labécède, told the same witness that Arnalda Arimand of Roquefort had shown her the good men, that is William Prunel and Bonet of Saintes, heretics, when the said Arnalda had | them in her house, as has been said 36<sup>r</sup> above, but she did not name them to the same witness.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse. Witnesses: brother Pons of Parnac, brother Peter Vascon, brother James of *Cunno Faureio*, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, two days before the kalends of September,<sup>57</sup> the aforesaid witness added to his testimony, saying that the same witness once took Grazida of Las Touzeilles, looking for wool to make a blanket for the use of the heretics, to women who were their believers—or who were suspected of being such, and first to Raymonda Arland, who was then living in a certain *mas* outside the stronghold of Roquefort. And the said Raymonda gave some of her wool to the aforesaid | Grazida, in 36<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> August 31 [1278].

Fabrissam, uxorem Petri Raymundi Mercatoris, de Ruppe Forti, quæ similiter dedit de lana sua prædictæ Grazindæ, præsentibus ipso teste et dicta Raymunda Arlanda vel Arnalda Arimanda, quæ induxit Fabrissam ad dandum, suggerendo sibi et dicendo quod in tali articulo sive casu posset dicta Grazida sibi succurrere, in quali non possent forsitam omnes aliæ personæ de Veteri Moresio.

Dixit præterea quod ipse testis duxit dictam Grazidam ad domum Raymundi Raffardi, fratris ipsius testis, et ibi Ricardis, uxor dicti Raymundi Raffardi dedit similiter prædictæ Grazidæ de lana sua, ipso teste vidente. Et audiuit ipse testis dictam Grazidam referentem quod Arnalda Arimanda de Ruppelforti, ad cuius domum declinavit tunc dicta Grazida, 37<sup>r</sup> dederat ei de lana sua similiter, sed modicum | quia paucas oves habebat. De tempore: dixit quod sunt undecim anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum Aladaicis, uxor quondam Stephani Arlandi de Ruppelforti, infirmaretur apud Durumfortem in domo sua, egritudine qua decessit, vidit ipse testis tunc puer decem vel duodecim annorum, Estivum et Ferrandum, hæreticos, stantes ante lectum dictæ Aladaicis et hæreticantes eam. Et vidit ibi cum eis Pontium Mercaderii, generum dictæ Aladaicis, qui adduxit ibi dictos hæreticos, quos tunc tenebat in domo sua, et Ermengardim uxorem<sup>1</sup> eius, quæ adduxit ibi duas hæreticas quas similiter tenebant ipsa et dictus maritus eius in domo sua, et Arnaldam, uxorem<sup>2</sup> quondam Raymundi Arimandi de Ruppelforti, et Aladaiciam,<sup>3</sup> uxorem<sup>4</sup> quondam Guillelmi Arimandi, quæ morantur apud Bordas, et sicut credit Raymundam, uxorem<sup>5</sup> Pontii Arlandi, quæ manet 37<sup>v</sup> apud Villam Manham, et Aladaiciam, uxorem<sup>6</sup> Raymundi Fogueti de Ruppelforti, quondam sororem Petri Moiss de Engarravacas, quæ postea mansit apud Buzetum cum Guillelmo Fogueti, filio suo. Et omnes prædictæ personæ interfuerunt dictæ hæreticationi, et adoraverunt<sup>7</sup> dictos hæreticos, excepto ipso teste, qui puer erat.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* uxor.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* uxor.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* Aladaicis.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* uxor.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* uxor.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* uxor.

<sup>7</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>63</sup> Buzet-sur-Tarn, Haute-Garonne, cant. Montastruc-la-Conseillère, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 894.

the sight of the same witness. Then he took her to Fabrissa, the wife of Peter Raymond Mercadier, of Roquefort, who likewise gave some of her wool to the aforesaid Grazida, in the presence of the same witness and of the said Raymonda Arland or Arnalda Arimand, who induced Fabrissa to give, suggesting and saying to her that the said Grazida could help her in such a circumstance or case in which perhaps all the other people of Vielmorès could not.

He said moreover that the same witness took the said Grazida to the house of Raymond Raffard, the same witness's brother, and there Richardis, the wife of the said Raymond Raffard likewise gave the said Grazida some of her wool, in the sight of the same witness. And the same witness heard the said Grazida saying that Arnalda Arimand of Roquefort, at whose house the said Grazida had then stopped,<sup>58</sup> had likewise given her some of her wool, but a little | because she had few 37<sup>r</sup> sheep. About the time: he said that it was eleven years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when Aladaicis, the wife of the late Stephen Arland of Roquefort, was sick at Durfort in her house, with the illness of which she died, the same witness, then a boy of ten or twelve years, saw Stephen<sup>59</sup> and Ferrand, heretics, standing in front of the said Aladaicis's bed and hereticating her. And he saw there with them Pons Mercadier, the said Aladaicis's son-in-law, who brought the said heretics, whom he then had in his house, there, and Ermengardis his wife, who brought there two female heretics whom she and her said husband likewise had in their house, and Arnalda, the wife of the late Raymond Arimand of Roquefort, and Aladaicis, the wife of the late William Arimand, who live at Lasbordes, and, so he believes, | Raymonda, the wife of Pons 37<sup>v</sup> Arland, who lives at Villemagne,<sup>60</sup> and Aladaicis, the wife of Raymond Foguet of Roquefort,<sup>61</sup> the late sister of Peter Moiss of Garrevaques,<sup>62</sup> who afterwards lived at Buzet<sup>63</sup> with William Foguet, her son. And all the aforesaid people were present at the said heretication, and adored the said heretics, except for the same witness, who was a boy.

<sup>58</sup> This usually has the sense of staying the night.

<sup>59</sup> Duvernoy, *Registre*, p. 214 n. 2, identifies Stephen with a heretic who was maintaining a house in Lauran in the mid-1220s. But the forms of the names are not so close, Estivus in our register, Esquet in D23, 117<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> Perhaps Aude, comm. Labécède-Lauragais, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne, but *DTF* lists others in the Aude.

<sup>61</sup> Probably the same as Aladaicis Foguet, 39<sup>r</sup> below.

<sup>62</sup> Tarn, cant. Dourgne, arrond., Castres; *DTF*.

Dixit etiam quod prædicta Aladaicis legavit bladum dictis hæreticis. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Rocafort, in domo *Bernardi* Rafardi, patris ipsius testis, vidit Raymundam Arlandam supradictam, quæ moratur apud Villam Manham, adorantem<sup>1</sup> supradictas hæreticas, quæ manebant in domo<sup>2</sup> dicti patris ipsius testis, et apportantem eis et dantem fructus. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

38<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod in eadem domo vidit quadam die Arnaldum Mirram et socium eius, cuius nomen nescit, hæreticos, qui piscati fuerunt et comederunt ibi illa die. Et vidit ibi cum eis Bernardam Boscam de Sancto Paplo,<sup>3</sup> quæ fuit de Verduno, amicam et familiarem dictorum hæreticorum, ancillam et concubinam patris ipsius testis; sed ipse testis non adoravit tunc dictos hæreticos, nec vidit dictam Bernardam adorantem.<sup>4</sup> Et sunt triginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod alia vice vidit in eadem domo quendam hæreticum claudum, et cum eo<sup>5</sup> dictam Bernardam, quæ cognoscebat<sup>6</sup> eum. Et vidit ipse testis dictam Bernardam adorantem<sup>7</sup> dictum hæreticum; sed ipse testis non adoravit eum. Et fuit eodem tempore.

38<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod Bernardus Albarelli et uxor eius, cuius nomen nescit, et filius eorum, de Soricino | tenuerunt et celaverunt apud Soricinum, in domo sua, Raymundum de Sancto Michaeli de Toellis, latitantem<sup>8</sup> et fugitivum propter hæresim, duobus diebus et noctibus, ipso<sup>9</sup> teste<sup>10</sup> sciente, et associante dictum Raymundum.

Dixit etiam [quod] Petrus Bartholomæi et mater eius, cuius nomen nescit, de Soricino, vicini dicti *Bernardi* Albarelli, tenuerunt et celaverunt in domo sua dictum Raymundum de Sancto Michaeli, tunc fugitivum propter hæresim, duobus diebus et noctibus, ipso<sup>11</sup> teste<sup>12</sup> præsentem

<sup>1</sup> -n- altered; -tem added.

<sup>2</sup> altered.

<sup>3</sup> -lo' altered.

<sup>4</sup> -tem perhaps added.

<sup>5</sup> ms ea.

<sup>6</sup> ms cogitoscebat; -t- altered, perhaps to -n-.

<sup>7</sup> -ntem added.

<sup>8</sup> -titantem perhaps added.

<sup>9</sup> ms ipse.

<sup>10</sup> ms testis.

<sup>11</sup> ms ipse.

<sup>12</sup> ms testis.

He said also that the aforesaid Aladaicis left corn to the said heretics. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Roquefort, in the house of Bernard Raffard, the same witness's father, he saw the aforesaid Raymonda Arland, who lives at Villemagne, adoring the aforesaid female heretics, who were living in the house of the same witness's said father, and bringing and giving them fruit. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that in the same house he saw one day Arnold Mirra and his companion, whose name he does not know, heretics, who had been fishing and who ate there that day. And he saw there with them Bernarda Bosc of Saint-Papoul,<sup>64</sup> who was from Verdun, a friend and familiar of the said heretics, maidservant and concubine of the same witness's father; but the same witness did not then adore the said heretics, nor did he see the said Bernarda adoring. And this was thirty years ago or thereabouts. 38<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that on another occasion he saw in the same house a certain lame heretic, and with him the said Bernarda, who knew him. And the same witness saw the said Bernarda adoring the said heretic; but the same witness did not adore him. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that Bernard Albarel and his wife, whose name he does not know, and their son, from Sorèze, | kept and hid Raymond of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles, in hiding and a fugitive for heresy, in their house at Sorèze for two days and nights—and the same witness knew this and accompanied the said Raymond. 38<sup>v</sup>

He also said that Peter Bartholomew and his mother, whose name he does not know, of Sorèze, neighbours of the said Bernard Albarel, kept and hid the said Raymond of Saint-Michel, then a fugitive for heresy, in their house for two days and nights—and the same witness was present

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<sup>64</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1045.

et sciente, et associante dictum Raymundum. Et venerant tunc de Carcassona dictus Raymundus et ipse testis, ubi dictus Raymundus fuerat loquutus *cum* Petro de Lassus, tunc manente in muro carceris, ut celaret aliquos credentes de facto hæresis. Et sunt novem anni vel circa.

- 39<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod Sicardus Ar|landi, quondam frater Stephani Arlandi de Ruppeforti, fuit hæreticatus in ægritudine<sup>1</sup> qua decessit, a quibusdam hæreticis quos Sicardus Arlandi, nepos eius, maritus Raymundæ Arlandæ, quæ modo moratur apud Becetam, adduxit ei de Duroforti. Et interfuerunt<sup>2</sup> dictæ hæreticationi ipse testis, tunc puer, Raymundus de Bacenx de Bordis, et Arnaldus Bel de Poianerio, qui tunc morabantur apud Ruppemfortem, et dictus Sicardus Arlandi, Rica uxor Rogerii Maioris, quæ modo moratur apud Cabrespinam in Cabardesio, Ermen-gardis, uxor Raymundi Mercatoris, Arnalda Arimanda, uxor Raymundi Arimandi, Aladaicis Fogueta, quæ postea solet morari apud Engarravacas, et multi alii de Ruppeforti, quæ postea sunt defuncti, et Petrus de Garrisso, qui solet morari in quodam manso prope Sanctum Felicem, et
- 39<sup>v</sup> Ricar|dis Borrella, quæ solet morari apud Druliam. Et omnes prædicti adoraverunt<sup>3</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos; sed ipse testis non adoravit eos quia puer erat. Et audivit ipse testis quod dictus infirmus legavit hæreticis duos bucos *apum*. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

- Item dixit quod quadam die, *cum* Petrus Boissa, nuntius domini *Petri*, quondam abbatis Soricini, faciens transitum per Rupem Fortem, cepisset Raymundam Auteriam, quæ fuit de Villa Picta, et sociam eius, hæreticas, et vellet eas ducere captas versus Soricinum, congregaverunt se mulieres de Ruppeforte, et irruentes in dictum nuntium cum baculis et lapidibus, eripuerunt de manibus eius supradictas hæreticas, et fecerunt eas abire liberas. Quo facto, dictus nuntius rediit<sup>4</sup> protinus ad dictum abbatem
- 40<sup>r</sup> apud Soricinum, cui conquestus fuit de dictis mul|lieribus super prædicta violentia. Et hoc audito prædictus abbas, et *cum* eo Iordanus, dominus de Ruppeforti, accesserunt ad castrum de Ruppeforti, ducentes secum nuntium supradictum, et convocaverunt ibi mulieres dicti castri—quia viri erant extra in operibus suis—et quæsiverunt a dictis mulieribus an

<sup>1</sup> æ- perhaps altered from e-.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* fuerunt.

<sup>3</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>4</sup> eripuerunt deleted.

and knew this, and accompanied the said Raymond. And the said Raymond and the same witness had then come from Carcassonne, where the said Raymond had spoken with Peter of Lassus, who was then incarcerated in the prison, so that he would conceal some believers concerning the matter of heresy. And this was nine years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that Sicard | Arland, the late brother of Stephen Arland 39<sup>r</sup>  
of Roquefort, was hereticated in the illness of which he died, by certain heretics whom Sicard Arland, his nephew, the husband of Raymonda Arlanda, who now lives at Labécède, brought him from Durfort. And there were present at the said heretication the same witness, then a boy, Raymond of Bassens of Lasbordes, and Arnold Bel of Puginier,<sup>65</sup> who then lived at Roquefort, and the said Sicard Arland, Rica the wife of Roger Major, who now lives at Cabrespine<sup>66</sup> in the Cabardès, Ermengardis, the wife of Raymond Mercadier, Arnalda Arimand, the wife of Raymond Arimand, Aladaicis Foguet, who has since lived at Garrevaques, and many others from Roquefort, who have since died, and Peter of Garrisou,<sup>67</sup> who lives in a certain *mas* at Saint-Félix, and Richardis | Borrel, 39<sup>v</sup>  
who lives at Dreuilhe. And all the aforesaid adored the said heretics there; but the same witness did not adore them because he was a boy. And the same witness heard that the said sick man left the heretics two hives of bees. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that one day, when Peter Boissa, the messenger of lord Peter, the late abbot of Sorèze,<sup>68</sup> passing through Roquefort, had captured Raymonda Autier, who was from Villepinte, and her companion, heretics, and intended to take them captive to Sorèze, the women of Roquefort gathered together, and rushing on the said messenger with sticks and rocks, snatched the aforesaid heretics from his hands, and let them go away free. When this had been done, the said messenger returned immediately to the said abbot at Sorèze, to whom he laid a complaint about the said women, | concerning the aforesaid violence. And 40<sup>r</sup>  
when he had heard this the aforesaid abbot, and with him Jordan, the lord of Roquefort, came to the stronghold of Roquefort, bringing with them the aforesaid messenger, and called together there the women of the said stronghold—because the men were outside at their work—and asked the

<sup>65</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Nord, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1015.

<sup>66</sup> Aude, cant. Peyriac-Minervois, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 894.

<sup>67</sup> Quite common place-name; *DTF*.

<sup>68</sup> See above, 291<sup>r</sup> n. 3.



verum esset quod abstulissent dictas hæreticas nuntio supradicto. Et responderunt quod nuntius ille non invenerat nec ceperat ibi hæreticas, sed ceperat duas bonas mulieres de castro maritatas, quibus, sicut stultus, imponebat quod erant hæreticæ, et quod illas abstulerunt ei et non alias. Et ostenderunt eis duas mulieres de castro maritatas, dicentes quod illas ceperat; quod ipsæ<sup>1</sup> duæ mulieres similiter asserebant. Dictus vero nuntius ex adverso dicebat quod non erant illæ<sup>2</sup> mulieres quas ipse ceperat, et abstulerant ei, sed proculdubio ceperat | duas hæreticas quas abstulerant ei. Et non videbat eas ibi—quia bene cognosceret eas. Et quia dictus nuntius non potuit aliter factum suum probare, fuit reductus in trufam.

40<sup>v</sup>

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> quæ fecerunt prædictam violentiam, dixit se non bene recordari—sed hoc deberent scire Arnalda Arimanda, mater Petri Arimandi, Ermengardis Arlanda, uxor Pontii Mercaderii, Raymunda Arlanda, uxor quondam Sicardi Arlandi, et Rica, uxor quondam Rogerii Maioris de Cabrespina Cabardesii, quæ fuit exhibita coram abbate pro altera de captis, et comparata Raimundæ Auteriæ, et Guillelma Aibera pro altera. Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

41<sup>r</sup>

Item dixit quod ipse testis audivit Grazidam de Toellis referentem quod Petrona Bruna de Duroforti dixit eidem Grazidæ in mercato Soricini quod mitteret pro ficabus | ad domum dictæ Petronæ, et quod misit ad eandem Petronam, Brunam de Palaiaco, ancillam ipsius Grazidæ, quæ erat de parentela Guillelmi Prunelli, hæretici. Et dicta Petrona misit ad vineam suam prædictam Brunam cum Guiraldo Bruni, filio suo, ut colligerent ibi de ficibus, portandis per dictam Brunam hæreticis apud Toellas, ad domum dictæ Grazidæ. Et sunt octo anni vel circa.

Item videtur ipsi testi quod audivit ipse testis Guiraldum Unaudi vel Bernardum Olibam referentem in Lombardia<sup>4</sup>, apud Serminionem, quod Paderius, miles, fuerat hæreticatus per Guillelmum Prunelli et socium eius, hæreticos, in egritudine qua decessit.

41<sup>v</sup>

Item dixit ipse testis quod vidit, ut credit, Raymundum Amelii de Villa Picta, et Pontium Auterii et Guillelmum Auterii de Villa Picta, qui venerant apud Rup|pem Fortem, in domum Bernardi Rafardi, patris

<sup>1</sup> *ms* ipse.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* ille.

<sup>3</sup> -tus *perhaps added*.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* Lombardiam.

said women if it was true that they had taken the said heretics from the aforesaid messenger. And they replied that that messenger had not found or captured any heretics there, but had captured two good women, married, from the stronghold, whom, like a fool, he accused of being heretics: and that they had taken those women away from him and no others. And they showed them two married women from the stronghold, saying that he had captured them; which the two women themselves likewise claimed. The said messenger, on the other hand, said that it was not those women that he had captured and that they had taken away from him, but without doubt he had captured | two heretics whom they had 40<sup>v</sup> taken away from him. And he did not see them there—because he would know them well. And because the said messenger could not prove his case further, he was reduced to ridicule.

Asked who carried out the aforesaid violence, he said that he did not well remember—but Arnalda Arimand, the mother of Peter Arimand, Ermengardis Arland, the wife of Pons Mercadier, Raymonda Arland, the wife of the late Sicard Arland, and Rica, the wife of the late Roger Major of Cabrespine in the Cabardès—who was shown before the abbot for one of the captives, and presented as Raymonda Autier, and Guillelma Aiberna for the other—ought to know this. And this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the same witness heard Grazida of Las Touzeilles saying that Petrona Brun of Durfort told the same Grazida in the market of Sorèze to send for figs | to the said Petrona's house, and that she sent to 41<sup>r</sup> the same Petrona, Bruna of Palajac, the same Grazida's maidservant, who was of the kin of William Prunel, heretic. And the said Petrona sent the aforesaid Bruna to her vineyard with Guiraud Brun, her son, for them to gather figs there, to be taken by the said Bruna to the heretics at Las Touzeilles, at the house of the said Grazida. And this was eight years ago or thereabouts.

Item, it seems to the same witness that the same witness heard Gerald Unaud or Bernard Oliba saying in Lombardy, at Sirmione, that Padier, knight, had been hereticated by William Prunel and his companion, heretics, in the illness of which he died.

Item, the same witness said that he saw, as he believes, Raymond Amiel of Villepinte, and Pons Autier and William Autier of Villepinte, who had come to | Roquefort, to the house of Bernard Raffard, the same witness's 41<sup>v</sup>

ipsius testis, cum quadam equa onerata frumento et fabis frisatis, quæ deposuerunt in ipsa domo, in qua tunc manebant Raymunda Auteria, et Beldona, et Alamanda, hæreticæ.

Et credit ipse testis quod tunc prædicti omnes de Villa Picta visitaverunt Rogerium et Villacilho, hæreticos, qui tunc manebant apud Ruppemfortem, in domo Guillelmi Arimandi. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod ipse testis, et *Bernardus* Rafardi, pater ipsius testis quondam, Pontius Vitrearius, et Petrus Guiraudi de Soricino, euntes ad prata de Fornes pro quadam vaca videnda, obviaverunt, inter bocalem de Roset et turrem de Fornas, Petro Arrovardi de Valledrulia et Petro Guidonis de Soricino, qui ducebant Natalem, hæreticum, tunc vulneratum, ad | *Heliam* medicum versus Soricinum; et dicti *Bernardus* Rafardi, pater ipsius testis, et Pontius Vitrearius, et Petrus Guiraudi, adoraverunt<sup>1</sup> ibi dictum hæreticum.

Credit etiam ipse testis quod dictus hæreticus vulneratus, et illi qui ducebant eum, quieverunt<sup>2</sup> in turre Guiraldi Terrerii usque ad noctem instantem<sup>3</sup> qua intraverunt Soricinum; quia de die non auderent intrare. Et fuit anno quo obiit dominus Raymundus, comes Tholosæ—de quo possunt esse viginti novem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod Raymundus Bartholomæi de Verduno manebat pro bubulco cum Guillelmo Arimandi de Rocafort, avunculo suo, quando idem Guillelmus tenebat in domo Villacilho et Rogerium, hæreticos, et Rogerias, hæreticas. Et erat dictus Raymundus ætatis quatuordecim vel quindecim annorum vel circa.

42<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod Petrus Borrelli de Verduno et Petrus de Miras, nuntius eius, manebant apud Ruppemfortem cum Bernardo Petri Mercatoris, quando idem *Bernardus* Petri tenebat tres vel quatuor hereticas quæ pistabant<sup>4</sup> et coquinabant ei, quia non habebat uxorem. Et dictus Petrus de Miras habebat ibi amittam hæreticam unam vel duas. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> -verunt added.

<sup>2</sup> altered, perhaps from quieverit.

<sup>3</sup> in- probably added.

<sup>4</sup> ms piscabant.

father, with a certain mare loaded with corn and fried<sup>69</sup> beans which they left in the same house, in which Raymonda Autier, and Beldona, and Alamanda, heretics, were then living.

And the same witness believes that all the aforesaid people from Villepinte then visited Roger and Villacilho, heretics, who then lived at Roquefort, in the house of William Arimand. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that the same witness, and Bernard Raffard, the same witness's late father, Pons Verrier (*or* Pons, glazier), and Peter Guiraud of Sorèze, going to the meadows of Fournes<sup>70</sup> to see a certain cow, met, between the river-mouth of Rouzet and the tower of Fournes, Peter Arrovard of Vaudreuille<sup>71</sup> and Peter Gui of Sorèze, who were taking Natal, heretic, then wounded, to | Elias the doctor at Sorèze; and the said Bernard Raffard, the same witness's father, and Pons Verrier and Peter Guiraud adored the said heretic there. 42<sup>r</sup>

The same witness also believes that the said wounded heretic, and the men who were leading him, rested in Guiraud Terrier's tower until that night, when they entered Sorèze, because they did not dare to go in by day. And this was in the year in which lord Raymond, count of Toulouse, died—which might be twenty-nine years ago or thereabouts.<sup>72</sup>

Item, he said that Raymond Bartholomew of Verdun lived as a cow-herd with William Arimand of Roquefort, his uncle, when the same William had in his house Villacilho and Roger, male heretics, and the 'Rogers', female heretics. And the said Raymond was fourteen or fifteen years old or thereabouts.

Item, he said that Peter Borel of Verdun and Peter of *Miras*,<sup>73</sup> his messenger, stayed at Roquefort with Bernard Peter Mercadier, when the same Bernard Peter had three or four female heretics who baked and cooked for him, because he did not have a wife. And the said Peter of *Miras* had a heretic aunt there—one or two. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts. 42<sup>v</sup>

<sup>69</sup> There is no semantic support for the otherwise more plausible 'shelled'. The conjecture here is *frisare* = *friscare*, a variant of *frixare*, to fry.

<sup>70</sup> Fournes-Cabardès: Aude, cant. Mas-Cabardès, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 932.

<sup>71</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Revel, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1100.

<sup>72</sup> Raymond VII died September 27 1249.

<sup>73</sup> Not identified. Perhaps Méras, Aude, cant. Belpech, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne; DTF.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii et fratre Iohanne Galardi, inquisitoribus. Testes: frater *Bernardus* de Insula et frater Arnaldus Archambardi, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

43<sup>r</sup> Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo nono, decimo septimo kalendas Iunii,<sup>1</sup> prædictus testis adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod audivit quadam vice Raymundum de Sancto Michaeli referentem quod ipse steterat apud Montem Albanum, et invenerat ibi quandam credentem hæreticorum quæ miserat duodecim denarios<sup>2</sup> Tholosanos<sup>3</sup> Grazidæ, matri prædicti Raymundi, et quod dicta credens dixerat prædicto Raymundo quod si posset ei adducere duos bonos homines—scilicet hæreticos—secreto, ipsa teneret eos et servaret, in bona turre quam habebat, per unum annum si necesse esset. Et sunt quatuordecim anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod audivit quadam vice Petrum Arimandi de Ruppelforti refferentem quod Helias medicus et Raymundus Petri Sartor de Soricino petierant hæreticos in infirmitatibus de quibus obuierunt, sed non potuerunt habere, quia non erant in terra. Et hæc audiverunt Raymundus, frater ipsius testis, et Iohannes Clerici de Ruppelforti, sicut credit. Et hoc fuit quando ipse testis venit de Lombardia et quærebat de credentibus de loco. Dixit quod in domo dicti Petri Arimandi apud Ruppelfortem.

Item dixit quod ipse testis audivit prædictum Heliam referentem quod Iohannes Heliae, frater eius, petiit similiter hæreticos in ægritudine qua decessit, et habuisset eos nisi quidam clericus, filius magistri Petri Petrarri de Soricino, cuius clerici sororem dictus infirmus habebat uxorem, ita continue consisteret dicto infirmo—sed, dicto clerico sic impediante, non potuit eos habere. Unde dicebat dictus Helias quod prædictus clericus abstulerat animam dicto fratri suo. Et hæc verba non audivit aliquis alius. Et sunt duodecim anni vel circa.

44<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod Marquesia, uxor prædicti Heliae, fuit olim pediseca Grazidæ de Toellis, et dicta Grazida procuravit quod esset iuxta dicti Heliae: et credit ipse testis quod ipsa sciat de facto hæresis.

<sup>1</sup> -i added.

<sup>2</sup> -os probably added.

<sup>3</sup> -os probably added.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel and brother John Galand, inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Bernard of L'Isle and brother Arnold Archambaud, of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine, seventeen days before the kalends of June,<sup>74</sup> the aforesaid witness added to his | confession, saying that he once heard Raymond of Saint-Michel 43<sup>r</sup> saying that he had been at Montauban, and had found there a certain female believer in the heretics who had sent twelve Toulouse pence to Grazida, the aforesaid Raymond's mother, and that the said female believer had told the aforesaid Raymond that if he could bring her two good men—that is, heretics—in secret, she would keep and maintain them, in a good tower which she had, for a year if necessary. And this was fourteen years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he once heard Peter Arimand of Roquefort saying that Elias the doctor, and Raymond Peter Sartre (*or* Raymond Peter, tailor) of Sorèze had asked for the heretics in the illnesses of which they died, but they could not have them, because they were not in the land. And Raymond, | the same witness's brother, and John Clerc of Roquefort 43<sup>v</sup> heard these things, as he believes. And this was when the same witness came from Lombardy and asked about believers in the place. He said that [this took place] in the house of the said Peter Arimand at Roquefort.

Item, he said that the same witness heard the aforesaid Elias saying that John Elias, his brother, likewise asked for the heretics in the illness of which he died, and would have had them, if a certain cleric, the son of master Peter, mason, of Sorèze—the sister of which cleric was the said sick man's wife—had not so continually stationed himself by the said sick man—but, with the said cleric hindering it in this way, he could not have them. Therefore the said Elias said that the aforesaid cleric had stolen his said brother's soul. And no-one else heard these words. And this was twelve years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that Marquesia, the aforesaid Elias's wife, was once Gra- 44<sup>r</sup> zida of Las Touzeilles's waiting-woman, and the said Grazida arranged for her to get together with the said Elias: and the same witness believes that she knows about the matter of heresy.

<sup>74</sup> May 16 1279.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: frater Pontius de Parnaco, frater *Petrus* de Lauris, et frater *Bernardus* de Insula, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo octuagesimo primo, die lunæ in crastino<sup>1</sup> conversionis Sancti Pauli, prædictus Guillelmus Raffardi, conversus, adiecit confessioni<sup>2</sup> suæ, dicens quod ipse audivit Grazidam de Toellis refferentem ipsi testi quod quando Iohannes de Helias de Soricino infirmabatur ægritudine<sup>3</sup> qua decessit, volebat hæreticari si posset oportunitatem habere: sed non potuit quia quidam clericus, sororius eius, filius quondam magistri *Petri* Latomi, custodivit dictum infirmum diligentissime<sup>4</sup> usque ad obitum suum. Et audivit ipse testis dictam Grazidam referentem quod Miracula, uxor quondam Arnaldi de Savartesio, modo<sup>5</sup> uxor *Bernardi* Ramfredi, recepit tunc Guillelmum Prunelli et Bonetum de Sanctis, hæreticis, et tenuit eos duobus diebus et noctibus, expectantes ibi oportunitatem recipiendi dictum infirmum. Et sunt quatuordecim anni vel circa quod hoc audivit dici a dicta Grazida.

Dixit etiam quod hoc idem audivit dici in Italia apud Veronam, a Guillelmo Prunelli, hæretico supradicto, præsentem et audientem *Bernardo* de Tilhols, socio eius, hæretico. Et sunt duodecim anni vel circa.

45<sup>r</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram | fratre Iohanne Galandi, inquisitore. Testes: frater Arnaldus Arcamballi et frater Arnaldus del Gras, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> -o added.

<sup>2</sup> -essiononi added.

<sup>3</sup> æ- perhaps altered from e-.

<sup>4</sup> ms diligentissimæ.

<sup>5</sup> -odo perhaps added.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Pons of Parnac, brother Peter of Laures, and brother Bernard of L'Isle, of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and eighty-one, on the Monday on the morrow of the conversion of Saint-Paul,<sup>75</sup> the aforesaid William Raffard, convert, added to his confession, saying that he heard Grazida of Las Touzeilles telling the same witness that when John of Elias of Sorèze was sick with the illness of which he died, he | 44<sup>v</sup> wished to be hereticated if he could have the opportunity: but he could not, because a certain cleric, his brother-in-law, the son of the late master Peter, mason, guarded the said sick man most diligently until his death. And the same witness heard the said Grazida saying that Miracula, the wife of the late Arnold of the Sabarthès, now the wife of Bernard Ramfred, received William Prunel and Bonet of Saintes, heretics, then, and had them for two days and nights, waiting there for an opportunity to receive the said sick man. And it was fourteen years ago or thereabouts that he heard this said by the said Grazida.

He also said that he heard this same thing said in Italy at Verona, by William Prunel, the aforesaid heretic, in the presence and hearing of Bernard of Tilhol, his companion, heretic. And this was twelve years ago or thereabouts.

These things he attested at Toulouse before | brother John Galand, 45<sup>r</sup> inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Arnold Archambaud and brother Arnold *del Gras*,<sup>76</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

<sup>75</sup> January 26 1281 (1282). This was a Monday in this year.

<sup>76</sup> Also Arnold *del Gros*, of Rieux. He was prior of Rieux, 1290–1292 and of Pamiers, 1295–1297, and designated a visitor of convents in 1297. He witnessed a Carcassonne deposition in 1284; D26, 216<sup>v</sup>; ACP, pp. 359, 411, 415; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 182, 190.



*Deposition de Bernard de la Garde, chevalier, de Montalsat, qui declara avoir donné de l'argent et des vivres a Bernard de la Garrigue et a son compagnon, heretiques; et qu'il faisoit cest adveu sur la promesse que l'inquisiteur avoit faite de pardonner ceux qui diroient la verité.*

45<sup>v</sup> 16<sup>o</sup> kalendas Febru|arii audit an.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo octavo, decimo sexto kalendas Februarii, Bernardus de la Garda, miles, de Montealsato, testis iuratus et requisitus *etcetera*, dixit se nihil scire de facto hæresis vel Valdesiæ. Et venit Tholosæ ad diem sibi assignatam, et quia noluit aliter confiteri fuit in carcere missus.

Anno quo supra, secundo idus Februarii, prædictus Bernardus de Garda, adductus de carcere coram fratre Pontio de Parnaco, gerente vices inquisitoris, testis iuratus et requisitus *etcetera*, dixit quod Petrus de Roseto, de parrochia de Lados, venit quadam die ad ipsum testem apud Montem  
46<sup>r</sup> Alsatum, et dixit | ei quod Bernardus de Lagarriga, de parrochia de Lados, qui fuerat aliquamdiu absens de terra—et dicebatur ab aliquibus quod iverat ad hæreticos, at ab aliquibus quod non—volebat videre ipsum testem et loqui cum eo. Et ipse testis quæsivit ubi, et dictus Petrus respondit quod ipse duceret ipsum testem, si vellet, ad dictum Bernardum. Et duxit eum in quemdam campum subtus Montem Alzatum, in parrochia de Lados, ubi invenerunt dictum Bernardum de Lagarriga. Et ibi ipse testis et dictus Petrus de Roseto sederunt cum dicto Bernardo, et locuti fuerunt cum eo: sed non recordatur de verbis quæ fuerunt ibi loqui, nisi quod salutaverunt se invicem.

Interrogatus, dixit quod ipse testis nescivit tunc quod dictus Bernardus esset hæreticus, nec interrogavit eum super hoc; nec ipse revelavit ipsi testi, quod recolat. Sed cum loqui fuissent, ipse testis dimisit ibi dictum  
46<sup>v</sup> Bernardum de Lagarriga cum præ|dicto Petro de Roseto; et ipse testis rediit ad propria.

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<sup>2</sup> February 12 [1278 (1279)].

<sup>3</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, comm. Labarthe, cant. Molières, arrond. Montauban; DTF.

*The deposition of Bernard of Lagarde, knight, of Montalzat, who stated that he had given money and provisions to Bernard of Lagarrigue and his companion, heretics; and that he made this admission on the promise which the inquisitor had made to pardon those who told the truth.*

*16 days before the kalends of February | in the said year.*

45<sup>v</sup>

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-eight, sixteen days before the kalends of February,<sup>1</sup> Bernard of Lagarde, knight, of Montalzat, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that he knew nothing about the matter of heresy or Waldensianism. And he came to Toulouse on the day assigned to him and because he refused to confess anything else was sent to prison.

In the same year as above, two days before the ides of February,<sup>2</sup> the aforesaid Bernard of Lagarde, brought out from prison before brother Pons of Parnac, acting in place of the inquisitor, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that Peter of Rouzet, of the parish of La Doux,<sup>3</sup> came one day to the same witness at Montalzat, and told | him that Bernard of Lagarrigue, of the parish of La Doux, who had been absent from the land for some time—and it was said by some that he had gone to the heretics, and by others that he had not—wished to see the same witness and speak with him. And the same witness asked where, and the said Peter replied that he would take the same witness to the said Bernard, if he wished. And he took him into a certain field under Montalzat, in the parish of La Doux, where they found the said Bernard of Lagarrigue. And there the same witness and the said Peter of Rouzet sat with the said Bernard, and spoke with him: but he does not remember the words which they spoke there, except that they greeted one another. 46<sup>r</sup>

Questioned, he said that the same witness did not then know that the said Bernard was a heretic, nor did he ask him about this; nor did he reveal this to the same witness, that he recalls. But when they had spoken, the same witness left the said Bernard of Lagarrigue there with the | aforesaid Peter of Rouzet; and the same witness returned to his own affairs. 46<sup>v</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> January 17 1278 (1279).

Interrogatus, dixit quod ipse testis non adoravit dictum *Bernardum*, nec audivit prædicationem ipsius, nec dedit sibi aliquid. Et sunt decem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod alia vice prædictus *Petrus* de Roseto venit ad ipsum testem apud Montem Alsatum, et dixit ei quod prædictus *Bernardus* de Lagarriga volebat eum videre et loqui cum eo: et idem dixit Guillelmo de la Roca de la Pencha, sororio ipsius testis, qui tunc erat ibi cum ipso teste. Quos ambos dictus *Petrus* de Roseto duxit ad quemdam alium campum prope condaminas de Folcoy, et prope mansum de Roseto subtus Montem Alsatum; ubi invenerunt dictum *Bernardum* de la Garriga et Raymondum de Baucio, socium eius, hæreticos. Et ibi ipse testis, et dictus  
 47<sup>r</sup> Guillelmus de la Roca, et Petrus de Roseto | sederunt cum dictis hæreticis per magnum spatium, et audiverunt<sup>1</sup> verba et monitiones eorum. Et ipse testis et dictus Guillelmus de la Roca adoraverunt<sup>2</sup> eos ibi; et credit quod dictus *Petrus* de Roseto similiter adoravit<sup>3</sup> eos. Et sunt octo anni vel circa.

Interrogatus<sup>4</sup> de modo adorandi, dixit quod flectebant ter genua et dicebant 'Benedicite', et hæretici respondebant 'Deus vos benedicat'.

Interrogatus<sup>5</sup> quis docuit ipsum testem sic adorare hæreticos, respondit quod prædictus *Petrus* de Roseto, ista secunda vice quando ducebat ipsum testem ad eos.

Item dixit quod quadam die Petrus Cort de Lados venit ad ipsum testem, et dixit ipsi testi quod *Bernardus* de Lagarriga, hæreticus supradictus, rogabat ipsum testem quod mitteret ei unam quarteriam frumenti. Et ipse testis dixit ei quod non faceret, sed si ipse *Petrus* vellet  
 47<sup>v</sup> dictum bladum, sive de dono sive de mutuo, faceret sibi tradi; et dictus *Petrus* respondit quod nolebat ex dono, sed reciperet illud et redderet sibi quando vellet. Et ipse testis fecit sibi tradi dictum bladum, et postea non repetiit illud. Et credit quod dictus *Petrus* Cort dedit illud bladum prædicto hæretico; et tunc credidit quod pro ipso volebat illud. Et fuit a sex annis citra.

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<sup>1</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>2</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -it *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -tus *added*.

Questioned, he said that the same witness did not adore the said Bernard, nor did he hear his preaching, nor did he give him anything. And this was ten years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that on another occasion the aforesaid Peter of Rouzet came to the same witness at Montalzat, and told him that the aforesaid Bernard of Lagarrigue wished to see him and speak with him: and he said the same to William of Laroque of Lapenche,<sup>4</sup> the same witness's brother-in-law, who at that time was there with the same witness. And the said Peter of Rouzet took them both to a certain other field near the *Folcoy* demesne,<sup>5</sup> and near the *mas* of Rouzet under Montalzat; where they found the said Bernard of Lagarrigue and Raymond of Vaux, his companion, heretics. And there the same witness, and the said William of Laroque, and Peter of Rouzet | sat with the said heretics for a long time, 47<sup>r</sup> and heard their words and admonitions. And the same witness and the said William of Laroque adored them there; and he believes that the said Peter of Rouzet likewise adored them. And this was eight years ago or thereabouts.

Asked about the manner of adoring, he said that they genuflected three times and said 'Bless us', and the heretics answered 'May God bless you'.

Asked who taught the same witness to adore heretics in this way, he answered that the aforesaid Peter of Rouzet did, this second time when he was taking the same witness to them.

Item, he said that one day Peter Cort of La Doux came to the same witness, and told the same witness that Bernard of Lagarrigue, the aforesaid heretic, asked the same witness to send him a quarter of wheat. And the same witness told him that he would not do this, but if the same Peter wanted the | said corn, either as a gift or as a loan, he would have it given 47<sup>v</sup> to him; and the said Peter answered that he did not want it as a gift, but he would receive it and give it back when he wished. And the same witness had the said corn given to him and afterwards he did not ask for it back. And he believes that the said Peter Cort gave that corn to the aforesaid heretic; and at the time he believed that it was for that that he wanted it. And this was within the last six years.

<sup>4</sup> Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Montpezat-de-Quercy, arrond. Montauban; DTF.

<sup>5</sup> Not identified.

Interrogatus si credidit quod hæretici essent boni homines, et quod haberent bonam fidem, respondit quod sic—et hoc dabat sibi intelligi dictus *Petrus* de Roseto—sed statim post unam diem dimisit illam credentiam, et pœnituit<sup>1</sup> quia viderat et adoraverat<sup>2</sup> eos.

Item, interrogatus,<sup>3</sup> dixit quod nunquam fuit coram aliis inquisitor[ibus].

Item, interrogatus,<sup>4</sup> dixit se de pluribus non recordari.

48<sup>r</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Pontio | de Parnaco, gerente vices<sup>5</sup> inquisitoris. Testes: frater *Petrus* de Lauris, frater *Petrus* Raymundi Baranhonis, frater *Petrus* Ferrandi, Ordinis Prædicatorum, Sicardus de Lunello, Iacobus custos carceris, et ego Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, sexto<sup>6</sup> nonas Martii, prædictus *Bernardus* de Garda, de carcere reductus ad præsentiam fratris Hugonis Amelii, inquisitoris, perlecta sibi confessione prædicta, recognovit eam se fecisse, et esse veram, et plus nescire de facto hæresis. Testes: frater Pontius de Parnaco, inquisitor, frater Raymundus Siguarii, et frater *Bernardus* de Insula, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

48<sup>v</sup> Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo nono, sexto idus Aprilis, prædictus *Bernardus* de Garda, miles, de Monte Alsato, inmuratus<sup>7</sup> propter hæresim, adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod ipse misit Bernardo de Lagarriga et Raymundo de Bautio, hæreticis, triginta solidos Caturcenses, per *Petro* de Roseto de Lados. Et sunt decem anni vel circa.

Et hæc omiserat confiteri propter oblivionem, sicut dicit.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: frater Pontius de Moreriis, frater *Bernardus* de Insula, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> -æ- probably altered from -e-.

<sup>2</sup> -erat added.

<sup>3</sup> -tus added.

<sup>4</sup> -tus added.

<sup>5</sup> v- written over deletion.

<sup>6</sup> s- added, possibly over another letter.

<sup>7</sup> originally in muratus.

Asked if he believed that the heretics were good men, and that they had a good faith, he answered yes—and the said Peter of Rouzet gave him to understand this—but immediately, after one day, he abandoned that belief and repented that he had seen and adored them.

Item, questioned, he said that he had never been before other inquisitors.

Item, questioned, he said that he does not remember any more.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Pons | of Parnac, 48<sup>r</sup>  
acting in place of the inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Peter of Laures, brother Peter Raymond Baranhon, brother Peter Ferrand, of the Order of Preachers, Sicard of Lunel, James the keeper of the prison, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, six days before the nones of March,<sup>6</sup> the aforesaid Bernard of Lagarde, brought back from prison into the presence of brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor, when the aforesaid confession had been read through to him, acknowledged that he had made it, and that it was true, and that he knew nothing more about the matter of heresy. Witnesses: brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor, brother Raymond Siguar,<sup>7</sup> and brother Bernard of L'Isle, of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine, six 48<sup>v</sup>  
days before the ides of April,<sup>8</sup> the aforesaid Bernard of Lagarde, knight, of Montalzat, imprisoned for heresy, added to his confession, saying that he sent Bernard of Lagarrigue and Raymond of Vaux, heretics, thirty Cahors shillings, through Peter of Rouzet of La Doux. And this was ten years ago or thereabouts.

And he had omitted to confess these things through forgetfulness, as he says.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Pons of Mourières, brother Bernard of L'Isle, of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

<sup>6</sup> March 2 [1278 (1279)].

<sup>7</sup> Not found in *ACP*.

<sup>8</sup> April 8 1279.

Item addidit quod credit se adorasse prædictos hæreticos secunda vice, sicut Bernardus de Lagarriga dicit—sed aliter ipse testis non recordatur.

49<sup>r</sup> Anno quo proximo, decimo septimo kalendas Iunii, prædictus testis, inmuratus, adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod quadam vice misit ipse testis Bernardo de Lagarriga et socio suo, hæreticis, per Petrum de Roseto de Lados, de panno lundo vel burello tres alnas<sup>1</sup> et dimidiam, sicut credit. Et sunt decem anni vel circa.

Et hæc ipse omiserat confiteri propter oblivionem, sicut dicit: sed consideravit plenius, quia frater Hugo Amelii, inquisitor, promisit nuper in capella muri gratiam immunitatis omnibus inmuratis<sup>2</sup> volentibus plenius confiteri usque ad præsentem diem inclusive.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> -n- altered from -v-.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* in muratis.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* inclusuræ; -æ perhaps altered.

Item, he added that he believes that he had adored the aforesaid heretics a second time, as Bernard of Lagarrigue says—but more the same witness does not recall.

In the same year as immediately above, seventeen days before the kalends of June,<sup>9</sup> the aforesaid witness, imprisoned, added to his confession, saying that the same witness once sent Bernard of Lagarrigue and his companion, heretics, through Peter of Rouzet of La Doux, three and a half ells, as he believes, of linen<sup>10</sup> or thick woollen cloth. And this was ten years ago or thereabouts. 49<sup>r</sup>

And he had omitted to confess these things through forgetfulness, as he says: but he had thought more fully, because brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor, recently promised in the prison chapel the grace of immunity to all prisoners wishing to make a fuller confession up to the present day, inclusive.

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<sup>9</sup> May 16 [1279].

<sup>10</sup> 'Linen', if *panno lundo* is a mistake for *panno lineo*.



49<sup>v</sup> *Deposition de Jordain de Saixac, chevalier, contenant que du temps que le | vicomte tenoit le siege devant Carcassonne il adora les heretiques dans ladite ville, et que du temps du siege de Montreal il assista a leurs predications et les adora dans ladite ville de Montreal, avec Bernard de Azillan et Prebandés de Miravalle, chevaliers; que les heretiques visiterent Pons Caus d'Albi et Isarn de Dournhe, chevaliers, pendant leur maladie, et quils rendirent de leur secte ledit Caus.*

50<sup>r</sup> 16<sup>o</sup> kalendas Ma|dii 1279.

Anno quo supra, decimo sexto kalendas Maii,<sup>1</sup> dominus Iordanus de Saxiaco, miles, veniens gratis ad confitendum sub spe gratiæ quam frater Hugo de Boniolis, inquisitor, in publico sermone in ecclesia de Gardiola,<sup>2</sup> ipso teste præsentē et audiente, promisit—quod quicumque gratis veniret ad confitendum de hæresi, sive alias fuisset vocatus ad confitendum sive non, sive celasset scienter sive ignoranter, ipsum ad gratiam sine pœnitentia confusibili reciperet—et ad eandem gratiam receptus per dictum inquisitorem—videlicet absque muro et pœnitentia confusibili—  
50<sup>v</sup> testis iuratus, addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod<sup>3</sup> | in burgo Carcassonæ, in domo cuiusdam mulieris de Saxiaco, tempore quo vicecomes

<sup>1</sup> first -i- written over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> -i- added, superscript.

<sup>3</sup> the words ceptus per dictum inquisitorem, videlicet absque muro et pœnitentia confusibili, testis iuratus, addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod are repeated here in error.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be a reference to the confession to Ferrier in 1244. In this earlier confession, Jordan admitted many contacts with heretics, while usually denying adoring them. Several of these items of contact are repeated here, now with the addition of an admission that he did adore them. These items are noted below, as is also any instance of reference to a previous confession for an item which is not found in the extant 1244 confession. It seems that Hugh of Bouniols was interrogating Jordan while referring to the deposition made to Ferrier in 1244, but that that deposition had additions which were not carried over into the Doat copy.

*The deposition of Jordan of Saissac, knight, containing that at the time that the | viscount besieged Carcassonne he adored the heretics in the said town, and that at the time of the siege of Montréal he was present at their preachings and adored them in the said town of Montréal, with Bernard of Azille and Prebandès of Mireval, knights, that the heretics visited Pons Caus of Albi and Isarn of Dourgne, knights, during their illness, and that they made the said Caus one of their sect.* 49<sup>v</sup>

*16 days before the kalends of May | 1279*

50<sup>r</sup>

In the same year as above, sixteen days before the kalends of May,<sup>1</sup> lord Jordan of Saissac, knight,<sup>2</sup> appearing freely to confess, under the hope of grace which brother Hugh of Bouniols, inquisitor, promised in a public sermon in the church of Lagardiolle, in the same witness's presence and hearing—that whoever came freely to confess about heresy, whether he had previously been summoned to confess or not, whether he had knowingly or unknowingly concealed heresy, he would receive him into grace, without a shameful penance—and, received into this same grace by the said inquisitor—that is, | without prison or shameful penance—sworn in as a witness, he added to his confession,<sup>3</sup> saying that in the borough of Carcassonne, in the house of a certain woman from Saissac, at the time 50<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> April 16, probably 1278. This ought to be after Bernard of Lagarde's first deposition (therefore 1279) but if this logic is followed then the date for Bernard of Villeneuve's final deposition (1 February 1279 (1280) 77<sup>v</sup>) is too early by one year.

<sup>2</sup> He was the son of the powerful nobleman Sicard, lord of Puylaurens, whose mother Ermessendis was a heretic. See on him E. Griffe, *Le Languedoc cathare de 1190 à 1210* (Paris, 1871), pp. 94–96, and *Le Languedoc cathare au temps de la croisade* (Paris, 1973), pp. 182–184. Another son was Isarn of Dourgne; see 53<sup>v</sup> below. Jordan of Saissac participated in the revolt of Raymond II Trencavel in 1240. He was questioned about his contacts with heretics by Ferrier, May 18 1244 (D23, 50<sup>v</sup>–57<sup>r</sup>). He took an oath of loyalty to Alphonse of Poitiers, December 1 1249 (*Layettes du Trésor*, iii.87 no 3829), and he was among the nobles of the *bailie* of Puylaurens who took the oath of loyalty to the king of France, December 20–24 1271 (*Saisimentum*, p. 205). See further on him *Saisimentum*, p. 88 n. 1, and above, 31<sup>r</sup> n. 19.

tenebat Carcassonam obsessam, vidit ipse testis duos hæreticos, quorum nomina ignorat. Et vidit cum illis hæreticis ibidem Bartacium de Palaiaco, Petrum de Molino de Saxiaco, et Raymundum de Podio Siurano; qui omnes, et ipse testis, audiverunt<sup>1</sup> ibi verba et monitiones dictorum hæreticorum, et adoraverunt<sup>2</sup> eos, flexis genibus, dicendo ‘Benedicite’; excepta prædicta muliere, de qua non recolit.

Item dixit quod ante ipse testis, Petrus de Molino et Raymundus de Palaiaco viderunt apud Carcassonam<sup>3</sup> duos hæreticos, ut dictum est  
51<sup>r</sup> in prima confessione, ipse testis, et alii prædicti adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> alios | hæreticos.

Item dixit quod quando vidit supradictos hæreticos apud Carcassonam in domo supradictæ mulieris, ipse testis promisit dictis hæreticis quod iuvaret eos in quibus posset, et bene faceret eis.

Item dixit quod apud Montem Regalem, in domo Isarni de Villa Tramero et Bernardi de Azillano, militis, ipse testis, et Bernardus de Azillano prædictus, Bartacius, Guillelmus Petri de Villeta, Raymundus Peirola de Boissazone, Petrus de Molino et Prebondes de Miravalle, miles, et Guillelmus Lobeti, qui tunc infirmabatur, viderunt et visitaverunt duos hæreticos. Et ibi audiverunt<sup>5</sup> verba et monitiones dictorum hæreticorum, et adoraverunt<sup>6</sup> eos modo prædicto. De tempore: quando castrum Montis Regalis erat obsessum.

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<sup>1</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>2</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -assonam *added*; domo supradicte mulieris *deleted*.

<sup>4</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>5</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -verunt *added*.

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<sup>11</sup> Or La Villotte, common place-name; *DTF*.

<sup>12</sup> Tarn, cant. Mazamet-Nord-Est, arrond. Castres; *DTF*.

<sup>13</sup> Probably Prepositus de Miravall, denounced by Sicard Lunel in his confession of around 1254; Duvernoy, ‘Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne’, 496.

<sup>14</sup> As no names are given for these heretics, they are probably the ones mentioned previously.

<sup>15</sup> See n. 10 above.

when the viscount<sup>4</sup> held Carcassonne under siege, the same witness saw two heretics, whose names he does not know. And he saw there with those heretics Bartac of Palajac, Peter of Le Moulin<sup>5</sup> of Saissac, and Raymond of Pexiora; all of whom, and the same witness, heard the words and admonitions of the heretics there, and they adored them, genuflecting, saying, 'Bless us'—apart from the aforesaid woman, about whom he does not remember.<sup>6</sup>

Item, he said that before the same witness, Peter of Moulin and Raymond of Palajac saw two heretics at Carcassonne, as was said in his first confession, the same witness and the aforesaid others adored other | 51<sup>r</sup> heretics.<sup>7</sup>

Item, he said that when he saw the aforesaid heretics at Carcassonne in the house of the aforesaid woman, the same witness promised the said heretics that he would help them in those things he could, and that he would benefit them.

Item, he said that at Montréal,<sup>8</sup> in the house of Isarn of Villetravers<sup>9</sup> and Bernard of Azille,<sup>10</sup> knight, the same witness and the aforesaid Bernard of Azille, Bartac, William Peter of Villotte,<sup>11</sup> Raymond Peyrole of Boissézon,<sup>12</sup> Peter of Le Moulin and Prebondes of Mireval, knight,<sup>13</sup> and William Sobet, who was then ill, saw and visited [the] two heretics.<sup>14</sup> And there they heard the words and admonitions of the said heretics, and adored them in the aforesaid way. About the time: when the stronghold of Montréal was besieged.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Raymond II Trencavel, who besieged Carcassonne September–October 1240; see Wakefield, *Heresy*, p. 154. See Graham-Leigh, *Southern French Nobility*, pp. 144–146, on the viscounty and names used by the Trencavels.

<sup>5</sup> Exceptionally common; see the list in *DTF*.

<sup>6</sup> Reynard of Palajac's confession to Ferrier had detailed the same episode during the siege of Carcassonne, and had named Jordan of Saissac; D24, f. 158<sup>v</sup>–159<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Not referred to in D23, f. 50<sup>v</sup>–57<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Aude, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 990.

<sup>9</sup> Aude, comm. and cant. Montréal, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1109.

<sup>10</sup> Aude, cant. Peyriac-Minervois, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 872. Isarn's sister, lady Ermengard, was questioned by Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre, May 5 1246, confessing the role she and other ladies played in the defense of Montréal during when it was besieged by the northern French at the beginning of November 1240. They carried stones to the defenders, one of whom was Isarn. After the city had been taken, she heard it shouted in the streets that Isarn had been wounded, and she went out to look for him; Toulouse 609, f. 183<sup>r-v</sup>.

51<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod apud Montem Re|galem, in domo Bricii Sutoris, ipse testis, Bernardus de Azillano, miles, Petrus de Molino, et Raymundus de Peirola, et dictus Bricius, viderunt Petrum Polhani et socium suum, hæreticos. Et ibi audiverunt verba et monitiones dictorum hæreticorum, et adoraverunt<sup>1</sup> eos modo quo supra.

Item dixit quod in domo den Villota de Podio Laurentio, quando ipse testis vidit ibi hæreticos, ut dictum est in prima confessione, ipse testis et Sibilia, uxor ipsius testis,<sup>2</sup> adoraverunt<sup>3</sup> dictos hæreticos modo quo supra. De tempore: sicut in illa depositione continetur.

Item dixit quod in quadam infirmitate ipsius testis Guillelmus Bernardi de Ayros, hæreticus, curabat de ipso teste, et multotiens in dicta infirmitate visitavit ipsum testem—quia medicus erat. De tempore: qua-  
52<sup>r</sup> draginta septem an|ni vel circa.

Item dixit se vidisse apud Palaiacum Sicardum Lunelli et socium suum, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum dictis hæreticis Bartatium, et Preboide de Miravalle, Raymundum Peyrola, Raynardum et Petrum Guillelmi, fratres dicti Bartacii, et Guilabertum de Cabanis. Qui omnes, et ipse testis, in domo dicti Bartacii, audiverunt<sup>4</sup> verba et monitionem dictorum hæreticorum, et adoraverunt<sup>5</sup> eos ut supra. De tempore: triginta sex anni sunt vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>2</sup> uxor deleted.

<sup>3</sup> ms adoravit.

<sup>4</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>5</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>20</sup> There has been confusion about Bartac of Palajac's sibling or siblings. The editor of *La chanson de la croisade Albigeoise* (E. Martin-Chabot, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, 3 vols (Paris, 1972–1976), iii.202 n. 2), gave Bartac's full-name as Pierre-Guillaume Bartas, on the basis of a list of knights of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux taking oaths, March 21 1243, to uphold the terms of the treaty of Paris. Jordan was clear both in this confession and in 1244 (see below, 52<sup>v</sup> n. 28) that Bartac had more than one brother, not just Reynard of Palajac, and here he spells out his name, Peter William. In the edition of the list (*Layettes du Trésor*, ii.496, no. 30141: Juramentum militum ... Petri Guillelmi Bartas, Rainardi fratris ejus), a comma should be inserted after Guillelmi.

<sup>21</sup> Or Cabannes, common place-names; *DTF*. He was denounced by Sicard Lunel in his confession of around 1254; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 492, 502.

Item, he said that at Montréal | in the house of Bric Sabatier (or 51<sup>v</sup> Bric, shoemaker), the same witness, Bernard of Azille, knight, Peter of Le Moulin, and Raymond of Peyrole,<sup>16</sup> and the said Bric, saw Peter Polhan<sup>17</sup> and his companion, heretics. And there they heard the words and admonitions of the said heretics, and adored them in the same way as above.

Item, he said that in the house of En Villota<sup>18</sup> of Puylaurens, when the same witness saw heretics there—as was said in his first confession—the same witness and Sybil, the same witness's wife, adored the said heretics in the same way as above.<sup>19</sup> About the time: as is contained in that deposition.

Item, he said that during an illness of the same witness William Bernard of Airoux, heretic, took care of the same witness, and often visited the same witness during the said illness—for he was a doctor. About the time: forty-seven years | ago or thereabouts.

52<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that he saw the heretics Sicard Lunel and his companion at Palajac. And he saw there with the said heretics Bartac, and Preboide of Mireval, Raymond Peyrole, Reynard and Peter William,<sup>20</sup> brothers of the said Bartac, and Guilabert of Cabanes.<sup>21</sup> All of these and the same witness heard the words and admonition of the said heretics, in the house of the said Bartac, and adored them as above. About the time: it was thirty-six years ago or thereabouts.

<sup>16</sup> Or Peyroles, Peyrolle, Peyrolles, common place-names; *DTF*.

<sup>17</sup> Bishop of the heretics of Carcassonne, 1238–1267 (Borst, *Katharer*, p. 233), 1240–1258 (Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 351). Duvernoy's dates are confirmed in the account of Roche, *Église cathare*, pp. 269–272; for the details of Polhan's career, see index-entry 'Poullain, Pierre', *ibid.*, p. 547.

<sup>18</sup> Bartac testified hearing the heretics Raymond Carlipa and his companion preaching in a shed of the house *den Vilota* at Puylaurens around 1240, and Vilota himself was also in attendance; D24, f. 110<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> 'He said that he saw at Puylaurens in the house of En Vilota Bernard Engelbert and his companion, heretics ... but he the witness did not adore the heretics, nor others in the same witness's sight. About the time, eleven years ago or thereabouts' (dixit se vidisse apud Podium Laurentium in domo den Vilota Bernardum Engelbertum et socium eius haereticos ... ipse testis non adoravit dictos haereticos nec alii ipso teste vidente. De tempore, undecim anni vel circa); D23, f. 51<sup>r-v</sup>.

Item dixit quod apud Caucalerias, in turre ipsius testis, receptavit ipse testis Petrum Capellani, Aymericum de Colleto, et Sicardum Lunelli, diachonos hæreticorum, et Sicardum Guilaberti, hæreticum. Et fuerunt in dicta turre per aliquos dies, sed nescit per quot;<sup>1</sup> et comedebant  
 52<sup>v</sup> ibi de bonis ipsius | testis. Et visitavit eos ibi multotiens ipse testis, et audivit verba [et] monitiones eorum, et eos multotiens adoravit<sup>2</sup> modo quo supra. Et viderunt ibi dictos hæreticos cum ipso teste Ademarius, baiulus ipsius testis, Raymundus Bairola, Bonetus Engilberti et Fura; qui omnes adoraverunt<sup>3</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos, modo quo supra. De tempore: quadraginta anni sunt vel circa.

Item dixit quod [quando] ante vidit hæreticos in domo Boneti Engilberti de Caucaleriis, ut dictum est, ipse testis et omnes in dicta depositione nominati adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> dictos hæreticos, modo quo supra. De tempore: sicut in illa depositione continetur.

Item dixit quod quando vidit Aymericum de Colleto, hæreticum, ad Rocam de Semalenx, ipse testis, et Raymundus Peyrola, et Guillelmus  
 53<sup>r</sup> Petri de Villeta, qui | adduxerat dictum hæreticum, adoraverunt<sup>5</sup> eum,<sup>6</sup> modo quo supra. De tempore: sicut est in illa depositione.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* quos.

<sup>2</sup> -it *perhaps added*.

<sup>3</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* adoravit; -it *added*.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* cum.

<sup>24</sup> Tarn, cant. Vielmur-sur-Agout, arrond. Castres; *DTF*. Perhaps: 'at the rock at Sémalens'.

<sup>25</sup> 'He said that one night when the same witness was at La Roque of Sémalens by Caucalières, William Peter of Villotte came to the same witness with Aimery of Collet and his companion heretic ... Once again he said that he did not adore the said heretics, nor did the said William Peter in the same witness's sight. About the time, that it is half a year ago' (dixit quod quadam nocte dum ipse testis esset ad Rocam den Semalenx iuxta Caucalieiras esset [sic], Guillelmus Petri de Valleta venit ad ipsum testem cum Aymerico de Colleto et socium eius, hæreticum ... Iterum dixit quod ipse testis non adoravit dictos hæreticos, nec dictus Guillelmus Petri ipso teste vidente. De tempore, quod est dimidius annus); D23, f. 54<sup>v</sup>.

Item, he said that at Caucalières, in the same witness's tower, the same witness received Peter Capellan,<sup>22</sup> Aimery of Collet, and Sicard Lunel, deacons of the heretics, and Sicard Guilabert, heretic. And they were in the said tower for some days, but he does not know for how many; and they ate there of the same witness's goods. | And the same witness 52<sup>v</sup> visited them there often, and heard their words and admonitions, and he often adored them in the same way as above. And with the same witness Adémar, the same witness's *bailli*, Raymond Peyrole, Bonet Engilbert and Fura saw the said heretics there, all of whom adored the said heretics there, in the same way as above. About the time: it was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that before, [when] he saw the heretics in the house of Bonet Engilbert of Caucalières, as has been said, the same witness and all those named in the said deposition adored the said heretics, in the same way as above. About the time: as is contained in that deposition.<sup>23</sup>

Item, he said that when he saw Aimery of Collet, heretic, at La Roque of Sémalens,<sup>24</sup> the same witness, and Raymond Peyrole, and William Peter of Villotte, who | had brought the said heretic, adored him, in the same 53<sup>r</sup> way as above. About the time: as is in that deposition.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Deacon of the church of Albi 1227–1241; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 348. He appeared in Sicard Lunel's confession, accompanying Sicard and going to Montégut, where Peter was adored by the viscountess and her daughter Batturana; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 472; evidence about Peter is listed *ibid.*, 506, n. 18.

<sup>23</sup> In this instance Jordan was confirming rather than altering his 1244 confession, where he had admitted adoring. 'He said that he saw at Caucalières, in the house of Bonet of Labruguière, the *bailli* of the same witness—and no-one was living in that house—Aimery of Collet and his companion, heretic. And there the same witness, and Reginald of Palajac, and William Peter of Villotte, and Preboide of Mireval, and Roger of *Montserrat* spoke with the said heretics. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid others adored the said heretics, as has been said. After this, the same witness went away from there, and left the heretics there. About the time, that it was two and a half years ago' (*dixit se vidisse apud Caucleiras in domo Boneti de Labrugueira, baiuli ipsius testis—et nullus stabat in domo illa—Aymericum de Colleto et socium eius, hæreticum. Et ibi ipse testis, et Rainardus de Palajac, et Guillelmus Petri de Valleta, et et [sic] Preboide de Miraval, et Rogerius de Monserrat locuti fuerunt cum dictis hereticis. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes alii prædicti adoraverunt dictos hæreticos, sicut dictum est. Quo facto, ipse testis exivit inde, et dimisit ibi dotos hæreticos. De tempore, quod sunt duo anni et dimidius*); D23, f. 53<sup>v</sup>–54<sup>r</sup>.



Item dixit quod quando ipse testis et Petrus de Rabiaco duxerunt et associaverunt Arnaldum Bos et socium suum, hæreticos, a ripparia de Altopullo usque ad Palaiaicum, et introduxerunt eos in domum Bartacii, ipse testis et dictus *Petrus* adoraverunt<sup>1</sup> dictos hæreticos, modo quo supra.

Dixit etiam quod Petrus Cernini et Potellus, serviens, adduxerunt dictos hæreticos ad dictum locum ubi ipse testis et dictus *Petrus* receperunt eos. De tempore: sicut in illa depositione continetur.

Item dixit quod quando ipse testis vidit Arnaldum Bos et socium suum, hæreticos, iuxta Altumpullum, ipse testis adoravit<sup>2</sup> eos ut supra.

Item dixit quod in omnibus locis in quibus vidit hæreticos, ipse testis adoravit<sup>3</sup> eos quando poterat.

53<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod cum Pontius Caus, miles, de Albia, infirmaretur infirmitate qua decessit, in domo de Sebaude apud Podium Laurentium, duo hæretici quorum nomina ignorat, hæreticaverunt<sup>4</sup> et in sectam suam receperunt dictum Pontium Caus secundum modum hæreticorum. Et interfuerunt dictæ hæreticationi ipse testis, et domina Sebilis, uxor ipsius testis, Guillelmus Petri de Villota, et Fura, et quidam alii de quorum

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<sup>1</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>2</sup> -it added.

<sup>3</sup> -it added.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* hæreticaverunt ignorat.

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Bos, hæreticum. Et tunc ipse testis misit apud Autpol Petrum de Rabiaco qui adduxit ad ipsum testem dictum hæreticum et socium eius hæreticum. Et tunc ipse testis simul cum dicto Petro de Rabiaco duxerunt dictos hæreticos apud Palaiaicum ad domum Rainardi et fratrum eius. Quo facto, ipse testis exivit inde et dimisit ibi dictos hæreticos. Iterum dixit quod ipse testis non adoravit dictos hæreticos nec flexit genua sua coram eis nec dictus Petrus Rabiaco ipso teste vidente. De tempore, sex anni vel septem); D23, f. 53<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Since in his 1244 confession Jordan said he saw Arnold Bos near or at Hautpoul on two occasions, once four years before, the other three or four years, once adoring them, once not (D23, f. 53<sup>r</sup>), this seems to be a general correction, concerning all his contacts with Arnold Bos and his companion.

Item, he said that when the same witness and Peter of *Rabiaco*<sup>26</sup> led and accompanied Arnold Bos<sup>27</sup> and his companion, heretics, from the river-bank of Hautpoul as far as Palajac, and brought them into the house of Bartac, the same witness and the said Peter adored the said heretics, in the same way as above.

He also said that Peter Cernin and Potel, a servant, brought the said heretics to the said place where the same witness and the said Peter received them. About the time: as is contained in that deposition.<sup>28</sup>

Item, he said that when the same witness saw Arnold Bos and his companion, heretics, by Hautpoul, the same witness adored them, as above.

Item, he said that in all the places where he saw heretics, the same witness adored them when he could.<sup>29</sup>

Item, he said that when Pons Caus, knight, of Albi was ill with the illness of which he died, in the house of Sebaude at Puy-laurens, two heretics—whose names he does not know—hereticated the said Pons Caus and received him into their sect according to the manner of the heretics. And present at the said heretication were the same witness, and lady Sybil, the same witness's wife, William Peter of Villotte, and Fura, 53<sup>v</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Not identified. See Raviac, Aveyron, cant. Salvétat-Peyralès, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Rodez; *DTF*.

<sup>27</sup> Deacon of heretics of Hautpoul; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 284.

<sup>28</sup> 'He said that when Reginald of Palajac, brother of Bartac, was ill at Palajac, the said ill man sent a messenger to the same witness, that he should send to him Arnold Bos, heretic, by any possible means. And then the same witness sent Peter of *Rabiaco* to Hautpoul, and he brought the said heretic and his companion, heretic, to the same witness. And then the same witness, together with Peter of *Rabiaco*, took the said heretics to Palajac, to the house of Reginald and his brothers. After this, the same witness went away from there, and left the said heretics there. Once again, the same witness said that he did not adore the said heretics, nor genuflect in front of them, nor did Peter (of) *Rabiac* in the same witness's sight. About the time, six or seven years ago' (dixit quod cum Rainardus de Palajac, frater Bartacii, infirmaretur [sic] apud Palajac, dictus infirmus misit nuncium eidem testi, quod omnibus nobis [modis?] mitteret sibi Arnaudum

nominibus non recordatur. Et facta dicta hæreticatione ipse testis et alii<sup>1</sup> supradicti adoraverunt<sup>2</sup> dictos hæreticos, modo quo supra. De tempore: triginta quinque vel triginta sex anni, vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum Isarnus de Dornhano, miles, infirmaretur infirmitate qua decessit, ipse testis scivit bene quod Sicardus Lunelli et socius  
54<sup>r</sup> suus, hæretici, fuerunt | adducti [ad domum eius] prope Podium Laurentium ad hæreticandum dictum infirmum; sed non intraverunt illam, nec viderunt dictum infirmum, nec dictus infirmus petierat dictos hæreticos. Et adduxit eos ibi Raynaldus, frater Bartacii, ipso teste sciente et consenciente. De tempore: circa quadraginta annos.

Alibi, sicut dicit, non vidit hæreticos, nec aliquid commisit in hæresi, nisi sicut dictum est, de quo recordatur.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> quare non dixit ista in principio, dixit quod propter verecundiam et timorem.

Hæc deposuit Carcassonæ coram fratre Hugone de Boniolis, inquisitore. Testes: frater Raymundus Sicredi, prior Fratrum Prædicatorum Castrensiū, frater Iohannes Felgons, frater Paulus, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et Iohannes de Esseio, notarius, qui hæc scripsit.

Iuravit et abiuravit, et fuit reconciliatus.

<sup>1</sup> *ms aliis.*

<sup>2</sup> *-erunt added.*

<sup>3</sup> *-tus probably added.*

<sup>31</sup> Lord Isarn, Jordan's brother. He was denounced by Sicard Lunel in his confession of around 1254; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 492.

<sup>32</sup> Raymond Sicre of Carcassonne was one of the first friars assigned to Carcassonne (1252). He was designated a convent visitor (1266, 1270, 1273, 1275, 1279) and preacher-general for the convent of Castres (1275). He was prior of Carcassonne (1266–1270), of Pamiers (1271–1273), and elected twice to be prior of Castres (1276–1279, 1279–1280), where he died. *ACP*, pp. 46, 117, 151, 177, 195, 228; Gui, *De fundatione*, pp. 97, 101, 152, 181; Douais, *Documents*, p. 1900 clxxi and n. 5.

<sup>33</sup> A brother simply called Paul was assigned to study theology in Béziers (1284); *ACP*, p. 276. The acts refer to eight other brothers called Paul together with place of origin, none of them specifically assigned to Toulouse at this date; *ACP*, p. 768.

and some others whose names he does not remember. And when the said heretication had taken place the same witness and the aforesaid others adored the said heretics, in the same way as above. About the time: thirty-five or thirty-six years ago or thereabouts.<sup>30</sup>

Item, he said that when Isarn of Dourgne,<sup>31</sup> knight, was ill with the illness of which he died, the same witness knew well that Sicard Lunel and his companion, heretics, were | brought [to his house] near Puylaurens 54<sup>r</sup> to hereticate the said sick man; but they did not enter it, nor did they see the said sick man, nor had the said sick man asked for the said heretics. And Reynald, the brother of Bartac, brought them there, with the same witness's knowledge and consent. About the time: about forty years ago.

Otherwise, as he says, he did not see heretics, nor did he commit any act of heresy that he remembers, apart from what has been said.

Asked why he did not say these things at the beginning, he said because of shame and fear.

These things he attested at Carcassonne before brother Hugh of Bouniols, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Raymond Sicre, prior of the Brothers Preacher of Castres,<sup>32</sup> brother John of Falgous, brother Paul,<sup>33</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and John of Essey, notary, who wrote these things.

He took an oath and abjured, and was reconciled.

<sup>30</sup> 'He said that when Pons Caus was ill at Puylaurens, with the illness from which he died, the same witness went to see the said ill man, and he found in the said house two heretics whose names he does not know. And with the said heretics in the said house, when he entered, was William Lobat, squire. And when the same witness had been with the said ill man for a while, he went away from there, and left the said heretics in the said house with the said heretics' (dixit quod cum Pontius Caus infirmaretur apud Podium Laurentium in domo cuiusdam mulieris illa infirmitate qua obit, ipse testis ivit ad videndum dictum infirmum et invenit in dicta domo duos hæreticos, quorum nomina ignorat. Et erant in dicta domo cum prædictis hæreticis, quando ipse testis intravit, Guillelmus Lobat, domicellus. Et cum stetisset ipse testis cum dicto infirmo per aliquod intervallum, ipse testis exivit inde, et dimisit in dicta domo cum dicto infirmo dictos hæreticos. Iterum dixit quod ipse testis non adoravit dictos hæreticos, nec dictus Guillelmus Lobat ipso teste vidente. De tempore, quod sunt duos anni vel tres); D23, f. 54<sup>v</sup>-55<sup>r</sup>. Poncius Caus of Albi was seen in the company of heretics in a house outside Puylaurens around 1235; D24, f. 110<sup>r</sup>. He became a heretic himself, and his death before 1239-1240 is to be inferred from a meeting around that time to discuss his legacy of 100 Melgueuil shillings to the heretics; D24, f. 155<sup>r-v</sup>. He was denounced by Sicard Lunel in his confession of around 1254; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 502.

54<sup>v</sup> *Deposition de Galhard Rubei, chevalier, de Montgaillard, qui declara avoir assisté aux predications des heretiques dans la maison de Bertrand de Rocavilla, son frere, avec ledit Bertrand, et Bego son autre frere, et Ayceline leur mere.*

10<sup>o</sup> kalendas Iulii audit an.

Anno quo supra, decimo kalendas Iulii, Galhardus Rubei, miles, de Montegalhardo, citatus veniens, testis iuratus et requisitus quod, tam de se quam de omnibus aliis, de crimine hæresis plenam diceret veritatem, 55<sup>r</sup> dixit | quod ipse fuit olim confessus de crimine supradicto fratri Iohanni de Sancto Petro et fratri Raginaldo de Carnoto, quondam inquisitoribus, sed minus plene.

Dixit etiam tunc dictis inquisitoribus tantum quod vidit Arnaldum Praderii et Ugonem Dominici, et quatuor alios hæreticos, de quorum nominibus non recordatur, apud Montem Galhardum, in domo Bertrandi de Rocovilla, fratris ipsius testis, et tunc non dixit quotiens vidit ibi dictos hæreticos.

Dixit etiam tunc quod vidit in prædicta domo cum illis hæreticis Stephanum Donati et Donatum, fratrem eius, de Montegalhardo; et tunc non dixit quod vidisset alias personas cum illis hæreticis.

Dixit insuper<sup>1</sup> tunc quod ipse testis adoravit dictos hæreticos, et audiuit verba et monitiones eorum, sed non vidit alios adorare<sup>2</sup> quod recole- 55<sup>v</sup> ret, et quod erant | decem anni vel circa. Fuit etiam tunc confessus quod fuerat credens hæreticorum.

Modo vero corrigit se et addit confessioni suæ, dicens quod apud Montem Galhardum, in prædicta domo Bertrandi de Rocovilla, fratris

<sup>1</sup> *ms* in super.

<sup>2</sup> -re *probably added*.

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<sup>3</sup> Gui described John of Saint-Pierre as 'of Bordeaux', writing that he was prior of the convent of Bordeaux (1250–1254), becoming inquisitor of Toulouse in 1255. He worked as inquisitor alongside Reginald of Chartres until he was replaced by William Bernard of Dax in May 1257. He died at Bordeaux, date unknown. Gui, *De fundatione*, p. 84; 'Mort des prieurs', p. 181, no. 107. Dossat (*Crises*, p. 191), puts forward convincing arguments that he was not the John of Saint-Pierre who had worked as inquisitor alongside Bernard of Caux, but this is often ignored.

*The deposition of Galhard Ros, knight, of Montgaillard, who stated that he 54<sup>v</sup>  
had been present at the preachings of heretics in the house of Bertrand of  
Roqueville, his brother, with the said Bertrand and Bego, his other brother,  
and Aicelina, their mother.*

*10 days before the kalends of July in the said year.*

In the same year as above, ten days before the kalends of July,<sup>1</sup> Galhard Ros,<sup>2</sup> knight of Montgaillard, appearing having been summoned, sworn in as a witness and asked to tell the whole truth both about himself and about all others concerning the crime of heresy, said | that he had 55<sup>r</sup>  
previously confessed concerning the aforesaid crime to brother John of Saint-Pierre<sup>3</sup> and brother Reginald of Chartres, the former inquisitors, but less than fully.

He also said to the said inquisitors then only that he saw Arnold Pradier and Hugh Dominic, and four other heretics whose names he does not remember, at Montgaillard, in the house of Bertrand of Roqueville, the same witness's brother, and he did not say then how often he saw the said heretics there.

He also said then that he saw in the aforesaid house with those heretics Stephen Donat and Donat, his brother, of Montgaillard; and he did not then say that he had seen other people with those heretics.

Moreover, he said then that the same witness adored the said heretics, and heard their words and admonitions, but that he did not see the others adoring them that he recalls, and that it was | ten years before 55<sup>v</sup>  
or thereabouts. He also confessed then that he had been a believer of the heretics.

Now, however, he corrects himself and adds to his confession, saying that at Montgaillard in the aforesaid house of Bertrand of Roqueville, his

<sup>1</sup> June 22 [1278].

<sup>2</sup> Galhard Ros's goods, confiscated after an earlier conviction of heresy, had been bought by William Unaud of Lanta, who sought confirmation in May 1270; *Saisimentum*, p. 220 n. 4.

sui, vidit ipse testis pluries supradictos hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis diversis vicibus, non simul sed divisim et singularim, supradictum Bertrandum, et Begonem de Rocovilla, fratres ipsius testis, dominam Aycelinam, matrem ipsius testis, et dominam Indiam,<sup>1</sup> uxorem dicti Bertrandi, et simul Na Vididals, ancillam, et Petram de Lauraco, Vitalem de Na Savena de Montegalhardo, familiares dictæ domus, et Bernardum Donadeu de Montegalhardo, Raymundum de Roco Vilata, et Petrum de Roco Vilata, fratres de Castlario prope Montemgalhardum, [et] Petrum de Bueuvilla de Avignonone. Et ibi ipse testis, et omnes prædicti, non simul sed divisim, et diversis vicibus, adoraverunt<sup>2</sup> dictos hæreticos, et audivit verba et monitiones eorum. Et fuit tempore supradicto—de quo possunt esse modo triginta tres anni vel circa.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> quare tacuerat olim ista, dixit quod propter preces et incantationes dictorum fratrum suorum, qui dixerant ei<sup>4</sup> quod celaret eos et ipsis aut aliis non noceret.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ, in domo Fratrum Prædicatorum, coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore; et iuravit et abiuravit etcetera, et fuit reconciliatus. Testes: frater Pontius de Parnaco, frater *Bernardus* de Insula, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> -n- altered, perhaps from -u-.

<sup>2</sup> ms adoravit; -it perhaps added.

<sup>3</sup> -tus probably added.

<sup>4</sup> ms et.

brother, the same witness saw the aforesaid heretics several times. And he saw with them there on various occasions, not together but separately and individually, the aforesaid Bertrand and Bego of Roqueville, the same witness's brothers, lady Aicelina, the same witness's mother, and lady India, the wife of the said Bertrand; and, together, Na Vitals, maidservant, and Petra of Laurac, Vital of Na Savanera of Montgaillard, servants of the said house, and Bernard Donadeu of Montgaillard, Raymond of *Roco Vilata*<sup>4</sup> and Peter of *Roco Vilata*, brothers of Le Carla<sup>5</sup> near Montgaillard, and Peter of Beauville of Avignonet. | And there the same witness and all 56<sup>r</sup> the aforesaid—not together but separately, and on various occasions—adored the said heretics, and heard their words and admonitions. And this was at the aforesaid time—it could be now thirty-three years ago or thereabouts.

Asked why he had previously kept quiet about these things, he said because of the entreaties and prayers of his said brothers, who told him not to mention them and not to harm them or others.

These things he attested at Toulouse, in the house of the Brothers Preacher, before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor; and he took an oath and abjured etc., and was reconciled. Witnesses: brother Pons of Parnac, brother Bernard of L'Isle, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>4</sup> Not identified, but perhaps Roqueville. A labourer from Montgaillard who was questioned January 12 1246 was Raymond of Roqueville (R[amundus] de Rocovila); Toulouse 609, f. 47<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Aude, comm. Dernacueillette, cant. Mouthoumet, arrond. Carcassonne, 2 km from Montgaillard; *DTF*. It was referred to as the place which is called *de Castlar* by a deponent from Montgaillard in 1245; Toulouse 609, f. 44<sup>r</sup>.



56<sup>v</sup> *Deposition de Pons de Bagnols de Pre|sevilla, contenant que Guillaume de Sanctis, chevalier, seigneur de Previlla, sestoit rendu heretique durant sa maladie de laquelle il mourut; et que Guillaume Garnier de Calvomonte, Raymond d'Auterive, fils dudit chevalier, et Arnaud<sup>1</sup> de Castronovo, son baile, avoient adoré les heretiques.*

4<sup>o</sup> nonas Augusti 1284.

Anno quo supra, quarto nonas Augusti, Pontius de Balneolis de Presevilla, citatus | veniens, testis iuratus et requisitus etcetera, dixit se nihil scire de facto hæresis vel Valdesiæ.

Anno quo supra, nonas Martii, prædictus Pontius de Balneolis<sup>2</sup>, adductus de carcere, correxist se, dicens quod quadam nocte, cum Guillelmus de Sanctis, miles, dominus de Presevilla, iaceret infirmus apud Preirevillam in domo sua, subtus solarium, egritudine qua decessit, vidit ipse testis circa dictum infirmum duos hæreticos quos ipse testis non cognoscebat. Et interrogavit Guillelmum Rotberti, qui erat ibi, cuiusmodi homines erant, et respondit quod de illis bonis hominibus—pro quibus ipse testis intellexit hæreticos. Et vidit eos loquentes et facientes genuflexiones,<sup>3</sup> et antiquiorem imponentem manus super caput dicti infirmi, et  
57<sup>v</sup> credit firmi|ter quod dicti hæretici hæreticabant dictum infirmum; et dictus Guillelmus Rotberti dixit eidem testi quod hæreticabant eum. Et erant ibi præsentibus ipse testis, et dictus Guillelmus Rotberti,<sup>4</sup> Pontius Rotberti, frater eius, Guillelmus Garnerii de Calvomonte, Raymundus

<sup>1</sup> *originally* d'Arnaud.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Boniolis.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* genu flexiones; *deletion, perhaps -s, at end of genu.*

<sup>4</sup> R- *added.*

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<sup>5</sup> William was condemned and burnt for heresy. His wife, lady Guillelma, was questioned by Bernard of Caux in 1246, and denied contact with or belief in heretics; Toulouse 609, f. 206<sup>v</sup>. In the accounts of confiscations of 1293–1294 it was reported that there was no income from William's properties in Préserville, Caumont and the Lantarès because they had been restored to his grandsons; *Comptes Royaux*, nos. 9602, 9698, i.456, 464.

*The deposition of Pons of Bagnols of Préserville, | containing that William 56<sup>v</sup>  
of Saintes, knight, lord of Préserville, had himself made a heretic during the  
illness from which he died; and that William Garnier of Calmont, Raymond  
of Auterive, son of the said knight, and Arnold of Castelnau, his bailli, had  
adored the heretics.*

*4 days before the nones of August 1284.*

In the same year as above, four days before the nones of August,<sup>1</sup> Pons  
of Bagnols<sup>2</sup> of Préserville,<sup>3</sup> appearing | having been summoned, sworn 57<sup>r</sup>  
in as a witness and questioned etc., said that he knew nothing about the  
matter of heresy or Waldensianism.

In the same year as above, on the nones of March, the aforesaid Pons  
of Bagnols,<sup>4</sup> brought out from prison, corrected himself, saying that one  
night, when William of Saintes,<sup>5</sup> knight, lord of Préserville was lying sick  
at Préserville in his house, under the solar, with the illness of which  
he died, the same witness saw around the said sick man two heretics  
whom the same witness did not know. And he asked William Robert, who  
was there, what sort of men they were, and he answered some of those  
good men—by which the same witness understood heretics. And he saw  
them speaking and making genuflexions, and the older of them placing  
his hands upon the head of the said sick man, and he firmly believes | 57<sup>v</sup>  
that the said heretics were hereticating the said sick man; and the said  
William Robert said to the same witness that they were hereticating him.  
And there were present there the same witness, and the said William  
Robert, Pons Robert, his brother, William Garnier of Calmont, Raymond

<sup>1</sup> August 2 [1278].

<sup>2</sup> Probably either Aude, cant. Conques, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne,  
or Haute-Garonne, cant. and comm. Grenade-sur-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., ar-  
rond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 873. See Bagnol- in *DTF*.

<sup>3</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Lanta, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1015.

<sup>4</sup> March 7 [1278 (1279)].

de Altarippa, filius dicti infirmi, [et] Arnaldus de Castronovo, baiulus domini<sup>1</sup> Raymundi<sup>2</sup> de Villela; et facta hæreticatione prædicta, ipse testis et omnes prædicti flexerunt genua tribus vicibus coram hæreticis prædictis.

Interrogatus<sup>3</sup> si quid dicebant, dixit quod ipse testis nihil dicebat. De aliis nescit. Et fuerunt octodecim anni circa festum Omnium Sanctorum, vel novem decim, vel circa.

58' Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. [Testes:] frater Raymundus de Caubos, prior, frater *Bernardus* | Guiraudi de Monte Albano, frater Arnaldus de Crasso, et ego Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi. Et iuravit<sup>4</sup> et abiuravit<sup>5</sup> etcetera.

Anno quo supra, quinto idus Martii, prædictus testis, adductus de carcere, testis iuratus et requisitus ut supra, adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod prædictæ hæreticationi interfuerunt Pontius de Gautianis et Guillelmus Aynerii de Preirevilla; et similiter flexerunt genua coram dictis hæreticis. Et asseruit pro certo se scire quod prædicta hæreticatio fuit facta.

58" Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: frater *Bernardus* de Insula, frater Arnaldus de Crasso, frater Iohannes de Sancto<sup>6</sup> Germerio, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* domus.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Raymundus.

<sup>3</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* iuravi, *originally* iuravit.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* abiuravi, *originally* abiuravit.

<sup>6</sup> Paulo *deleted*.

of Auterive,<sup>6</sup> the son of the said sick man, and Arnold of Castelnau,<sup>7</sup> *bailli* of lord Raymond of Villèle. And when the heretication had taken place, the same witness and all the aforesaid genuflected three times before the aforesaid heretics.

Asked if they said anything, he said that the same witness said nothing. About the others he does not know. And this was eighteen years ago around the feast of All Saints, or nineteen, or thereabouts.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. [Witnesses:] brother Raymond of Caubous, prior, brother Bernard | Guiraud of Montauban, brother Arnold of *Crasso*, and I, Atho 58<sup>r</sup> of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things. And he took an oath and abjured etc.

In the same year as above, five days before the ides of March,<sup>8</sup> the aforesaid witness, brought out from prison, sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, added to his confession, saying that Pons of *Gautianis*<sup>9</sup> and William Aynier of Préserville had been present at the aforesaid heretication; and they likewise genuflected before the said heretics. And he asserted that he knew for certain that the aforesaid heretication took place.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother Arnold of *Crasso*,<sup>10</sup> brother John of Saint-Germier,<sup>11</sup> and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

<sup>6</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. and arrond. Toulouse, or Tarn-et-Garonne, cant. Beaumont-de-Lomagne; Font-Réaulx, p. 870.

<sup>7</sup> Either one of the many places called Castelnau (*DTF*), or Castelnaudary.

<sup>8</sup> March 11 [1278 (1279)].

<sup>9</sup> Not identified. See Château Gudanes, Ariège, Château-Verdun, cant. Cabannes, arrond. Foix; *DTF*.

<sup>10</sup> Not certainly identified. But see *Arnold del Gras* above, 45<sup>r</sup> and n. 76, possibly to be identified with Arnold *de Crasso*.

<sup>11</sup> Not found in *ACP*. Saint-Germier, probably either Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse, or Tarn, comm. Teyssode, cant. Saint-Paul-cap-de-Joux, arrond. Castres; Font-Réaulx, p. 1036.

*Deposition de Faydita, femme de Bernard de Montagut, chevalier, qui declara avoir adoré les heretiques dans la maison de Matfre Amelii, chevalier de la Penne d'Albigois, a la sollicitation de Petronilla de Penna, femme de B. de Penna, chevalier, de laquelle elle estoit damoiselle.*

*13° kalendas Martii audit an.*

- 59<sup>r</sup> Anno quo supra, decimo tertio kalendas Martii, | Faydita, uxor Bernardi de Monte Accuto, militis de Belloforti, diocesis Caturcensis, sponte veniens, testis iurata<sup>1</sup> et requisita<sup>2</sup> etcetera, dixit quod ipsa testis, olim puella ætatis de duodecim ad quindecim annos, manens cum domina Petronilla de Penna, uxore quondam domini Bernardi de Penna, militis Albiensis, pro domicella, ducta ab illa domina ad domum Matfredi Amelii, militis de Penna Albiensis, vidit ibi duabus vicibus Aymericum de Colleto et duos socios eius, hæreticos; et vidit ibi cum eis prædictam dominam Petronillam, in quidam solario in quo manebant dicti hæretici occulte. Et dicta domina Petronilla, et ipsa testis, inducta ab ea et instructa, adoraverunt<sup>3</sup> dictos hæreticos, flexis ter genibus, dicendo
- 59<sup>v</sup> 'Benedicite'. Et prima vice inve|nerunt inferius,<sup>4</sup> in aula dictæ domus, dominam Berengeriam, matrem dicit Matfredi, [et] quandam ancillam eius, de cuius nomine non recolit—sed non vidit eas cum hæreticis. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Prædictos hæreticos credidit esse bonos homines et veraces: sed hanc credentiam dimisit elapsi sunt triginta anni.

<sup>1</sup> originally iuratus.

<sup>2</sup> originally requisitus.

<sup>3</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>4</sup> perhaps added.

<sup>5</sup> He was denounced by Sicard Lunel in his confession of around 1254; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 498, 500; see also 506, n. 38. His confiscated goods were still rendering income in 1293–1294, *Comptes Royaux*, no. 9593, i.456.

*The deposition of Faydita, wife of Bernard of Montégut, knight, who stated 58<sup>v</sup>  
that she had adored the heretics in the house of Matfre Amiel, knight of  
Penne d'Albigois, at the invitation of Petronilla of Penne, wife of B. of  
Penne, knight, whose damsel she was.*

*13 days before the kalends of March in the said year.*

In the same year as above, thirteen days before the kalends of March,<sup>1</sup> | 59<sup>r</sup>  
Faydita, wife of Bernard of Montaigu,<sup>2</sup> knight of Belfort<sup>3</sup> of the diocese of  
Cahors, appearing spontaneously, sworn in as a witness and questioned  
etc., said that the same witness, once when she was a girl between twelve  
and fifteen years of age, living as damsel with lady Petronilla of Penne,  
wife of the late lord Bernard of Penne, knight of Albi,<sup>4</sup> she was taken by  
that lady to the house of Matfre Amiel,<sup>5</sup> knight of Penne d'Albigois, and  
she saw there on two occasions Aymeric of Collet and two companions of  
his, heretics; and she saw there with them the aforesaid lady Petronilla, in  
a certain solar where the said heretics were living in secret. And the said  
lady Petronilla, and the same witness, encouraged and instructed by her,  
adored the said heretics, genuflecting three times and saying, 'Bless us'.  
And on the first occasion | they found below, in the hall of the said house, 59<sup>v</sup>  
lady Berengaria, mother of the said Matfred, and a certain maidservant  
of hers, whose name she does not recall—but she did not see them with  
the heretics. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

She believed that the aforesaid heretics were good men and truthful:  
but thirty years have passed since she abandoned this belief.

<sup>1</sup> February 17 [1278 (1279)].

<sup>2</sup> There is no need to follow the Doat scribe in preferring a version of *Mons Acutus* ending in 't' (Montagut, Montaigut or Montégut). A strong possibility is Montaigu-de-Quercy, Tarn-et-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Castelsarrasin; DTF.

<sup>3</sup> Belfort-du-Quercy: Lot, comm. and cant. Lalbenque, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Cahors; DTF.

<sup>4</sup> Both husband and wife were denounced by Sicard Lunel in his confession of around 1254; Duvernoy, 'Mss 124 et 202 des Archives Dép. de la Haute-Garonne', 500; on Bernard, *ibid.*, 506, n. 39. Bernard had taken an oath of loyalty to Alphonse of Poitiers, December 1 1249; *Layettes du Trésor*, iii.87 no 3829.

Alibi non vidit hæreticos, nec adoravit, nec dedit eis aliquid nec misit: sed de mandato supradictæ dominæ suæ, portavit pluries prædictis hæreticis panem, et vinum, et pisces. Tunc non veniebat ad præsentiam dictorum hæreticorum, imo Raymundus, serviens et ductor eorum, cuius cognomen ignorat, recipiebat hæc victualia.

60<sup>r</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Et iuravit et abiuravit *etcetera*. Testes: frater Raymun|dus de Caubosio, prior Tholosæ, frater Arnaldus Talharici, et frater Arnaldus de Crasso, Ordinis<sup>1</sup> Fratrum<sup>2</sup> Prædicatorum, et ego Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> -nis added over deleted hyphen.

<sup>2</sup> written over deletion.

Otherwise she did not see heretics, nor did she adore them, nor did she give or send them anything: but at the command of her aforesaid lady several times she carried bread, wine and fish to the aforesaid heretics. She did not at that time come into the presence of the said heretics, but instead Raymond, their servant and guide, whose family name she does not know, used to receive these victuals.

These things she attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. And she took an oath and abjured etc. Witnesses: brother Raymond | of Caubous, prior of Toulouse, brother Arnold Talharic, and 60<sup>r</sup>  
brother Arnold of *Crasso*, of the Order of Brothers Preacher, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.



*Audition d'Irlanda, femme de Guillaume de Villela, chevalier, qui declara avoir adoré les heretiques depuis la confession qu'elle avoit faite, et la penitence qu'elle avoit receue des inquisiteurs.*

*4° idus Februarii audit an.*

- 60<sup>v</sup> Anno quo supra, | tertio idus Februarii, domina Irlanda, uxor Guillelmi de Villela, quondam militis de Montesquiuo, veniens non citata, testis iurata<sup>1</sup> *etcetera*, dixit quod fuit olim confessa, primo fratri Guillelmo Arnaldi, secundo<sup>2</sup> fratri Bernardo de Cautio, quondam inquisitore, de omnibus quæ comiserat in hæresi, pro quibus pœnitentiam habuit et complevit. Post receptam<sup>3</sup> vero dictam pœnitentiam et hæresim abiurata, olim, cum ipsa testis et dictus vir suus manerent apud Gardam, venit ad eam Raymundus Baussani de Garda, et dixit ei quod boni homines, scilicet hæretici, erant apud Gardam,<sup>4</sup> in domo Bernardi Berterii, qui tunc manebat ibi, et quod si vellet posset eos videre; et respondit quod bene volebat<sup>5</sup> eos videre. Et in vespere<sup>6</sup> dictus Raymundus Baussani et Guillelmus frater eius venerunt ad eam, et, dicto Raymundo statim eunte ad alium locum, dictus Guillelmus Baussani associavit eam de domo sua, usque ad domum dicti Bernardi Berterii; in qua invenerunt Bernardum Bonafos et socium eius, cuius nomen nescit, hæreticos,<sup>7</sup> in quadam camera, et cum eis dictum Bernardum Berterii, Ermen-gardim, matrem eius, Ermengardim Martinam, et Guillelmam, sororem dicti Bernardi Berterii—sed hanc non cum hæreticis, sed extra cameram.

<sup>1</sup> originally iuratus.

<sup>2</sup> -undo *perhaps* added.

<sup>3</sup> re- written over deletion, *perhaps* postea.

<sup>4</sup> *the words* venit ad eam Raymundus Baussani de Garda, et dixit ei quod boni homines, scilicet hæretici, erant apud Gardam *are repeated here in error.*

<sup>5</sup> originally nolebat.

<sup>6</sup> -e altered, *perhaps* from -æ.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* hæreticum; originally hereticus.

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cemetery at Montesquieu. When the confession was read out to him, May 12 1246, he expressed regret for concealing a lot in an earlier confession to William Arnold; Toulouse 609, f. 101<sup>r</sup>. A knight of this name, with property at Lagarde, was among the nobles of the *bailie* of Avignonet who took an oath of loyalty to the king of France, October 1271 8–9; *Saisimentum*, p. 99 and n. 7.

*The hearing of Irlanda, wife of William of Villèle, knight, who stated that she had adored the heretics after the confession she had made and the penance she had received from the inquisitors.*

*4 days before the ides of February in the said year.*

In the same year as above, | three days before the ides of February,<sup>1</sup> 60<sup>v</sup>  
 lady Irlanda,<sup>2</sup> wife of the late William of Villèle,<sup>3</sup> knight of Montesquieu,  
 appearing without being summoned, sworn in as a witness etc., said that  
 she had previously confessed, first to brother William Arnold, secondly  
 to brother Bernard of Caux, the former inquisitor, about all the acts of  
 heresy she had committed, for which she had a penance and carried  
 it out. However, after she had received the said penance and abjured  
 heresy, once, while the same witness and her said husband were living at  
 Lagarde, Raymond Baussan of Lagarde came to her and told her that the  
 good men, that is, the heretics, were at Lagarde, in the house of Bernard  
 Bertier, who was then living there, and that if she wanted she could | 61<sup>r</sup>  
 see them; and she replied that she would very much like to see them.  
 And in the evening the said Raymond Baussan and William his brother  
 came to her, and, while the said Raymond immediately went to another  
 place, the said William Baussan accompanied her from her house as far  
 as the house of the said Bernard Bertier; in which she found Bernard  
 Bonafos and his companion, whose name she does not know, heretics, in  
 a certain chamber, and with them the said Bernard Bertier, Ermengardis  
 his mother, Ermengardis Martina, and Guillelma, the sister of the said  
 Bernard Bertier—but she was not with the heretics, but outside the

<sup>1</sup> February 11 [1278 (1279)].

<sup>2</sup> Domina Hylanda / Hyrlanda was among parishioners of Montesquieu questioned by Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre, March 22 1245, confessing contacts with heretics from around 1230 but denying adoring them. On June 8 1246 this confession was read out to her and also an old confession (*antica confessio*) in which she had said that she had adored heretics—this she then admitted was true; Toulouse 609, f. 107<sup>v</sup>–108<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> William (W[ilelmus] de Vilela), knight, was among parishioners of Montesquieu questioned by Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre in 1245. He admitted contacts with heretics from about 1235, but denied adoring them; he had heard it said that his father and uncle had been buried in the heretics'

Et ibi ipsa testis et omnes supradicti, præter dictam Guillelmam, adoraverunt<sup>1</sup> dictos hæreticos, et audiverunt<sup>2</sup> prædicationem<sup>3</sup> eorum. Quo  
 61<sup>v</sup> facto, ipsa testis et dictus Guillelmus Baussani exiverunt in|de. Et in exitu  
 extra cameram obviaverunt supradicto Raymundo Baussani et cuidam  
 alii quem adducebat ibi: et credit quod ille erat Iohannes de Terracia. Et  
 sunt triginta tres anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod prædictus Raymundus Baussani alia vice quæsit  
 ab ea si vellet videre eosdem hæreticos. Et tunc ipsa testis interrogavit  
 eum ubi erant; et respondit quod apud Terraciam, in domo Iohannis de  
 Terracia. Et ipsa testis dixit ei quod non habebat solacium cum quo iret—  
 et ita erat, et propter hoc non ivit. Et fuit eodem tempore, elapso dimidio  
 anno vel circa.

Dixit etiam quod penitet et dolet<sup>4</sup> quia postquam abiuravit hæresim et  
 poenitentiam habuit ista commisit.

62<sup>r</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Tes-  
 tes: frater Pontius de Moreriis, frater Bernardus de Villela, Ordinis |  
 Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc  
 scripsi.

In crastinum prædicta testis adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod apud  
 Gardam, in domo Ermengardis Martinæ,<sup>5</sup> visitavit ipsa testis, ad denun-  
 ciationem dicti Raymundi Baussani, Pontium de Sancta Fide et socium  
 eius, cuius nomen nescit, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis ipsam Ermengar-  
 dim, et Pontium Fabri, fratrem eius, et dictum Raymundum Baussani, qui  
 venit ibi cum ipsa teste.<sup>6</sup> Et ibi ipsa testis et omnes prædicti adoraverunt<sup>7</sup>  
 dictos hæreticos, et audiverunt<sup>8</sup> prædicationem eorum. Et sunt triginta  
 quinque anni vel circa.

Interrogata,<sup>9</sup> dixit se nihil amplius scire de facto hæresis vel<sup>10</sup> Valdesiæ.

<sup>1</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>2</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>3</sup> -em added.

<sup>4</sup> -et added; -e- altered.

<sup>5</sup> -æ altered from -e.

<sup>6</sup> ms testis.

<sup>7</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>8</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>9</sup> ms Interrogatus; -tus added.

<sup>10</sup> sci deleted.

chamber. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid—apart from the said Guillelma—adored the said heretics, and heard their preaching. When this was done, the same witness and the said William Baussan left | there. And as they were leaving, outside the chamber they met the aforesaid Raymond Baussan and someone else he was bringing there: and she believes it was John of *Terracia*.<sup>4</sup> And this was thirty-three years ago or thereabouts. 61<sup>v</sup>

Item, she said that on another occasion the aforesaid Raymond Baussan asked her if she wanted to see the same heretics. And then the same witness asked him where they were; and he replied at *Terracia*, in the house of John of *Terracia*. And the same witness said to him that she did not have a sympathiser with whom to go—and thus it was, and for this reason she did not go. And this was at the same, half a year later or thereabouts.

She also said that she repents and is sorry that she committed these acts after she abjured heresy and had penance.

These things she attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Pons of Mourières, brother Bernard of Villèle, of the Order | of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public 62<sup>r</sup> notary, who wrote these things.

On the following day<sup>5</sup> the aforesaid witness added to her confession, saying that at Lagarde, in the house of Ermengardis Martina, the same witness visited Pons of Sainte-Foy and his companion, whose name she does not know, heretics, on the information of the said Raymond Baussan. And she saw there with them the same Ermengardis, and Pons Faure her brother,<sup>6</sup> and the said Raymond Baussan, who came there with the same witness. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid adored the said heretics and heard their preaching. And this was thirty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Questioned, she said that she knew nothing more about the matter of heresy or Waldensianism.

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<sup>4</sup> Not identified; see the common place-name La Terrasse in *DTF*. A deposition from Avignonnet in 1245 mentions followers of heretics from La Terrasse around 1240; Toulouse 609, f. 135<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> [February 12 1278 (1279)].

<sup>6</sup> Possibly the same as Pons Faure of Lamothe (above, 285<sup>v</sup>), who also had a sister called Ermengardis.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram prædicto inquisitore; et iuravit et abiuravit etcetera. Testes: frater *Bernardus* de Villela, frater Arnaldus | de Crasso, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

These things she attested at Toulouse before the aforesaid inquisitor; and she took an oath and abjured etc. Witnesses: brother Bernard of Villèle, brother Arnold | of *Crasso*, of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho 62<sup>v</sup> of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

*Audition de Guiraud de Averro, chevalier, du diocese de Caors, qui declara navoir jamais conu aucun heretique, et inscrivit en faux des lettres de la penitence a luy enjointe par Guillaume Arnaud, inquisiteur, par laquelle il estoit condamné a donner 100 ll. Caorcienes aux pauvres, et de faire une quarantaine dans Rome.*

63<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>o</sup> idus Mar|tii audit an.

Anno quo supra, sexto idus Martii, Guiraldus de Averro, diocesis Caturcensis, citatus veniens, testis iuratus et requisitus ut supra, dixit quod nunquam vidit hæreticos nec fidem habuit in eis, nec aliquid scivit de facto hæresis, de se nec de aliis.

Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> si unquam fuit confessus de hæresi alicui inquisitori, dixit quod non.

Interrogatus<sup>2</sup> si unquam habuit pœnitentiam propter hæresim, dixit quod non, nec etiam vocatus ad confitendum de hæresi usque modo.

Et fuit sibi ostensa quædam littera fratris Guillelmi Arnaldi, quondam inquisitoris, sicut apparet prima facie continens quod frater Guillelmus Arnaldi, inquisitor, ratificavit pœnitentiam iniunctam Guiraud |  
63<sup>v</sup> de Averro, domicello, quod daret centum libras<sup>3</sup> Caturcenses pauperibus pro his quæ exprimebantur in dicta littera comisisse in hæretica pravitate. Item continebatur in dicta littera quod faceret unam quadragesimam<sup>4</sup> Romæ. Qui respondit quod nunquam vidit fratrem Guillelmum Arnaldi, inquisitorem, nec fratrem Petrum Sillani, nec est tantæ ætatis; et dixit quod reputat dictam litteram esse falsam, vel per errorem positum nomen suum in ea.

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> -tus added.

<sup>3</sup> -as probably added.

<sup>4</sup> altered from quadragesimam.

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earliest Dominicans to be nominated as inquisitor, in 1233. The largest evidence surviving from his inquisitorial activity is the copy, in Doat 21, of the penances he imposed on 647 convicted heretics in Quercy (1241–1242). He died in the Toulouse convent, February 22 1257, at a very advanced age. Feuchter, *Ketzer, Konsuln*, ch. 5; 'Mort des prieurs', p. 185, no. 126.

*The hearing of Guiraud of Averro, knight, of the diocese of Cahors, who stated that he had never known any heretic, and that the letters of penance imposed on him by William Arnold, inquisitor—by which he was condemned to pay 100 Cahors pounds to the poor, and to make a forty-days fast in Rome—were falsely written.*

*6 days before the ides of March | in the said year.*

63<sup>r</sup>

In the same year as above, six days before the ides of March,<sup>1</sup> Guiraud of Averro,<sup>2</sup> of the diocese of Cahors, appearing having been summoned, sworn in as a witness and questioned as above, said that he never saw heretics nor had any faith in them, nor knew anything about the matter of heresy, either about himself or others.

Asked if he had ever confessed about heresy to any inquisitor, he said no.

Asked if he had ever had penance because of heresy, he said no, nor, furthermore, had he been called to confess about heresy until now.

And a certain letter of brother William Arnold, the former inquisitor, was shown to him, as it appears *prima facie* containing that brother William Arnold, inquisitor, ratified the penance imposed upon Guiraud | 63<sup>v</sup> of Averro, squire, that he should give 100 Cahors pounds to the poor on account of those acts of heretical depravity which it was stated in the letter that he had committed. Item, it was contained in the said letter that he should do a Lenten fast in Rome. He replied that he had never seen brother William Arnold, inquisitor, nor brother Peter Sellan,<sup>3</sup> nor is he so old; and he said that he regards the said letter as false, or that his name was placed in it by mistake.

<sup>1</sup> March 10 [1278 (1279)].

<sup>2</sup> Not identified.

<sup>3</sup> A Toulouse citizen and in the service of the count, Peter Sellan became a Dominican in 1215; Gui says he was the first Dominican. A property belonging to him and his brother became first of all the nucleus of the first Dominican convent in Toulouse and then, from 1233, the house of inquisition. Sellan founded the convent in Limoges, and was its first prior (1220–1233), and he also saw to the foundation of the convent in Cahors in 1226. He was among the three



*Deposition de Pierre Ferroli de Trebons, contenant que Pons de St. Germier, chevalier, et Dias sa femme ou sa concubine, avoient adoré dans leur maison Pierre | de Rubeo, beaufreire dudit chevalier, et B. Gaufridus, heretiques.*  
64<sup>r</sup>

5<sup>o</sup> kalendas Maii audit an.

Anno quo supra, quinto kalendas Maii, Petrus Ferroli de Trebontio, citatus veniens, testis iuratus et requisitus etcetera, dixit quod fuit olim confessus de hæresi fratri Reginaldo et eius socio, quondam inquisitoribus,<sup>1</sup> a quibus habuit pœnitentiam arbitriam, et post modum in dicto crimine non deliquit.<sup>2</sup> Sed modo recordatus addit confessioni suæ quod apud Sanctum Germerium, in domo Pontii de Sancto Germerio, militis, vidit quodam vespere<sup>3</sup> Petrum de Rubeo, | sororium<sup>4</sup> prædicti Pontii de Sancto Germerio, et Bernardum Gaufridi, socium eius, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis ipsum Pontium de Sancto Germerio, et Dias, uxorem vel concubinam eius, et Garsendim, ancillam, et Arnaldum vel Raymundum Bernardi, famulum domus, et Raymundum Baudrici de

<sup>1</sup> *ms* inquisitore; -e added.

<sup>2</sup> -t written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> -e altered, probably from -æ.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* sorocium.

<sup>7</sup> Dias, described as wife of the late Pons of Saint-Germier, deposed to Ferrier February 23 1244; D23, f. 57<sup>r</sup>-64<sup>v</sup>. She concealed her husband's heretication then and on her first appearance before Bernard of Caux, but on her second appearance in front of him she admitted it, in long depositions on May 1 and June 26 1245; Toulouse 609, f. 174<sup>r-v</sup>. Her first heretication was by Guiraud of Gourdon, while she was ill around 1225. Around 1239 she witnessed the heretication of her husband Pons in his house, by the deacon Bernard Gasto and his companion Bernard Sabater; this was during the illness from which Pons died. Later the heretical bishop Bertrand Martin, consoled her at Montségur, and she stayed there as a vested heretic for a year and a half, leaving around 1242 to join Algaia in a cabin in the woods near Caragoudes. She mentioned as her companions, in the woods at Saune, Algaia, Stephana of Ségreville (de Seguiervila), Guillelma (W[i]lelma) of Faure and Bernarda of La Selve (de Silva). Algaia and Guillelma Fauressa were hiding with her until they were captured in a wood near Mascarville (Haute-Garonne, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse) in May 1244. See n. 6 above, and below, 65<sup>v</sup> n. 10.

*The deposition of Peter Ferrol of Trébons, containing that Pons of Saint-Germier, knight, and Dias, his wife or his concubine, had adored in their house Peter | of Rubeo, the brother-in-law of the said knight, and Bernard Geoffrey, heretics.* 64<sup>r</sup>

*5 days before the kalends of May in the said year.*

In the same year as above, five days before the kalends of May,<sup>1</sup> Peter Ferrol of Trébons,<sup>2</sup> appearing having been summoned, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc, said that he had previously confessed about heresy to brother Reginald and his companion, the former inquisitors, from whom he had an arbitrary penance, and afterwards he did not transgress in the said crime. But now, remembering, he adds to his confession that at Saint-Germier,<sup>3</sup> in the house of Pons of Saint-Germier, knight, he saw one evening Peter of *Rubeo*,<sup>4</sup> | the brother-in-law of the aforesaid Pons of Saint-Germier, and Bernard Geoffrey,<sup>5</sup> his companion, heretics.<sup>6</sup> And he saw there with them the same Pons of Saint-Germier, and Dias, his wife or concubine,<sup>7</sup> and Garsen, a maidservant, and Arnold or Raymond Bernard, a servant of the house, and Raymond Baudric of 64<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> April 27 [1279].

<sup>2</sup> Trébons-sur-La-Grasse, Haute-Garonne, cant Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1094. Peter Ferrol (Petrus Ferriol), questioned July 4 1245, admitted only seeing heretics, including Bernard Geoffrey (Bernardus Gaufre), living publicly at Saint-Germier around 1231; Toulouse 609, f. 175<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1061.

<sup>4</sup> Deponents from Saint-Germier questioned in 1245 refer to him as Peter (Petrus) Rog. His sisters were Na Dias and Ramunda, wife of Arnold Taravel of Cessales; Toulouse 609, f. 174<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> See n. 2 above. Bernard Geoffrey (Bernardus Gaufre), was seen together with Peter Rog in Saint-Germier around 1220 and 1230, and living openly with other heretics in their own houses at Saint-Germier, around 1231; Toulouse 609, f. 174<sup>v</sup>, 175<sup>v</sup>. Austorga of Rouzégas (see 68<sup>v</sup> below) had seen him near Saune ((Haute-Garonne, comm. Caragoudes, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse) around 1240; D24, 6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Around 1229 Pons of Saint-Germier and his wife Na Dias were living at Avignonet, at which time they were seen adoring heretics in their house; Toulouse 609, f. 137<sup>v</sup>. See next note.

Avinione, filiolum<sup>1</sup> dictorum Pontii et Dias, iuvenem tunc ætatis duodecim annorum vel circa, qui nutriebatur in dicta domo. Et ibi ipse testis et dictus Raymundus Baudrici, inducti et instructi a prædicto Pontio de Sancto Germerio, adoraverunt<sup>2</sup> dictos hæreticos, flexis ter genibus, dicendo 'Benedicite'; sed non vidit alios adorare. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Sanctum Germerium, in domo Petri prædicti  
65<sup>r</sup> de Rubeo, hæretici, vidit publice morantes eosdem hæreticos; sed<sup>3</sup> | non adoravit<sup>4</sup> eos ibi.

Item apud Sanctum Germerium, in domo Ademarii de Rubeo, vidit eosdem hæreticos; sed non adoravit eos ibi, nec vidit alios adorare. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item apud Sanctum Germerium vidit Guiraldum de Gordone, militem, dominum de Sancto Germerio, hæreticum, et socium eius, hæreticos, publice morantes in domo ipsius militis—sed non adoravit eos nec vidit alios adorare<sup>5</sup>—quando ipse testis erat multum iuvenis. Et fuit tempore guerræ, ante prædictum tempus.

Et hæc omisit dicere propter oblivionem, sicut dicit, in prima confessione sua; et quia notarius<sup>6</sup> qui tunc recepit confessionem suam non curavit scribere nisi ea quæ confitebatur commisisse citra tempus pacis.

Item dixit quod apud Sanctum Germerium, in domo Martini Audrandi,  
65<sup>v</sup> | vidit Raymundum Audrandi, fratrem eius, hæreticum, publice morantem tempore guerræ. Et sunt quinquaginta anni elapsi. Sed non adoravit eum nec vidit adorare.<sup>7</sup>

Item dixit quod apud Sanctum Germerium, in domo Raymundi de Caramanno, qui alias vocabatur Mun, vidit duos hæreticos quos non novit; sed non adoravit eos nec vidit adorare.<sup>8</sup> Et fuit eodem tempore.

<sup>1</sup> *second -l- written over deletion.*

<sup>2</sup> *-unt added.*

<sup>3</sup> *the word sed is repeated at the top of the following page.*

<sup>4</sup> *-vit added.*

<sup>5</sup> *-re added over deletion.*

<sup>6</sup> *-ius added.*

<sup>7</sup> *-re added over deletion.*

<sup>8</sup> *-re added over deletion.*

<sup>10</sup> Dias, widow of Pons of Saint-Germier, had often seen heretics in Monh de Caraman's house at Saint-Germier around 1225; Toulouse 609, f. 174<sup>r</sup>.

Avignonet, the godson of the said Pons and Dias, then a youth of the age of twelve years or thereabouts, who was being brought up in the said house. And there the same witness and the said Raymond Baudric, encouraged and instructed by the aforesaid Pons of Saint-Germier, adored the said heretics, genuflecting three times, saying 'Bless us'; but he did not see the others adore. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Saint-Germier, in the house of the aforesaid Peter of *Rubeo*, heretic, he saw the same heretics living publicly; but | he did 65<sup>r</sup> not adore them there.

Item, at Saint-Germier, in the house of Adémar of *Rubeo*, he saw the same heretics; but he did not adore them there, nor did he see others adore. And this was at the same time.

Item, at Saint-Germier he saw Guiraud of Gourdon,<sup>8</sup> knight, lord of Saint-Germier, heretic, and his companion, heretics, living publicly in the same knight's house—but he did not adore them, nor did he see others adore—when the same witness was very young. And this was during the war, before the aforesaid time.<sup>9</sup>

And he omitted to mention these things because of forgetfulness, as he says, in his first confession; and because the notary who then received his confession did not trouble to write down anything except the things which he confessed to having committed since the time of peace.

Item, he said that at Saint-Germier, in the house of Martin Audrand, | 65<sup>v</sup> he saw Raymond Audrand, his brother, heretic, living publicly during the war. And fifty years have passed since then. But he did not adore him or see others adore him.

Item, he said that at Saint-Germier, in the house of Raymond of Caraman, who was otherwise called Mun,<sup>10</sup> he saw two heretics whom he did not know; but he did not adore them or see others adore them. And this was at the same time.

<sup>8</sup> Lot, ch.-lieu arrond.; *Saisimentum*, p. 400. Duvernoy prefers to identify a quarter of Caraman; *Registre*, p. 228, n. 5. Guiraud was deacon of Caraman, 1205–1239; Duvernoy, *Histoire*, p. 348. Guiraud, *Histoire*, i.218. He appears in *Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise* taking a leading role in the defense of Toulouse when it was besieged by Simon de Montfort, and in the battles of Saint-Sauveur and Baziège; *La chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, ed. E. Martin-Chabot, 3 vols (Paris, 1931–1961), ii.297, iii.153, 317.

<sup>9</sup> Guiraud had been seen living openly in heretics' houses at Saint-Germier around 1210, at the start of the crusade, and again around 1225; Toulouse 609, f. 175<sup>r</sup>. The knight Saix of Montesquieu had seen him in Caraman around 1216; D24, f. 127<sup>v</sup>.

Item dixit quod apud Sanctum Germerium, in domo Aldrigæ,<sup>1</sup> vidit publice morantes Bosquizo et socium eius, quem non novit, hæreticos; sed non adoravit<sup>2</sup> eos nec vidit adorare.<sup>3</sup> Et fuit eodem tempore.

Et hoc similiter omisit dicere ex causis prædictis.

66<sup>r</sup> Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: frater *Bernardus* de Insula, frater Bartholomæus de Ar|canhano, et frater *Bernardus* Raymundi, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

Anno quo supra, tertio nonas Maii, prædictus testis, iuratus et requisitus ut supra, assecratus quod non habebit pœnitentiam propter quam amittere debeat corpus aut bona sua, si infra diem martis proximo futuram plene confessus fuerit de crimine hæresis veritatem, addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod in nemore de Vingonz, inter Sanctum Germerium et Varenas, vidit Raymundum Lageti et Borzes, socium eius, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis Guillelmum [Isarni] de Podio de Varenis, et Raymundum den Arnalda de Sancto Germerio, cum quo ipse testis et alii prope-  
66<sup>v</sup> dicti, ipso teste | vidente, adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos. Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod quadam nocte ipse testis et dictus Raymundus den Arnauda, et Petrus Stephani, armiger Bertrandi Alamanni de Lascura, euntes versus Cargodas, invenerunt in via Na Bonassias et duas socias eius, quarum nomina nescivit, hæreticas, et cum eis Guillelmum Isarni de Varenis, et Guillelmum de Podio de eodem loco, Peiratam dels Fortanex, et Pagesium de Falgairaco, seniore, ducentes et associantes dictas hæreticas de prope mansum dels Cedals versus<sup>5</sup> Saonam; et prope Saonam, in quadam barta, dimiserunt eas. Et ipse testis et alii propredicti,

<sup>1</sup> *ms* Aldrige.

<sup>2</sup> -vit *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -re *added*.

<sup>4</sup> -erunt *probably added*.

<sup>5</sup> -us *perhaps added*.

<sup>15</sup> Raymond (R[amundus]) of N'Arnauda was seen with heretics in Saint-Germier around 1243; Toulouse 609, f. 174<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Mourvilles-Basses, cant. Villefranche-de-Lauragais, arrond. Toulouse; *DTF*. It is just to the SE of Mourvilles-Basses; IGN 2144 E. Also in Toulouse 609, f. 174<sup>v</sup>: Fortonenx.

<sup>17</sup> Not identified.

<sup>18</sup> Haute-Garonne, comm. Caragoudes, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse; *DTF*.

Item, he said that at Saint-Germier, in the house of Aldriga, he saw living publicly Boscquizo and his companion, whom he did not know, heretics; but he did not adore them or see others adore them. And this was at the same time.

And this he likewise omitted to mention for the aforesaid reasons.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Bernard of l'Isle, brother Bartholomew of | 66<sup>r</sup>  
Arcagne, and brother Bernard Raymond,<sup>11</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, three days before the nones of May,<sup>12</sup> the aforesaid witness, sworn in and questioned as above, under the assurance that he will not have a penance through which he will lose his body or his goods, if he has fully confessed the truth concerning the crime of heresy before next Tuesday, added to his confession, saying that in the wood of *Vingonz*,<sup>13</sup> between Saint-Germier and Varennes,<sup>14</sup> he saw Raymond Laget and Borzes, his companion, heretics. And he saw there with them William [Isarn] of Varennes, and Raymond den Arnalda<sup>15</sup> of Saint-Germier, with whom the same witness and the aforesaid others, in the sight of the same | witness, adored the said heretics there. And this 66<sup>v</sup>  
was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that one night the same witness and the said Raymond den Arnalda, and Peter Stephen, squire of Bertrand Alaman of Lescure, going towards Caragoudes, met on the road Na Bonassias and two companions of hers, whose names he did not know, female heretics, and with them William Isarn of Varennes, and William of Puy of the same place, Peirata of Fourtounens,<sup>16</sup> and Pagès of Falgayrac, the elder, leading and accompanying the said heretics from near the *mas dels Cedals*<sup>17</sup> towards Saune;<sup>18</sup> and near Saune, in a certain scrubland, they left them. And the same witness and the others mentioned above, in the same witness's sight,

<sup>11</sup> Three brothers of this name appear in the acts of the provincial chapters, one a not further specified Bernard Raymond, assigned to study natural philosophy at Limoges in 1283 (ACP, p. 267); a Bernard Raymond of Cahors, assigned to study theology at Bordeaux in 1286 (ACP, p. 295); and a Bernard Raymond *de Marcha*, assigned to study theology in Bordeaux in 1270 (ACP, p. 149).

<sup>12</sup> May 5 [1279].

<sup>13</sup> A witness deposing in 1245 referred to it as a wood that is called *Rivale de Bigons*; Toulouse 609, f. 175<sup>v</sup>. *Vingonz* is not found in IGN 2144 E.

<sup>14</sup> See above, 12<sup>r</sup> n. 8. The distance to Saint-Germier is 3 km.

ipso teste vidente, in recessu adoraverunt<sup>1</sup> ibi dictas hæreticas. Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

67<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod quadam nocte prædictus Raymundus den Arnauda duxit ipsum testem ad nemus de Petra Cava inter Sanctum Germerium et Cedals, ubi manebant Dias de Sancto Germerio, et Algaia de Lobenx, et Stephana de Segurvilla, et aliæ duæ sociæ earum, quarum nomina nescivit, omnes hæreticæ. Et viderunt eas ibi, et cum eis Guillelmum Fabri de Torenx, et Petrum Brugadum de Sancto Germerio, qui solet postea morari apud Vazegiam. Et ipse testis et dictus Raymundus de Na Arnauda adoraverunt<sup>2</sup> ibi dictas hæreticas, sed non vidit alios adorare: credit tamen quod ante adventum eorum adorassent eas, quia ibi stabant quasi custodientes eas. Dixit etiam quod ipse testis et dictus Raymundus den Arnauda duxerunt et associaverunt tunc prædictas Dias et Algaia, 67<sup>v</sup> hæreticas, de | loco illo usque ad nemus sive batudum dels Baudrix supra Grandem Vallem; deinde prædictus Raymundus den Arnauda ivit ad mansum dels Baudrix de Grandi Valle, significans Raymundo Baudrici adventum dictarum hæreticarum. Qui venit statim ad eas cum eodem nuntio, sed non adoravit eas, ipso teste vidente, sed salutavit et recepit eas in dicto nemore, ad oram<sup>3</sup> nemoris. Et ipse testis, Raymundus de Na Arnauda, adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> ibi dictas hæreticas, et postea dimiserunt eas ibi cum dicto Raymundo Baudrici, et redierunt ad propria. Et sunt triginta quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Sanctum Germerium, in domo Guillelmi Taravelli, vidit quodam vespere Petrum de Rubeo et Bernardum Gaufredi, 68<sup>r</sup> hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum | eis ipsum Guillelmum Taravelli, et Blancam, uxorem eius, et Bernardum, filium eorum, et Guillelmum, similiter filium eorum, et Coument, filiam eorum. Et ipse testis adoravit ibi dictos hæreticos, sed non vidit alios adorare. Et fuit tempore guerræ; et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa.

Interrogatus,<sup>5</sup> dixit se non recordari de pluribus.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>2</sup> -erunt *added*.

<sup>3</sup> h- *deleted*.

<sup>4</sup> *altered, probably from* adoravit.

<sup>5</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>6</sup> -ibus *added*.

<sup>23</sup> Perhaps Covinenz, who was seen in the company of heretics in Saint-Germier around 1243; Toulouse 609, f. 174<sup>r</sup>.

adored the said heretics there when they left. And this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that one night the aforesaid Raymond den Arnaud took 67<sup>r</sup>  
the same witness to the wood of Peyrecave<sup>19</sup> between Saint-Germier  
and *Cedals*, where Dias of Saint-Germier, and Algaia of Loubens, and  
Stephana of Ségreville, and two other companions of theirs, whose names  
he did not know, were living, all female heretics.<sup>20</sup> And he saw them  
there, and with them William Faure of Toutens,<sup>21</sup> and Peter Brugad of  
Saint-Germier, who afterwards used to live at Baziège. And the same  
witness and the said Raymond de Na Arnaud adored the said heretics  
there, but he did not see the others adore: he believes however that  
before their arrival they had adored them, because they were standing  
there as if they were guarding them. He also said that the same witness  
and the said Raymond den Arnaud then led and accompanied the 67<sup>v</sup>  
aforesaid Dias and Algaia, heretics, from | that place as far as the wood or  
wasteland of the Baudrics above Grandval; then the aforesaid Raymond  
den Arnaud went to the *mas* of the Baudrics of Grandval, informing  
Raymond Baudric of the arrival of the said heretics. He came to them  
immediately with the same messenger, but did not adore them in the  
sight of the same witness, but greeted and received them in the said wood,  
at the mouth of the wood. And the same witness and Raymond of Na  
Arnaud, adored the said heretics there, and afterwards left them there  
with the said Raymond Baudric, and returned to their own affairs. And  
this was thirty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Saint-Germier, in the house of William Taravel, he  
saw one evening Peter of *Rubeo* and Bernard Geoffrey, heretics. And he  
saw there with | them the same William Taravel, and Blanca, his wife,<sup>22</sup> 68<sup>r</sup>  
and Bernard, their son, and William, likewise their son, and Coument,<sup>23</sup>  
their daughter. And the same witness adored the said heretics there, but  
he did not see the others adore. And this was during the war; and it was  
fifty years ago or thereabouts.

Questioned, he said that he does not remember any more.

<sup>19</sup> Just to the NW of Saint-Germier; *DTE*, IGN 2144 E.

<sup>20</sup> Austorga of Rouzégas (see 68<sup>v</sup> below) saw and talked with Algaia and her fellow heretic several times at and near Caragoudes around 1240; D24, f. 4<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>r</sup>. On Algaia and Stephana, see above, 64<sup>v</sup> n. 7.

<sup>21</sup> Haute-Garonne, cant. Caraman, arrond. Toulouse; Font-Réaulx, p. 1094.

<sup>22</sup> William (Guill[el]m[us]) Taravel and his wife Blanca were seen in the company of heretics in Saint-Germier around 1225; Toulouse 609, f. 174<sup>r</sup>.



Interrogatus<sup>1</sup> quare primo tacuerat ista, respondit quod propter oblivionem.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: frater *Bernardus* de Insula, frater Pontius de Parnaco, et frater *Petrus* de Lauris, Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

68<sup>v</sup> Anno quo supra, septimo idus Maii, prædictus testis rediit, scilicet infra tempus graciæ superius | sibi promissæ, et addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod apud Cargodas, in camera Bertrandi de Alamannis, vidit quadam die Agrefuellam et sociam eius, hæreticas. Et erant tunc in illa camera prædictus Bertrandus, qui iacebat in lecto pro eo quod fregerat sibi unam costam in obsidione castri de Penna Agennensi, et Raymundus de Alamannis, frater eius, et Pagesius de Falgairaco, et Astorgam de Razengas. Sed nihil fecit ibi, nec vidit fieri cum dictis hæreticabus. Et sunt quadraginta anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Sanctum Germerium, in domo Arnaldi Bruni, vidit Berengeriam, matrem Sicardi de Gavarreto, et sociam suam, hæreticas, ibi publice commorantes. De tempore: ut supra.

69<sup>r</sup> Item dixit quod apud Petram Cavam, in cabana supradicta, in | qua morabantur Dias de Sancto Germerio et sociæ eius, hæreticæ, vidit ipse testis cum illis hæreticabus, Guillelmum Fabri et Arnaldum Fabri de Totenx, fratres; sed non vidit eos adorare dictas hæreticas. Et sunt triginta quinque anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod cum ipse testis venaretur squirollos cum Guiraldo de Galhovilla de Trebontio et Raymundo de Na Arnalda<sup>2</sup> de Sancto Germerio, invenerunt a casu, sicut dicit, in nemore de Pradals prope

<sup>1</sup> -tus added.

<sup>2</sup> ms Arnaldo.

<sup>27</sup> Arnold Brun (Arnaldus Bruni), questioned July 4 1245, confessed lodging Berengaria and her companion, for two or three days, around 1217; Toulouse 609, f. 175<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Not identified. See several Gavaret and Gavarret in the *département* of Gers, and also Cabaret; *DTF*. Sicard (Sichardus de Gavaret), knight, was questioned twice in May 1245; Toulouse 609, f. 67<sup>r</sup>–68<sup>r</sup>. He attested seeing his mother Berengaria and other female heretics from around 1220. Captured at Ségreville, she was released by Arnold Catalan of Auriac ‘because she was of noble family’ (quia erat de nobili genere). She was later captured at Avignonet and taken to Toulouse to be burnt, around 1233.

<sup>29</sup> Not identified.

Asked why he had initially kept silent about these things, he answered through forgetfulness.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Bernard of l'Isle, brother Pons of Parnac, and brother Peter of Laures, of the Order of Brothers Preacher, and I Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the same year as above, seven days before the ides of May,<sup>24</sup> the aforesaid witness returned, that is, within the time of grace promised to him above, | and added to his confession, saying that at Caragoudes, 68<sup>v</sup> in the chamber of Bertrand of the Alamans, he saw one day Agrefuella and her companion, heretics. And there were then in that chamber the aforesaid Bertrand, who was lying in bed because he had broken a rib in the seige of the stronghold of Penne-d'Agenais,<sup>25</sup> and Raymond of the Alamans, his brother, and Pagès of Falgayrac, and Austorga of Rouzégas.<sup>26</sup> But he did nothing there, nor did he see anything done with the said heretics. And this was forty years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Saint-Germier, in the house of Arnold Brun,<sup>27</sup> he saw Berengaria, the mother of Sicard of *Gavarreto*,<sup>28</sup> and her companion, heretics, living there publicly. About the time: as above.

Item, he said that at Peyrecave, in the aforesaid hut, in | which Dias 69<sup>r</sup> of Saint-Germier and her companions, heretics, were living, the same witness saw William Faure (*or* William, smith) and Arnold Faure (*or* Arnold, smith) of Toutens, brothers, with those heretics; but he did not see them adore the said heretics. And this was thirty-five years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that when the same witness was hunting squirrels with Guiraud of *Galhovilla*<sup>29</sup> of Trébons and Raymond de Na Arnalda of Saint-Germier, they found by chance, as he says, in the wood of Pradals near

<sup>24</sup> May 9 [1279].

<sup>25</sup> Lot-et-Garonne, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Villeneuve-sur-Lot; *Saisimentum*, p. 438. The siege was in October 1242; Wakefield, *Heresy*, p. 160.

<sup>26</sup> Tarn, comm. La Bastide-Saint-Georges, cant. Lavaur, arrond. Castres. Austorga, once questioned by William Arnold and Stephen of Saint-Thibéry, and again, January 4 1244, by Ferrier and Peter Durand, D24, f. 1<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>, confessed contacts with heretics from about 1226. She had been in their company and that of Bertrand of Alaman of Falgayrac around 1240. She was condemned to life imprisonment March 25 1246 (Douais, *Documents*, p. 4), and was granted an amnesty in August 1279; Mundy, *Royal Diploma*, pp. 107-108.

Varenas,<sup>1</sup> Guillelmum de Mota et socium eius, cuius nomen nescit, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum prædictis hæreticis quemdam qui vocabatur Vasco—et manebat, sicut dicebatur, cum Raymundo Boerii de Varenis, et Guillelmum de Podio, vel Guillelmum Isarni, de Varenis—nescit tamen  
 69<sup>v</sup> quem istorum pro certo. Et ipse testis et prædicti Guiraldus de Galhevilla et Raymundus<sup>2</sup> de Na Arnauda<sup>3</sup> adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> prædictos hæreticos, ipso teste vidente: sed non recolit si alii prædicti adoraverunt<sup>5</sup> eos. Et sunt quadraginta quinque anni vel circa.

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<sup>1</sup> -r- altered, probably from -c-.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* Raymunda.

<sup>3</sup> *p* deleted.

<sup>4</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>5</sup> -erunt added.

Varennēs, William of Lamothe and his companion, whose name he does not know, heretics. And he saw there with the aforesaid heretics a certain man who was called Vasco—and he lived, as was said, with Raymond Boer of Varennēs, and William of Puy, or William Isarn, of Varennēs—however, he does not know for certain which of them. And the same witness and the | aforesaid Guiraud of *Galhevilla* and Raymond of Na 69<sup>v</sup> Arnauda adored the aforesaid heretics, in the same witness's sight; but he does not recall if the others aforesaid adored them. And this was forty-five years ago or thereabouts.

*Deposition de Pierre de Lauraco de Montgaillard, contenant que Bego et Bertrand de Rocovila, freres, chevaliers de Montgaillard, avoient assisté aux predications des heretiques, et les avoient adorés dans la maison dudit Bertrand.*

70<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>o</sup> nonas Maii | audit an.

Anno quo supra, sexto nonas Maii, Petrus de Lauraco de Montegalhardo, citatus veniens, testis iuratus et requisitus etcetera, dixit quod fuit olim confessus fratri Pontio de Parnaco, inquisitore, omnia quæ sciebat de hæresi, et abiuravit omnem hæresim coram eo, et fuit inmuratus<sup>1</sup> per eum. Et post modum in dicto crimine non deliquit, nec amplius scit de crimine hæresis vel Valdesiæ.

70<sup>v</sup> Anno quo supra, quarto idus Maii, prædictus Petrus de Lauraco, citatus veniens et per aliquot dies detentus in carcere, quia nolebat confiteri, testis iuratus, dixit quod ipse fuit confessus aliqua de facto hæresis | fratri Pontio de Poieto, quondam inquisitori, a quo habuit pœnitentiam de crucibus, quas adhuc<sup>2</sup> portat, et de peregrinationibus, quas non dum fecit; et postmodum<sup>3</sup> in dicto crimine non deliquit.

Et modo addidit confessioni suæ quæ sequuntur, et iam commiserat se omisisse<sup>4</sup> ea confiteri: videlicet quod cum Petrus de Bueuvilla, olim fugitivus propter hæresim, vellet ducere uxorem suam in Lombardiam, Begs de Rocovila, miles, de Montegalhardo, tradidit eidem Petro quemdam roncinum suum, ad portandum prædictam uxorem, nomine Guillel-  
mam. Et ipse testis, de mandato prædicti Begs, simul cum dicto Petro ivit cum dicta Guillelma usque ad Montem Regalem; unde ipse testis redu-  
xit dictum roncinum. Et in regressu dictus Petrus de Bueuvilla dedit ipsi  
71<sup>r</sup> testi duodecim denarios Tholosanos. Et sunt | viginti tres anni vel circa.

<sup>1</sup> *ms* in muratus.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* ad huc.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* post modum.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* omisit.

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<sup>3</sup> Inquisitor 1262 and in following years, Douais, *Documents*, pp. cxxxii, clxvii–clxix. He is not found in *ACP*. Le Pouget, Hérault, cant. Gignac, arrond. Lodève, Font-Réaulx, p. 1012.

*The deposition of Peter of Laurac of Montgaillard, containing that the brothers Bego and Bertrand of Roqueville, knights of Montgaillard, had been present at the preachings of heretics, and had adored them in the house of the said Bertrand.*

*6 days before the nones of May | in the said year.*

70<sup>r</sup>

In the same year as above, six days before the nones of May,<sup>1</sup> Peter of Laurac of Montgaillard, appearing having been summoned, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that he had previously confessed to brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitor, everything he knew about heresy, and abjured all heresy in front of him, and was imprisoned by him. And afterwards he did not transgress in the said crime, nor does he know anything further about the crime of heresy or Waldensianism.

In the same year as above, four days before the ides of May,<sup>2</sup> the aforesaid Peter of Laurac, appearing having been summoned and held for some days in prison, because he did not want to confess, sworn in as a witness, said that he had confessed some things concerning the matter of heresy | 70<sup>v</sup> to Pons of Pouget, the former inquisitor,<sup>3</sup> from whom he had the penance of crosses, which he still wears, and pilgrimages, which he has not yet done; and afterwards he did not transgress in the said crime.

And now he has added to his confession the things that follow, and now he laments that he omitted to confess them: that is, that when Peter of Beauville, formerly a fugitive for heresy, wanted to take his wife into Lombardy, Bego of Roqueville, knight of Montgaillard, gave the same Peter a certain pony of his, to carry the aforesaid wife, named Guillelma. And the same witness, at the command of the aforesaid Bego, went together with the said Peter with the said Guillelma as far as Montréal; from where the same witness brought back the said pony. And on his return the said Peter of Beauville gave the same witness twelve Toulouse pennies. And this was | twenty-three years ago or thereabouts.

71<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> May 2 [1279].

<sup>2</sup> May 12 [1279].

Item dixit quod apud Montem Galhardum, in aula Bertrandi de Rocovilla et Begonis, fratrum, militum, vidit ipse testis quadam nocte Pontium de Sancta Fide et socium eius, quem non novit, hæreticos—credit tamen quod socius esset *Petrus* de Prato—qui prædicaverunt ibi. Et interfuerunt illi prædicationi prædicti milites, et domina India, uxor dicti Bertrandi, et domina Aycelina, mater eiusdem Bertrandi, Stephanus Donati, Guillelmus Donati, fratres, Bernardus Donadeu de Montegalhardo, et ipse testis. Et ibi ipse testis et omnes prædicti audiverunt<sup>1</sup> prædica[ti]o[n]em<sup>2</sup> dictorum hæreticorum et adoraverunt<sup>3</sup> eos, ipso teste vidente. Et sunt viginti quatuor anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod in solario eiusdem domus vidit bis vel ter in camera  
71<sup>v</sup> Bernardum Columbi et | quemdam socium eius, iuvenem cuius nomen nescit, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis supradictas dominas Aicelinam et Indiam, et Stephanum et Guillelmum Donati de Montegalhardo; qui, et ipse testis, adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> ibi prædictos hæreticos. Et sunt viginti tres anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod apud Montem Galhardum, in camera propredicta militum prædictorum, vidit ipse testis Petrum de Prato et Pontium de Sancta Fide, hæreticos; et cum eis supradictos Stephanum et Guillelmum Donati de Monte Galhardo. Sed non adoravit<sup>5</sup> eos nec vidit alios<sup>6</sup> adorare<sup>7</sup> quod recolat. Et fuit eodem tempore vel circa.

Item dixit quod alia vice vidit in eadem camera prædictum Petrum de  
72<sup>r</sup> Prata et alium socium iuvenem, cuius nomen nescit, hæ|reticos. Et non vidit ibi cum eis aliquem alium, nec adoravit<sup>8</sup> eos tunc. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod in eadem camera vidit ipse testis multotiens Raymundum Vitalem et socium eius, de quo non recolit quis erat, hæreticos. Et vidit ibi cum eis supradictas dominas, et Stephanum et Guillelmum Donati de Montegalhardo. Et ibi ipse testis et prædicti Stephanus et Guillelmus Donati adoraverunt<sup>9</sup> dictos hæreticos. Et fuit tempore supradicto.

<sup>1</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>2</sup> superscript.

<sup>3</sup> -verunt added.

<sup>4</sup> ms adoravit; -it added.

<sup>5</sup> -it added.

<sup>6</sup> ms nec, added.

<sup>7</sup> ms adoravit; -vit added.

<sup>8</sup> -vit added.

<sup>9</sup> -erunt added.

Item, he said that at Montgaillard, in the hall of Bertrand of Roqueville and Bego, brothers, knights, the same witness saw one night Pons of Sainte-Foy and his companion, whom he did not know, heretics—he believes however that the companion was Peter of Prat—who preached there. And present at that preaching were the aforesaid knights, and Lady India, the said Bertrand's wife, and Lady Aicelina, the same Bertrand's mother, Stephen Donat and William Donat, brothers, Bernard Donadeu of Montgaillard, and the same witness. And there the same witness and all the aforesaid heard the preaching of the said heretics, and adored them, in the sight of the same witness. And this was twenty-four years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that in the solar of the same house he saw two or three times in the chamber Bernard Colomb | and a certain companion of his, 71<sup>v</sup> a youth whose name he does not know, heretics. And he saw there with them the aforesaid ladies Aicelina and India, and Stephen and William Donat of Montgaillard; who, and the same witness, adored the aforesaid heretics there. And this was twenty-three years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at Montgaillard, in the aforementioned chamber of the aforesaid knights, the same witness saw Peter of Prat and Pons of Sainte-Foy, heretics; and with them the aforesaid Stephen and William Donat of Montgaillard. But he did not adore them nor saw the others adore that he recalls. And this was at the same time or thereabouts.

Item, he said that on another occasion he saw in the same chamber the aforesaid Peter of Prat and another young companion, whose name he does not know, | heretics. And he did not see anyone else there with 72<sup>r</sup> them, nor did he adore them then. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that he often saw in the same chamber Raymond Vital and his companion—he does not recall who he was—heretics. And he saw there with them the aforesaid ladies, and Stephen and William Donat of Montgaillard. And there the same witness and the aforesaid Stephen and William Donat adored the said heretics. And this was at the aforesaid time.



Prædictos hæreticos credidit esse bonos homines, et veraces, et amicos Dei, et habere bonam fidem, et posse salvari per eos. Et fuit in illa credentia ex quo primo vidit hæreticos. Et audivit eos prædicantes usque ad tempus confessionis suæ, quam fecit supradicto fratri Pontio de Pogeto; 72<sup>v</sup> sed tunc dimisit illam credentiam: | de quo possunt esse undecim anni vel circa.

Interrogatus quare primo celaverat veritatem de istis, respondit quod non credebatur teneri, quia ista fiebant in domo dominorum suorum, et isti<sup>1</sup> principaliter faciebant ista.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: frater Iacobus Lutarius, et frater Guillelmus Aymerici, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

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<sup>1</sup> i- altered, probably from s-.

He believed that the aforesaid heretics were good men, and truthful, and friends of God, and that they had a good faith and that one could be saved through them. And he was in this belief from the first time he saw the heretics. And he heard them preaching up to the time of his confession that he made to the aforesaid brother Pons of Pouget; but then he abandoned that belief: | which could be eleven years ago or 72<sup>v</sup> thereabouts.

Asked why at first he had hidden the truth about those things, he replied that he did not believe that he was bound, because those things took place in the house of his lords, and they mainly did those things. These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother James Loutrier,<sup>4</sup> and brother William Aimery, of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

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<sup>4</sup> Not found in *ACP*.

*Deposition de Bernard de Villanova, domicellus, de Pech luna, contenant  
que Pons de Ville neufve, chevalier, estant malade, il fût visité par les  
73<sup>r</sup> heretiques | que Pons de Magrefort, chevalier, d'Agudanes, luy envoya.*

*2<sup>o</sup> idus Ianuarii audit an.*

Anno quo supra, secundo idus Ianuarii, Bernardus de Villanova, domicellus, de Podio Lunarii, captus adductus, testis iuratus et requisitus etcetera, dixit quod quando Pontius de Villanova, miles, infirmabatur apud Villam Novam Comitalem in domo sua, egritudine qua decessit, Ademarius de Bordis, baiulus eius, misit ipsum ad Pontium Magrefort, militem, de Agudanis, ut si haberet bonos homines, scilicet hæreticos, 73<sup>v</sup> mitteret eos sibi. Et ipse | Pontius<sup>1</sup> Magrefort misit ipsum testem ad Petrum de Manso de Faiaco apud Montem Landerium, ubi manebat cum Bernardo Petri de Monte Landerio, ut dictus Petrus dirigeret eum.<sup>2</sup> Et direxit eum,<sup>3</sup> dicens quod in instanti sero veniret ipse testis ad trencadam molendini de Belestar et quod expectaret ibi dictum Petrum de Manso; quod fecit. Et illo sero venerunt ibi prædicti Petrus de Manso et Pontius frater eius, adducentes secum Guillelmum Raymundi et Guillelmum Alboara, hæreticos, quos ibi dimiserunt ipsi testi et redierunt.

Requisitus si dicti fratres adoraverunt<sup>4</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos, respondit quod non, nec dictus Pontius de Manso appropinquavit: sed stetit de longe, ita quod ipse testis non novisset eum, quia nox erat. Sed videns 74<sup>r</sup> eum altum, interrogavit dictum Petrum de | Manso, et respondit dicens, 'Non oportet vos timere, quia Pontius, frater meus, est'. Et post recessum dictorum fratrum ipse testis adorav[it] dictos hæreticos, et duxit eos versus Villam Novam ad domum patris et matris ipsius testis, ubi recepit

<sup>1</sup> the letters Pon appear at the foot of the previous page as well.

<sup>2</sup> ms cum.

<sup>3</sup> ms cum.

<sup>4</sup> -erunt added.

<sup>5</sup> Fajac-la-Rellenque: Aude, cant. Salles-sur-l'Hers, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 927.

<sup>6</sup> Aude, cant. Belpech, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 980.

<sup>7</sup> Aude, comm. Peyrefitte-sur-l'Hers, cant. Belpech, arrond. Carcassonne; Saisimentum, p. 358.

*The deposition of Bernard of Villeneuve, squire, of Pech-Luna, containing that Pons of Villeneuve, knight, being ill, was visited by the heretics | whom Pons of Magrefort, knight, of Gudas, sent him.* 73<sup>r</sup>

*2 days before the ides of January in the said year.*

In the same year as above, two days before the ides of January,<sup>1</sup> Bernard of Villeneuve, squire, of Pech-Luna,<sup>2</sup> brought out as a captive, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., said that when Pons of Villeneuve, knight, was ill at Villeneuve-la-Comptal<sup>3</sup> in his house, with the illness of which he died, Adémar of Lasbordes, his *bailli*, sent him to Pons Magrefort, knight, of *Agudanis*<sup>4</sup> that if he had the good men, that is, the heretics, he should send them to him. And he, | Pons Magrefort, sent the same witness to Peter of Mas of Fajac,<sup>5</sup> at Molandier,<sup>6</sup> where he lived with Bernard Peter of Molandier, for the said Peter to direct him. And he directed him, saying that that evening the same witness should come to the dam of the mill of Bélesta<sup>7</sup> and wait there for the said Peter of Mas; which he did. And that evening there came there the aforesaid Peter of Mas and Pons his brother, bringing with them William Raymond and William Alboara, heretics, whom they left there with the same witness and went back. 73<sup>v</sup>

Asked if the said brothers adored the said heretics there, he answered that they did not, nor did the said Pons of Mas approach: but he stood at a distance, so that the same witness did not know him, because it was night. But seeing him standing apart, he asked the said Peter of | Mas, 74<sup>r</sup> and he answered, saying, 'You should not be afraid, because it is Pons, my brother'. And after the said brothers had left, the same witness adored the said heretics, and took them towards Villeneuve to the house of

<sup>1</sup> January 12 [1279 (1280)].

<sup>2</sup> Aude, cant. Belpech, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1003.

<sup>3</sup> Aude, cant. Castelnaudary-Sud, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1108.

<sup>4</sup> See above, 58<sup>r</sup> n. Pons Faure of Villeneuve-la-Comptal, knight, reported seeing Pons Magrefort listening to the heretics Arnold Hugh and Raymond Bernard preaching in a hall at the head of the stronghold of Laurac around 1223; D24, f. 119<sup>v</sup>. The Lordship of Pechluna (Aude, comm. and cant. Belpech, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne), was confiscated because of heresy from Pons Magrefort and two others. It was sold February 4 1293; Douais, *Documents*, p. cxxxi, n. 1.

eos Anglesia, mater ipsius testis. Et iacuerunt ibi, et mane sequenti ipse testis significavit dicto Ademario quod prædictos hæreticos adduxerat ibi; et venit ibi prædictus Ademarius, et intravit sotulum ipsius domus, et vidit ibi dictos hæreticos. Sed ipse testis non intravit cum eo; et post paululum dictus Ademarius exivit inde.

Dixit etiam quod illi hæretici manserunt ibi octo diebus vel circa, et dictus Ademarius visitavit eos ibi bis vel ter, et audivit prædicationem eorum; sed non adoravit<sup>1</sup> eos, ipso vidente.

74<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod ipse testis adora|vit<sup>2</sup> ibi multotiens dictos hæreticos, et comedit cum eis, et de pane benedicto ab eis; eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod vidit pluries prædictam matrem suam, et Guillelmum Pontii, fratrem ipsius testis, et Cunhatam mulierem, et Michaelam et Cunhabetam, filias eius, de Villa Nova, adorantes prædictos hæreticos. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod vidit ibi Pomellam, [quæ] alias vocabatur Raymunda Doltra—et erat mater Guillelmi Raymundi—et Petronam, uxorem quondam Guillelmi Inardi, intrantes et exeuntes ibi; sed non vidit eas cum hæreticis.

Dixit etiam quod ipse testis eduxit inde dictos hæreticos et associavit eos usque ultra Agacenx, ubi dimisit eos. Et credit quod redierunt versus 75<sup>r</sup> bastidam Raymundi de Candeno | vel Agudan'. Et sunt viginti novem [anni] vel circa.

Interrogatus si dictus Pontius de Villanova fuerit hæreticatus, dixit quod non, quod ipse sciat.

Item dixit quod quadam nocte vidit apud Druliam, in quodam maleolo, duos hæreticos, quorum alter vocabatur Crastos. Et vidit ibi cum eis Guillelmum Bermundi de Sal', qui tunc manebat cum Bernardo Guillelmi, avunculo suo de Drulia, et quinque vel sex homines de Valle Drulia, quos ipse testis non novit. Et ibi omnes prædicti adoraverunt<sup>3</sup> dictos hæreticos; excepto ipso teste, qui stabat a longe, a quo cavebant sibi. Sed post recessum eorum adoravit eos ipse testis, et recepit eos a dicto

<sup>1</sup> -vit *added*.

<sup>2</sup> -it *added*.

<sup>3</sup> -verunt *added*.

<sup>10</sup> Salles-sur-l'Hers: Aude, ch.-lieu cant., arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1051.

the same witness's father and mother, where Anglesia, the same witness's mother, received them. And they slept there, and the next morning the same witness informed the said Adémar that he had brought the aforesaid heretics there; and the aforesaid Adémar came there, and entered the cellar of the same house, and saw the said heretics there. But the same witness did not go in with him; and after a little while the said Adémar came out of there.

He also said that those heretics stayed there for eight days or thereabouts, and the said Adémar visited them two or three times, and heard their preaching; but he did not adore them, that he saw.

Item, he said that the same witness | often adored the said heretics 74<sup>v</sup> there, and ate with them, and of bread blessed by them; at the same time.

Item, he said that he often saw his aforesaid mother, and William Pons, the same witness's brother, and Cunhata his wife, and Michaela and Cunhadeta, his daughters, of Villeneuve, adoring the aforesaid heretics. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that he saw there Pomella, otherwise called Raymonda Doltra—and she was the mother of William Raymond—and Petrona, the wife of the late William Inard, going in and out there; but he did not see them with the heretics.

He also said that the same witness brought the said heretics out of there and accompanied them as far as beyond Agassens,<sup>8</sup> where he left them. And he believes that they went back towards the *bastide* of Raymond of Candeno<sup>9</sup> | or towards *Agudanis*. And this was twenty-nine years ago or 75<sup>r</sup> thereabouts.

Asked if the said Pons of Villeneuve was hereticated, he said that no, as far as he knows.

Item, he said that one night he saw at Dreuilhe, in a certain newly-planted vineyard, two heretics, of whom one was called Crastos. And he saw there with them William Bermund of Salles,<sup>10</sup> who at that time was living with Bernard William, his uncle from Dreuilhe, and five or six men from Vaudreuille, whom the same witness did not know. And there all the aforesaid adored the said heretics; except for the same witness, who stood in the distance, because of which they were wary of him. But after they left the same witness adored them, and received them from the said William

<sup>8</sup> Aude, comm. Payra-sur-l'Hers, cant. Salles-sur-l'Hers, arrond. Carcassonne; *DTF*.

<sup>9</sup> Not identified.

Guillelmo Bermundi, et duxit eos usque ultra Podium Averium, ubi dimisit eos. Et sunt viginti septem<sup>1</sup> anni vel circa.

75<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod apud Villam No|vam, in prædicto sotulo domus paternæ, vidit Arnaldum Chavardi de Villanova, iuniorem, cum prædictis Guillelmo Raymundi et Guillelmo Alboara, hæreticis, tenentem librum eorum; sed non vidit eum adorantem.<sup>2</sup> Et sunt viginti novem anni vel circa.

Dixit etiam quod dictus Arnaldus Chavardi rogavit ipsum testem quod celaret eum de isto facto. Et sunt tres anni vel circa, et nuper iterum quando fuit citatus.

Item dixit quod supradictus Pontius de Manso de Faiaco rogavit ipsum testem semel apud Podium Lunarii, et iterum apud Bellum Podium, quod celaret ipsum de præmissis, suggerens ei quod poterat illud dicere de aliis de Faiaco, qui erant combusti, et si expenderet<sup>3</sup> aliquid eundo ad inquisitores, quod ipse redderet sibi expensas. Et fuit hoc anno circa  
76<sup>r</sup> festum Sancti Mar|tini.

Item dixit quod supradictus Guillelmus Bermundi rogavit similiter ipsum testem quod celaret eum de supradictis; et Gaubertus Olrici, sororius dicti Guillelmi Bermundi, similiter rogavit ipsum testem quod celaret dictum Guillelmum Bermundi. Et quia ipse testis nolebat<sup>4</sup> hoc eis concedere minati fuerunt et interfectionem et incendium. Et postea dictus Gausbertus tradidit ipsi testi quadraginta solidos Turonenses ut celaret dictum sororium eius, præsentem eodem sororio; quos ipse testis recepit, et promisit quod celaret eum: sed hoc fecit, ut dicit, magis propter timorem quam propter peccuniam. Et fuit inter Montem Aurioli et Sanctam Camellam. Et est annus vel circa.

76<sup>v</sup> Item dixit quod in prædicto sotulo domus paternæ vidit Raymundum de Manso, diachonum hæreticorum, et socium eius, cuius nomen | nescit, hæreticum.<sup>5</sup> Et vidit ibi cum eis Pontium Barravi et Bernardum Barravi, fratres, de Manso Sanctarum Puellarum, et Pontiam, sororem eorum, uxorem Arnaldi Chavardi senioris, et Anglesiam,<sup>6</sup> matrem, et Guillelmum Pontium, fratrem, ipsius testis. Et omnes exceptis ipso teste et Guillelmo Pontio, fratre suo, et dicto Bernardo Barravi—de quo dubitat

<sup>1</sup> sep- written over deletion.

<sup>2</sup> -ntem written over deletion.

<sup>3</sup> ms expenderent.

<sup>4</sup> ms volebat.

<sup>5</sup> -um added.

<sup>6</sup> ms Guillelmam.

Bermund, and took them to beyond Puginier, where he left them. And this was twenty-seven years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that at | Villeneuve, in the aforesaid cellar of his paternal home, he saw Arnold Chavard of Villeneuve, the younger, with the aforesaid William Raymond and William Alboara, heretics, holding their book; but he did not see him adoring. And this was twenty-nine years ago or thereabouts. 75<sup>v</sup>

He also said that the said Arnold Chavard asked the same witness not to mention him, concerning that matter. And this was three years ago or thereabouts, and again recently when he was summoned.

Item, he said that the aforesaid Pons of Mas of Fajac asked the same witness, once at Pech-Luna, and again at Belpech,<sup>11</sup> not to mention him concerning the aforesaid matters, suggesting to him that he could say it of others from Fajac, who were burnt; and if he spent anything in going to the inquisitors, he would make good his expenses. And this was this year, around the feast of St | Martin. 76<sup>r</sup>

Item, he said that the aforesaid William Bermund likewise asked the same witness not to mention him concerning the aforesaid matters; and Gaubert Olric, the brother-in-law of the said William Bermund, likewise asked the same witness not to mention the said William Bermund. And because the same witness refused to grant this to them, they threatened him with murder and fire. And afterwards the said Gaubert gave the same witness forty shillings Tournois, not to mention his said brother-in-law, in the presence of the same brother-in-law; and the same witness received them, and promised not to mention him: but he did this, as he says, more for fear than for money. And this was between Montauriol<sup>12</sup> and Sainte-Camelle.<sup>13</sup> And it was a year ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that in the aforesaid cellar of his paternal home he saw Raymond of Mas, deacon of the heretics, and his companion, whose name | he does not know, heretic. And he saw there with them Pons Barrau and Bernard Barrau, brothers, of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, and Ponsa, their sister, the wife of Arnold Chavard the elder, and Anglesia, their mother, and William Pons, the same witness's brother. And all except the same witness and William Pons, his brother, and the said Bernard 76<sup>v</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Aude, cant. and arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 881.

<sup>12</sup> Aude, cant. Salles-sur-l'Hers, arrond. Carcassonne; *Saisimentum*, p. 429.

<sup>13</sup> Aude, cant. Salles-sur-l'Hers, arrond. Carcassonne; Font-Réaulx, p. 1032.



si adoraret,<sup>1</sup> quia iuuenis erat—adoraverunt<sup>2</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos, et audiverunt<sup>3</sup> prædicationem eorum. Et sunt viginti novem anni vel circa.

Item dixit quod vidit ibi Petrum Gautani, et socrum eius, Pontiam supradictam, adorantes<sup>4</sup> dictos hæreticos, et audientes<sup>5</sup> prædicationem eorum. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod vidit ibi Petrum Andorrani, tunc de Verduno, nunc de 77<sup>r</sup> Carcassona, familiarem tunc Pontii de Villanova, adorantem<sup>6</sup> ibi dictos hæreticos, et audientem<sup>7</sup> prædicationem eorum. Et fuit eodem tempore.

Item dixit quod apud Podium Lunare, in domo Pontii Magrefort, vidit Raymundam Ceiamam, ancillam illius domus, quæ modo manet apud Bellum Podium, adorantem<sup>8</sup> multotiens Arnaudum Praderii et Guillelmum Alboaram, hæreticos, et audientem<sup>9</sup> prædicationem eorum. Et sunt triginta quatuor anni vel circa.

Interrogatus,<sup>10</sup> dixit se nihil amplius scire de facto hæresis.

Interrogatus<sup>11</sup> quare ista celaverat, dixit quod propter timorem dictarum personarum.

Hæc deposuit Tholosæ coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: frater Pontius de Parnaco, frater Bernardus de Insula, frater Raymundus Guillelmi de Sancto Felice, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

77<sup>v</sup> Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo nono, kalendas Februarii, prædictus testis emendavit<sup>12</sup> confessionem suam, super illa depositione in qua superius dixerat quod in sotulo domus paternæ viderat Raymundum de Manso, diachonum hæreticorum et socium eius, et cum eis Pontium Barravi et Bernardum Barravi, fratres, et Pontiam, sororem eorum, et Guillelmum Pontii, fratrem ipsius testis, et Anglesiam, matrem eorum, dicens quod non vidit eos simul cum hæreticis, nec

<sup>1</sup> *ms* adorarent; -rent *altered*.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* adoravit; -vit *perhaps altered*.

<sup>3</sup> *ms* audivit.

<sup>4</sup> *ms* adoravit.

<sup>5</sup> *ms* audivit.

<sup>6</sup> *ms* adoravit.

<sup>7</sup> *ms* audivit.

<sup>8</sup> *ms* adoravit.

<sup>9</sup> *ms* audivit.

<sup>10</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>11</sup> -tus *added*.

<sup>12</sup> *altered*, probably *comendavit*.

Barrau—of whom he is unsure if he adored, because he was young—adored the said heretics there, and heard their preaching. And this was twenty-nine years ago or thereabouts.

Item, he said that he saw there Peter Gautan, and his mother-in-law, the aforesaid Ponsa, adoring the said heretics, and hearing their preaching. And this was at the same time.

Item, he said that he saw there Peter Andorran, then of Verdun, now of Carcassonne, at that time a familiar associate of Pons of Villeneuve, adoring the said heretics there, | and hearing their preaching. And this 77<sup>r</sup> was at the same time.

Item, he said that at Pech-Luna, in the house of Pons Magrefort, he saw Raymonda Ceira, maidservant of that house, who now lives at Belpech, often adoring Arnold Pradier and William Alboara, heretics, and hearing their preaching. And this was thirty-four years ago or thereabouts.

Questioned, he said that he knows nothing more about the matter of heresy.

Asked why he had hidden these things, he said that for fear of the said persons.

These things he attested at Toulouse before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: brother Pons of Parnac, brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother Raymond William of Saint-Félix,<sup>14</sup> of the Order of Preachers, and I Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

In the year of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine, on the kalends of February,<sup>15</sup> the aforesaid witness emended his confession, concerning that deposition in which he had said above that in the cellar of his paternal home he had seen Raymond of Mas, deacon of the heretics, and his companion, and with them Pons Barrau and Bernard Barrau, brothers, and Ponsa, their sister, and William Pons, the same witness's brother, and Anglesia, their mother, saying that he did not see them 77<sup>v</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Not found in *ACP*. A Raimundus Guillelmi, OP, witnessed a Carcassonne deposition in 1291; D26, f. 147<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> February 1 1279 (1280).

adorantes<sup>1</sup> eos, nec audientes<sup>2</sup> prædicationem eorum, quia tunc ipse testis non intravit dictum sotulum ad prædictos hæreticos qui erant ibi. Et bene audivit postea prædictam matrem suam refferentem quod omnes prædicti adoraverant ibi tunc prædictos hæreticos, et audiverant  
 78<sup>r</sup> prædicationem | eorum. Et bene credit ipse testis quod fuerit verum.

Hæc deposuit et sic emendavit prædictus testis coram fratre Hugone Amelii, inquisitore. Testes: prædicti frater Pontius de Parnaco, frater Bernardus de Insula, frater Raymundus Guillelmi, Ordinis Prædicatorum, et ego, Atho de Sancto Victore, publicus notarius, qui hæc scripsi.

*Extrait et collationné d'un livre en parchemin, dont la premiere feuille est marquée par le nombre iiii et la derniere ii<sup>c</sup> xliii, trouvé aux Archives des freres prescheurs de Toulouse par lordre et en la presence de Mossire Jean de Doat, conseiller du Roy en ses conseiles, president en la chambre de comptes de Navarre, et Commissaire député par sa Majesté pour la recherche des titres concernantes les droites de la Couronne,<sup>3</sup> et qui peuvent servir a l'histoire, dans toutes les archives de sadite Majesté des communautes Ecclesiastiques et Seculieres de Languedoc et Guienne, et des Archevesquees, Evêques, abees, prieures et commanderees qui en pourroient avoir de separees de celles de leurs | Chapitres, faire faire des extraites de ceux quil iugera necessaires, et les envoyer au garde de la Biblioteque Royale par moy, Gratian Capot, un des deux grefiers privés en ladite commission soubsigné. Fait a Alby le dixseptisme Octobre Mil six cents soixante neuf.*

Capot

<sup>1</sup> *ms* adoravit.

<sup>2</sup> *ms* audivit.

<sup>3</sup> Similar authentications in Doat 21, f. 323<sup>v</sup>–324<sup>r</sup>, Doat 22, f. 106<sup>r-v</sup>, Doat 24, f. 237<sup>v</sup>–238<sup>r</sup> and f. 286<sup>v</sup>, and Doat 26, f. 316<sup>r-v</sup> read 'concernantes les droites de sa Majesté de la Couronne'.

together with the heretics, or adoring them or hearing their preaching, because on that occasion the same witness did not go into the said cellar to the aforesaid heretics who were there. And he certainly heard his aforesaid mother saying afterwards that all the aforesaid had adored the aforesaid heretics there then, and had heard their preaching. | And the 78<sup>r</sup> same witness fully believes that it was true.

These things the aforesaid witness attested, and emended in this way, before brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor. Witnesses: the aforesaid brother Pons of Parnac, brother Bernard of L'Isle, brother Raymond William, of the Order of Preachers, and I, Atho of Saint-Victor, public notary, who wrote these things.

*Extracted and collated from a parchment book—whose first leaf is marked with the number 4 and the last 243—found in the archives of the Brothers Preacher of Toulouse, on the order and in the presence of Monsieur John of Doat, councillor of the King in his councils, President of the Chamber of Accounts of Navarre, and Commissioner deputed by his Majesty for the research of titles that concern the Crown's rights and can serve history, in all his said Majesty's archives of the ecclesiastical and secular communities of Languedoc and Guienne, and of all the Archbishoprics, Bishoprics, Abbeys, Priories and Commanderies who may have them separate from those of their Chapters; to have extracts made of those things that he will deem necessary, and to send them to the safe-keeping of the Royal Library via me, Gratian Capot, one of the two private registrars in this commission, signed below. Done at Albi, the seventeenth of October 1669.*

*Capot.*



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## INDEX OF PERSONS, MEDIEVAL\*

1. In the following, the names of deponents are printed in bold. H is used to designate a heretic in the sense used in the register, that is, someone who had received the Cathar *consolamentum*. In the Latin contained in parentheses, the presence of a comma before 'of + a place-name' indicates that the place-name is extra information rather than part of the family name. An example is Daide of Bras, of Villefranche. In a few cases, origin has been deduced from the context, and added in parentheses.

2. When cross-referencing to relatives, those who are in a direct line of descent are usually indicated—mother, father, sister, brother, spouse, son and daughter. They are not entered alphabetically, but following their degree of relationship to the main entry. Thus mother/father come first, secondly brothers/sisters, thirdly wife, husband and offspring. Other relations are sometimes specified, to help identification or for some other special reason that crops up in a particular case.

3. In cases where the relationship is not spelled out in the register, it has not been assumed in the index. For example, when somebody is mentioned with his son and his wife, it is not assumed that the son is that wife's offspring. With 'Peter, and his son John, and Peter's wife Bernarda', it is not always the case that John is Bernarda's offspring.

4. 'Dominus' and 'domina' have been rendered throughout as 'lord' and 'lady'.

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\* This index has been compiled by Caterina Bruschi.



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<sup>2</sup> Here 'qui solet morari in Tholosa'.  
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<sup>3</sup> See n. 3 above.

<sup>4</sup> It is possible that he is the same as Aimery Sorven of Fanjeaux.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the same as Aladaicis Foguet (39<sup>r</sup>).

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OP, 106 n. 217; 80<sup>v</sup>, 84<sup>v</sup>, 124<sup>v</sup>,  
152<sup>r</sup>, 154<sup>v</sup>, 156<sup>r</sup>,<sup>10</sup> 158<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold Aynard [Arnaldus  
Aynardi/Arnaldi], H, 311<sup>v</sup>,  
312<sup>v</sup>, 313<sup>r</sup>, 313<sup>v</sup>, 314<sup>v</sup>, 316<sup>v</sup>, 324<sup>v</sup>,  
325<sup>r</sup>  
See Arnold Arnard.  
See Pons Aynard, brother
- Arnold Baussan, of Sorèze [Arnaldus  
Baussani, de Soricino], augur,  
283<sup>v</sup>  
See Arnold Baussan (of Loubens),  
brother  
See Raymond Arquier, alias  
Baussan, brother
- Arnold Baussan (of Loubens)  
[Arnaldus Baussani (qui moratur  
apud Lobenx)], 283<sup>v</sup>, 287<sup>r</sup>, 293<sup>r</sup>,  
3<sup>v</sup>  
See Arnold Baussan, of Sorèze,  
brother
- See Raymond Arquier, alias  
Baussan, brother
- Arnold Bel of Puginier [Arnaldus  
Bel de Poianerio], 39<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold or Raymond Bernard  
[Arnaldus vel Raymundus  
Bernardi], servant, 64<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold Bernard of Sorèze [Arnaldus  
Bernardi de Soricino], 248<sup>v</sup>–  
250<sup>r</sup>,<sup>11</sup> 264<sup>r</sup>–265<sup>r</sup>, 277<sup>r</sup>  
See Raymond Bernard, brother
- Arnold Bos [Arnaldus Bos], H, 3<sup>r</sup>  
n. 12, 172<sup>v</sup> n. 5, 53<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold Brun [Arnaldus Bruni], 68<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold Catalan of Auriac, 68<sup>v</sup> n. 28
- Arnold Cerier of Montolieu  
[Arnaldus Cererii de  
Monteolivo], 18<sup>r</sup>  
See Bernard Cerier of Montolieu.  
See Raymonda Arimand of  
Saissac, alias Cerier, wife (?)
- Arnold [the] Chancellor [Arnaldus  
Cancellarius], inquisitor, 40; 275<sup>v</sup>,  
8<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold Charpentier [Arnaldus  
Carpentarius], 146<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold Chavard of Villeneuve, the  
younger [Arnaldus Chavardi de  
Villanova junior], 75<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold Chavard the elder [Arnaldus  
Chavardi senior] 76<sup>v</sup>  
See Ponsa, wife
- Arnold Cimordan of Gascogne**  
[Arnaldus Cimordani de  
Gasconia], fugitive, 55, 72 n. 19,  
75 n. 33, 76; 219<sup>v</sup>–225<sup>r</sup>  
See Bernarda, wife  
See Peter, son
- Arnold Copa, of Toulouse [Arnaldus  
Copa, de Tholosa], smith, one of  
the Humiliati, 146<sup>v</sup>, 306<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold Cota [Arnaldus Cota], 261<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold Daniel [Arnaldus Danielis],  
251<sup>r</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Here only A.

<sup>10</sup> Not given here as 'Arnold Aucard', only as 'Arnold'; working with Peter Ferrand. Since Arnold Aucard is always paired with Peter Ferrand, this Arnold is to be identified with Arnold Aucard.

<sup>11</sup> Here 'the sick man'.

- Arnold Durand [Arnaldus Durandi],  
45<sup>r</sup>  
See Pons Durand, son
- Arnold Durand [Arnaldus Durandi],  
256<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold Escolau [Arnaldus Escolavi],  
chaplain of Gasconne, 76; 224<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold Farat [Arnaldus Farat], 198<sup>r</sup>  
See Adémar Farat, brother
- Arnold Faure of Toutens [Arnaldus  
Fabri de Totenx], 69<sup>r</sup>  
See William Faure of Toutens,  
brother
- Arnold Fogassier of Toulouse  
[Arnaldus Fogacerii de Tholosa],  
94<sup>v</sup>, 247<sup>v</sup>  
See Raymond Fogassier, brother  
See Pons Fogassier, brother
- Arnold Fournier of Barelles  
[Arnaldus Furnerii de  
Berrel'/Berrelas], 103; 302<sup>r</sup>,  
317<sup>r</sup>, 328<sup>r</sup>  
See Bernard Fournier, brother  
See Raymonda, wife
- Arnold Gardouch/of Gardouch  
[Arnaldus Gardog/de Gardoig],  
lord of Roquevidal, 45, 47,  
115; 90<sup>r</sup>, 109<sup>v</sup>, 110<sup>r</sup>, 114<sup>v-v</sup>,  
116<sup>v</sup>  
See Peter Gardouch, brother  
See Richardis, wife
- Arnold Garrier, of Toulouse  
[Arnaldus Garrerii de Tholosa],  
307<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold Gauz of La Cassaigne  
[Arnaldus Gauzii de La  
Cassanha], 148<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Bernard Gauz, brother  
See John Gauz, brother  
See William Gauz, brother
- Arnold Gervase [Arnaldus  
Gervasii], OP, 106 n. 217;  
20<sup>r</sup>, 136<sup>r</sup>, 139<sup>r</sup>, 165<sup>v</sup>, 170<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold Got [Arnaldus Got/God],  
307<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Pons Got of Les Cassés,  
father-in-law
- Arnold (Gros of Montmaur)  
[Arnaldus (Grossi de Monte  
Mauro)], 307<sup>r</sup>  
See William Gros of Montmaur,  
uncle
- Arnold Hugh [Arnaldus Hugonis],  
H, deacon of the heretics of  
Vielmorès, 3<sup>r</sup> n. 12, 256<sup>r</sup>, 256<sup>v</sup>,  
269<sup>r</sup>, 270<sup>r</sup>, 271<sup>r</sup>, 277<sup>v</sup>–278<sup>v</sup>,  
291<sup>v</sup>, 292<sup>v</sup>, 293<sup>v</sup>, 296<sup>r-v</sup>, 4<sup>r</sup>, 73<sup>r</sup>  
n. 4
- Arnold Isarn of Saint-Martin-  
Lalande [Arnaldus Isarni de  
Sancto Martino de Landa], 24<sup>v</sup>  
See Bernarda Isarn, wife
- Arnold John [Arnaldus Iohannis],  
OP, 84, 106 n. 218; 247<sup>v</sup>, 331<sup>r-v</sup>
- Arnold Lapassa of Mas-Saintes-  
Puelles, alias Nadal [Arnaldus  
Lapassa de Manso Sanctarum  
Puellarum, dictus Nadal], 28<sup>r</sup>  
n. 10, 37<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold Lombard of the Sabarthès  
[Arnaldus Lombardi de  
Savartesio], money-lender,  
fugitive, 143<sup>v</sup>, 304<sup>r</sup>  
See Sybil, wife
- Arnold Mantrini [Arnaldus  
Mantrini], OP, 251<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold Martin, OP, 251<sup>v</sup> n. 6
- Arnold Monier [Arnaldus Monerii],  
H, converted, 144<sup>v</sup>  
See Bernard Monier, brother  
See Peter of Lassus, brother
- Arnold Nurra/Mirra/Mirre  
[Arnaldus Nurra/Mirra], H, 293<sup>v</sup>,  
38<sup>r</sup>  
—his companion (*socius eius*), 38<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold of Aguts [Arnaldus de  
Acutis], H, 323<sup>v</sup>–324<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold of *Arborenx* [Arnaldus  
Darborenx], 327<sup>v</sup>  
See Valentia, wife
- Arnold of Bauzelle [Arnaldus de  
Besancela], master, rector of the  
church of Dourgne, 23<sup>r</sup>  
See Arnalda, mother

- Arnold of Brun [Arnaldus de Bruno]  
of Renneville, 134<sup>r</sup> n. 20
- Arnold of Bugat [Arnaldus de  
Bugato], 75<sup>v</sup>  
See Peter of Bugat, brother
- Arnold of Castelnau [Arnaldus de  
Castronovo], bailli, 56<sup>v</sup>, 57<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold of Cave of Sorèze [Arnaldus  
de Cave' de Soricino], H, 256<sup>v</sup>,  
269<sup>v</sup>  
See Guillelma Pictavin, sister
- Arnold of Caussère [Arnaldus de  
Caucer'], H, 294<sup>r-v</sup>
- Arnold of Corneilhan of Las  
Touzeilles** [Arnaldus de  
Corneliano de Toell'], knight, 47,  
75 n. 33, 85; 260<sup>v</sup>, 268<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>  
See William of Corneilhan, father  
See Isarn of Corneilhan, brother  
See Aicelina, wife
- Arnold of Couiza [Arnaldus de  
Covisano/Covizano], H, 145<sup>r</sup>,  
247<sup>r</sup>, 26<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold of *Crasso/del Gras* [Arnaldus  
de Crasso/del Gras], OP, 107  
n. 219; 45<sup>r</sup>, 58<sup>r</sup>, 60<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>r-v</sup>
- Arnold of Dourgne [Arnaldus de  
Dornhanello], 27<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold of *Fuzonis* of Toulouse  
[Arnaldus de Fuzonis de  
Tholosa], draper, fugitive, 299<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold (of La Rivière) [Arnaldus (de  
Ripparia)], 29<sup>v</sup>  
See Peter of La Rivière, father
- Arnold or Bernard of La Salle  
of Roumens [Arnaldus vel  
Bernardus de la Sala de Romenx],  
280<sup>v</sup>, 6<sup>v12</sup>  
See also Arnold of La Salle of  
Roumens.
- Arnold of La Salle of Roumens  
[Arnaldus de Sala de Romenx],  
283<sup>v</sup>
- See also Arnold or Bernard of La  
Salle of Roumens
- Arnold of Le Gua [Arnaldus del Ga],  
squire, 47; 156<sup>v</sup>-157<sup>v</sup>  
See Padier of Puylaurens, father  
See William [Matfred Padier],  
brother<sup>13</sup>
- Arnold of Maillorgues [Arnaldus  
de Malhorgas/Malhorga], 302<sup>r-v</sup>,  
308<sup>v</sup>-309<sup>r</sup>  
See Guillelma, wife of Peter of  
Beauville, mother  
See Peter of Beauville, father  
See Pons of Maillorgues, brother
- Arnold of Mirepoix, 311<sup>v</sup> n. 62, 316<sup>r</sup>  
n. 78  
See Raymond of Mirepoix,  
brother
- Arnold of *Montiret* of Saint-Lizier  
in the Couserans [Arnaldus  
de Montiret de Sancto Liverio  
Coseranensis], 74; 225<sup>r</sup>, 226<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold of Puy [Arnaldus de Podio],  
254<sup>r</sup>  
See William of Puy, brother
- Arnold of the Sabarthès [Arnaldus  
de Savartesio], 44<sup>v</sup>  
See Miracula, wife
- Arnold of Saint Laurent [Arnaldus  
de Sancto Laurentio/Laurentii],  
70<sup>r-v</sup>, 74<sup>r</sup>, 80<sup>r-v</sup>
- Arnold of Saint-Quirin (the elder)  
[Arnaldus de Sancto Quirino], 11<sup>r</sup>  
See Guillelma, wife
- Arnold, of Toulouse [Arnaldus,  
de Tholosa], godfather of the  
Fogassiers, 247<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold of Valcabrière [Arnaldus de  
Valle Capraria], OP, 106 n. 217;  
5<sup>v</sup>, 20<sup>r</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Here 'quidam de Romenx  
cognominatus de la Sala'.

<sup>13</sup> Deposition here only indicates  
'William, brother'. Identification made  
on the basis of Padier of Puylaurens's  
genealogy.

- Arnold of Villeneuve, of Avignonet  
[Arnaldus de Villanova, de  
Avinione], cleric, 315<sup>r</sup>–316<sup>r</sup>  
See Stephen of Villeneuve of  
Avignonet, father
- Arnold of Villeneuve, of Lasbordes  
[Arnaldus of Villanova, de  
Bordis], knight, 193<sup>r-v</sup>, 194<sup>v</sup>  
See Brunissen, mother  
See Pons, brother  
See Pons Raymond, brother
- Arnold Olric of Roquevidal  
[Arnaldus Olrici de Rocavidal],  
97<sup>v</sup>–98<sup>r</sup>, 116<sup>v</sup> n. 45  
See William, son
- Arnold Papier [Arnaldus Paperii],  
313<sup>v</sup>–314<sup>r</sup>  
See Papiers  
See Aurenca, mother  
See Raymond Papier, brother  
See William Papier, brother  
See Brunissen, wife  
See Guillelma of Les Cassés,  
maid
- Arnold Pêcheur of Sorèze [Arnaldus  
Piscatoris], 28<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold Pelhisson, see Arnold (the)  
Chancellor
- Arnold Pica [Arnaldus Pica], OP,  
106 n. 217; 44<sup>r</sup>, 151<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold Pradier [Arnaldus  
Pradier/Praderii], H, 134<sup>v</sup>,  
319<sup>r</sup> n. 87, 313<sup>r</sup>, 55<sup>r</sup>, 77<sup>r</sup>  
See Stephana of Château-Verdun,  
wife
- Arnold Raymond [Arnaldus  
Raymundi], 316<sup>v</sup>  
See Arnalda, wife  
See Peter Raymond, the blind  
man, brother  
See William Raymond Golayrand,  
brother
- Arnold Raymond of Roquefort,  
knight, 260<sup>r</sup> n. 22, 9<sup>r</sup> n. 3
- Arnold Raymond Gaiet of Durfort  
[Arnaldus Raymundi Gaieti de  
Duroforti], knight, exile, H, 248<sup>v</sup>,  
264<sup>v</sup>, 276<sup>v</sup>, 8<sup>r</sup>, 9<sup>r-v</sup>, 12<sup>r</sup>, 14 30<sup>r</sup>  
See Bruna, maidservant  
See Maurin, *bailli*
- Arnold Rigaud of Saint-Nauphary,  
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- Arnold Talharic [Arnaldus  
Talharicus], 106 n. 218; OP,  
259<sup>r</sup>, 60<sup>r</sup>
- Arnold Taravel of Cessales, 63<sup>v</sup> n. 4  
See Raymonda, wife
- Arnold Terrier of Sorèze [Arnaldus  
Terrerii de Soricino], 265<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold Vascon [Arnaldus Vasconis],  
OP, 106 n. 218; 268<sup>v</sup>
- Arnold William Porrier of Toulouse  
from the new Bourg [Arnaldus  
Guillelmi Porrerius/Porrer' de  
Tholosa de Burgueto Novo],  
299<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Beatrix of Moncassis, wife  
See Peter Raymond Porrier, son
- Arsendis, H, 26<sup>v</sup> n. 39
- Astruga of La Barthe of the *mas*  
of *Restero* [Astruga de Labarta,  
de Manso de Restero], fugitive,  
186<sup>v</sup>
- Astruga of Prades [Astruga de  
Pradis], 244<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Bernard Escolau, son  
See Peter Escolau, lover<sup>15</sup>
- Atho Arnold of Château-Verdun  
[Atho Arnaldi de Castro  
Verduno], H, 301<sup>v</sup>
- Atho den Artigat [Atho den Artigat],  
311<sup>r</sup>  
See Galharda, wife
- Atho Jaulieu [Atho Iaulevi], priest,  
215<sup>v</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Here erroneously identified as  
'Raymond of Durfort' by the 1669  
copyist.

<sup>15</sup> The description of Bernard Escolau  
as illegitimate (*spurius*) son of Astruga  
and Peter Escolan suggests they were not  
married.



- Atho of Saint-Victor [Atho de Sancto Victore], notary, 56, 82–83, 86, 88, 90–94, 96–97, 99, 103, 108, 110, 111; 14<sup>r-v</sup>, 17<sup>v</sup>, 23<sup>r</sup>, 25<sup>r</sup>, 26<sup>r</sup>, 29<sup>r</sup>, 33<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup>, 41<sup>v</sup>, 43<sup>r</sup>, 44<sup>r</sup>, 49<sup>r</sup>, 52<sup>v</sup>, 55<sup>r</sup>, 66<sup>v</sup>–67<sup>v</sup>, 78<sup>r</sup>, 82<sup>r</sup>, 84<sup>v</sup>, 89<sup>v</sup>, 114<sup>r</sup>, 134<sup>r</sup>, 147<sup>r</sup>, 149<sup>r</sup>, 155<sup>r</sup>, 158<sup>r</sup>, 158<sup>v</sup>–159<sup>r</sup>, 162<sup>v</sup>, 171<sup>v</sup>, 172<sup>v</sup>, 176<sup>v</sup>, 177<sup>r</sup>, 177<sup>v</sup>, 180<sup>v</sup>, 192<sup>v</sup>, 195<sup>v</sup>, 201<sup>r</sup>, 201<sup>v</sup>, 204<sup>v</sup>, 205<sup>r</sup>, 209<sup>r</sup>, 211<sup>r</sup>, 212<sup>r</sup>, 214<sup>r</sup>, 215<sup>v</sup>, 217<sup>r</sup>, 221<sup>v</sup>, 224<sup>v</sup>, 228<sup>v</sup>, 230<sup>r</sup>, 235<sup>v</sup>, 236<sup>v</sup>, 238<sup>r</sup>, 242<sup>v</sup>, 246<sup>r</sup>, 248<sup>r</sup>, 252<sup>r</sup>, 255<sup>v</sup>, 259<sup>v</sup>, 265<sup>v</sup>, 268<sup>v</sup>, 270<sup>v</sup>, 271<sup>r</sup>, 274<sup>r</sup>, 274<sup>v</sup>, 283<sup>r</sup>, 284<sup>r</sup>, 288<sup>r</sup>, 289<sup>v</sup>, 290<sup>r</sup>, 291<sup>v</sup>, 297<sup>r</sup>, 300<sup>v</sup>, 313<sup>v</sup>, 318<sup>v</sup>, 322<sup>v</sup>, 324<sup>v</sup>, 328<sup>r</sup>, 331<sup>r</sup>, 331<sup>v</sup>, 2<sup>r</sup>, 2<sup>v</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>v</sup>, 6<sup>v</sup>, 11<sup>v</sup>, 32<sup>r</sup>, 36<sup>r</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>, 44<sup>r</sup>, 45<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>v</sup>, 56<sup>r</sup>, 58<sup>r</sup>, 60<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>v</sup>, 66<sup>r</sup>, 68<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup>, 77<sup>r</sup>, 78<sup>r</sup>
- Auda [Auda], see Senglara or Auda
- Auda [Auda], lady, 30<sup>r-v</sup>
- See Bernard Raymond of Saint-Martin-le-Vieil, brother
- Audiart Barrau of Orgueil valley [Audiardis Barrava de Valle Eugul], 190<sup>r-v</sup>
- See Bernard Barrau, brother
- Auger [Augerius], abbot of Feuillants, 76; 223<sup>r</sup>
- Auger Mercadier of Roquefort [Augerius Mercaderii de Ruppaforti], 13<sup>r-v</sup>
- See Bernard Peter (Mercadier), brother
- See Peter Mercadier, brother
- Aurenca [Aurenca], 308<sup>r-v</sup>
- See Guillelma, wife of Pons Faure, mother
- Aurenca [Aurenca], 314<sup>r</sup>
- See Arnold Papier, son
- See Raymond Papier, son
- See William Papier, son
- Austorga of Rouzégas [Astorga de Razengas], 64<sup>r</sup> n. 5, 67<sup>r</sup> n. 20, 68<sup>v</sup>
- Ava, wife of Bernard of Sainte-Foy [Ava, uxor Bernardi de Sancta Fide], 282<sup>r</sup>
- See Bernard of Sainte-Foy, husband
- See Raymond of Sainte-Foy, son
- Aygotan of Algans [Aygotan/Aigolan Dalgariis/de Algarius], 79<sup>v</sup>, 123<sup>v</sup>
- See Maimo, son
- Aymes of Alzonne, Burgundian [Aymes Burgundus de Alsona], 13, 85; 9<sup>v</sup>–10<sup>r</sup>
- Baia of Falgar of Saissac [Baia del Falgar de Saxiaco], 30<sup>r</sup>
- See Raymond of Roqueville, son-in-law
- Baranhon family 196<sup>v</sup> n. 2
- See Bernard Raymond Baranhon
- Barrau, from Lamothe [Barravus de Mota], 286<sup>v</sup>–287<sup>r</sup>
- Barrau of Lastens [Barravus de Lastenx], 121<sup>r</sup>
- Barrava, wife of Peter Carpin of Sorèze [Barrava, uxor Petri Carpini de Soricino], 276<sup>v</sup>, 282<sup>r</sup>
- See Peter Carpin of Sorèze, husband
- Bartac [Bartacius/Bartatius], alias William Matfred of Puylaurens, knight, 30<sup>v</sup>, 316<sup>v16</sup>
- Bartac of Palajac [Bartacius/Bartacius de Palaiaco/Galaaiac], knight,<sup>17</sup> 30<sup>v</sup>, 119<sup>v</sup> n. 51, 136<sup>v</sup> n. 6, 163<sup>r</sup> n. 10, 208<sup>v</sup>, 209<sup>v</sup>, 283<sup>r</sup> n. 13, 50<sup>v</sup>, 51<sup>r</sup>, 51<sup>v</sup> n. 18, 52<sup>r</sup>, 53<sup>r</sup>, 54<sup>r</sup>
- See Peter William, brother
- See Reynard, brother
- See William Auriola, *bailli*
- Bartholomew Boer, of the Street of the Tanners of Toulouse [Bartholomeus Boerii, de carreria affocculatorum of Toulouse], fugitive, 299<sup>v</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Here, 'exile'.

<sup>17</sup> The same as Bartac (alias William Matfred of Puylaurens).

- Bartholomew Fogassier  
[Bartholomeus Fogacerii],  
fugitive, 40<sup>r</sup>, 146<sup>v</sup>  
See Bernard Fogassier  
See Fogassiers  
See Fogassiers, mother of  
See Pons Fogassier, brother
- Bartholomew Jordan of Rabastens**  
[Bartholomeus Jordani de  
Rabastensis], 75 n. 33, 99;  
35<sup>r</sup>–36<sup>v</sup>
- Bartholomew of Arcagne  
[Bartholomeus de Arcanhano],  
OP, 106 n. 218; 54<sup>v</sup>, 288<sup>r</sup>, 65<sup>v</sup>, 66<sup>r</sup>
- Bartholomew of Jul [Bartholomeus  
de Iulio], 242<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Faure of Jul, brother
- Bartholomew of Pozara  
[Bartholomeus de Pozara],  
238<sup>v</sup>
- Batturana, lady, 52<sup>r</sup> n. 22
- the Baudrics of Grandval [dels  
Baudrix de Grandi Valle], 67<sup>v</sup>  
See Raymond Baudric  
See William Baudric (the elder)  
See William Baudric (the  
younger)
- Baziège, of Gardouch [Vazegia, de  
Gardubio], lord of Gardouch, H,  
320<sup>v</sup>–321<sup>r</sup>
- Beatrix, wife of Jordan of Roquefort  
[Beatrix, uxor Iordani de  
Ruppeforti], lady, 28<sup>v</sup> n. 44, 30<sup>r</sup>  
See Jordan of Roquefort (the  
elder), husband
- Beatrix of Malbons, from the  
Carcassès [Beatriz de Malbons, de  
Carcassesio], 208<sup>r</sup>
- Beatrix of Moncassis [Beatrix de  
Monte Totino], 299<sup>r</sup>, 299<sup>r</sup> n. 11,  
299<sup>v</sup>  
See Arnold William Porrier of  
Toulouse from the new Bourg,  
husband  
See Peter Raymond Porrier, son
- Bec of Roquefort, knight, H, 260<sup>r</sup>  
n. 22
- Becsendis of Bonaria of Saint-  
Paul-Cap-de-Joux [Becsende  
de Bonaria de Sancto Paulo de  
Cadaiovis], nurse, see Rixendis of  
Mireval of Graulhet
- Bego of Roqueville, 131<sup>v</sup>, n. 8  
See Bego of Roqueville, knight of  
Montgaillard, nephew
- Bego of Roqueville [Bexs/Begs/Bego  
de Rochovilla], knight of  
Montgaillard, fugitive, 130<sup>v</sup>, 131<sup>v</sup>–  
132<sup>r</sup>, 134<sup>r</sup>–135<sup>v</sup>, 297<sup>v</sup>, 312<sup>v</sup>–313<sup>r</sup>,  
317<sup>v</sup>, 324<sup>v</sup>,<sup>18</sup> 1<sup>r-v</sup>, 54<sup>v</sup>, 55<sup>v</sup>, 69<sup>v</sup>,  
70<sup>v</sup>–71<sup>r</sup>  
See Aicelina, mother  
See Aladaicis, sister  
See Bertrand of Roqueville,  
brother  
See Galhard Ros, brother  
See Bego of Roqueville, uncle  
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<sup>21</sup> Here Bernarda Bosc 'of Saint-Paul  
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<sup>22</sup> Here 'Bernarda Molsarona'.

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     Montegalhardo], 312<sup>v</sup>–313<sup>r</sup>, 317<sup>v</sup>,  
     55<sup>r</sup>  
     See Stephen Donat, brother  
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     Rabastencs], 99; 35<sup>v</sup>, 36<sup>r</sup>  
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     59<sup>r</sup>  
     See Hugua of *Bertran*, wife  
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     Furno], 187<sup>v</sup>  
     See Raymonda, wife  
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     [Durandus de Rofiac/Rofiac  
     de Ulmeria], 72 n. 19, 75 n. 33;  
     20<sup>r</sup>–23<sup>v</sup>, 178<sup>r</sup>, 181<sup>r-v</sup>  
     See Guirauda, wife  
     See John of Rouffiac, son  
     See Peter of Rouffiac, son  
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     [Durandus de Taxeriis, de  
     Duroforti], 27<sup>r-v</sup>  
     See Michael of Teyssières, son  
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     uxor Pontii Andree], 14<sup>v</sup>  
     See Pons Andrew, husband  
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     See John Elias of Sorèze, brother  
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     139<sup>v</sup>, 151<sup>r</sup>  
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     n. 218, 115; 147<sup>v</sup> n. 1, 149<sup>r</sup>, 162<sup>v</sup>,  
     171<sup>v</sup>, 172<sup>v</sup>, 176<sup>v</sup>, 180<sup>v</sup>  
     See Valeria Manhana, mother  
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     31<sup>v</sup>  
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     104<sup>v</sup>  
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     See Bernard Bertier, son  
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     See Isarn of Villetravers, brother  
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     [Ermengardis/Ermengarda, uxor  
     Isarni Pagesii / Ermengardis  
     Pagesia], 72 n. 17, 72 n. 19,  
     75 n. 33; 280<sup>v</sup>, 287<sup>v</sup>, 288<sup>r</sup>–  
     290<sup>v</sup>  
     See Isarn Pagès, husband  
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     308<sup>r</sup>, 309<sup>r</sup>  
     See Peter of Beauville, father  
     See Raymonda, sister  
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 See Raymond Mercadier, husband  
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- Ermengardis, wife of William of Péreille, of Rabat [Ermengarda, uxor Guillelmi de Parelha, de Ravato], weaver, fugitive, 143<sup>v</sup>-144<sup>r</sup>  
 See William of Péreille, husband
- Ermengardis Arland, wife of Pons Mercadier of Roquefort [Ermengardis Arlanda, uxor Pontii Mercaderii de Ruppforti], 13<sup>v</sup>, 27<sup>r</sup>, 37<sup>r-v</sup>  
 See Aladaicis, wife of Stephen Arland, mother  
 See Pons Mercadier of Roquefort, husband
- Ermengardis Faure [Ermengarda/Ermengardis Fabrisa],<sup>25</sup> 29<sup>r-v</sup>  
 See Jordana, mistaken name  
 See Pons Faure of Lamothe, brother
- Ermengardis Martina [Ermengardis Martin],<sup>26</sup> 61<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>r</sup>  
 See Pons Faure, brother
- Ermengardis Melon [Ermengardis Melona], H, 10<sup>r</sup>
- Ermengardis of the Auriacais [Ermengardis de Auriaguezio], maidservant, 252<sup>v</sup>
- Ermengardis Pagèse [Ermengardis Pagesia], see Emengardis, wife of Isarn Pagèse
- Ermengaud Lautier [Ermengaudus Lauterii], OP, prior of Castres, 107 n. 225; 195<sup>v</sup>, 274<sup>v</sup>
- Ermengaud of Auvezines of Vaure [Ermengaudus de Ovezinis/Quesinis de Baure], 252<sup>v</sup>, 279<sup>r</sup>-280<sup>r</sup>  
 See Bernarda, sister  
 See Bonet of Auvezines, brother  
 See William Pons, brother
- Ermengaud of Roquemaure [Ermengaudus de Roquamaura], fugitive, exile, 182<sup>v</sup>-184<sup>r</sup>
- Ermengaud of Roucayrols from the *mas* of Cabès [Ermengaudus de Rocairol de Manso de Cabess], 186<sup>r</sup>
- Ermengaud of Le Vintrou [Ermengardus de Vintro], knight, 172<sup>r-v</sup>  
 See Bonafos, wife
- Ermesendis, 50<sup>r</sup> n. 2  
 See Sicard of Puylaurens, son
- Ermesendis [Ermesendis], 253<sup>v</sup>-254<sup>r</sup>  
 See Porcel of Labecède, brother  
 See Raymond Durand the younger of Sorèze, brother
- Ermesendis, wife of Bernard Fournier of Barelles [Ermesendis, uxor Bernardi Furnerii de Berrelas], 317<sup>r</sup>  
 See Bernard Fournier of Barelles, husband
- Ermesendis, wife of Stephen Gros of Montmaur [Ermesendis, uxor Stephani Grossi de Monte Mauro], 307<sup>r</sup>  
 See Stephen Gros of Montmaur, husband
- Ermesendis Pellicier, 16-17
- Esclarmonda, sister of Raymond-Roger, count of Foix, 45-46 n. 50  
 See Raymond-Roger, count of Foix
- Esclarmonda, wife of Bernard Faure of Saint-Romain [Esclarmonda,

<sup>25</sup> Possibly the same as Ermengardis Martina.

<sup>26</sup> Possibly the same as Ermengardis Faure.

- uxor Bernardi Fabri de Sancto Romano], 49<sup>r</sup>–50<sup>v</sup>, 52<sup>r</sup>, 53<sup>v</sup>–54<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup>–73<sup>r</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup>  
 —daughter-in-law of, 54<sup>r</sup>  
     See Bernard Faure of Saint-Romain, husband  
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     Peter Lobet of Cordes [Esclarmonda/Sclarmonda, uxor Petri Lobeti de Cordua], 56<sup>v</sup>, 58<sup>r</sup>  
     See Raymonda, wife of Raymond Molinier, sister  
     See Peter Lobet, husband  
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     See Raymond of Durfort, husband  
 Esclarmonda, wife of William of Niort, 272<sup>v</sup> n. 7  
     See William of Niort, husband  
     See Uzalger of Niort, son  
 Espanhol [Espanholus], see William Espanhol  
 Estampas [Estampas], chaplain of *Frontorge* and of Saint-Germain, 137<sup>v</sup>  
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     See Raymonda Terren, daughter  
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     See Peter Pictavin of Sorèze, brother  
     See Bernard Costa of Sorèze, husband  
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     See Castel, husband  
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 —mother of, 3<sup>v</sup>  
     See Bernard Trilha, father  
     See Peter Pictavin of Sorèze (the elder), husband  
 Fabrissa, wife of Peter Raymond Mercadier [Fabrissa, uxor Petri Raymundi Mercaderii], 31<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>r</sup>, 36<sup>v</sup>  
     See Peter Raymond Mercadier, husband  
**Fabrissa, wife of Peter Vital, of Limoux** [Fabrissa, uxor Petri Vitalis, de Limoso/Lunos], 32, 72 n. 19, 93, 95, 99 n. 181, 101, 112, 38<sup>r</sup>–42<sup>r</sup>, 43<sup>r</sup>, 43<sup>v</sup>–52<sup>r</sup>, 52<sup>v</sup>, 53<sup>v</sup>–54<sup>r</sup>  
     See Raymonda, mother  
     See Peter Vital, husband  
     See Philippa, wife of Raymond Maurel, daughter  
     See Raymond Maurel, son-in-law  
 Fabrissa, wife of Vassaron of Cambiac [Fabrissa, uxor Vassaroni de Cambiaco], fugitive, 18<sup>r-v</sup>  
     See Vassaron of Cambiac, husband  
 Faure of Jul [Faber de Iulio], 242<sup>r</sup>  
     See Bartholomew of Jul, brother  
**Faydita, wife of Bernard of Montaigu** [Faydita, uxor Bernardi de Monte Accuto], 72 n. 18; 58<sup>v</sup>–60<sup>r</sup>  
     See Bernard of Montaigu, husband  
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- Fays, wife of Reginald of Palajac  
(*continued*)  
See Becsendis of *Bonaria* of  
Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux, nurse  
See Reginald of Palajac,  
husband
- Ferrer [Ferrarius], servant,<sup>27</sup> 303<sup>v</sup>
- Ferrand [Ferrandus], H, 37<sup>r</sup>  
See Philip (the) Catalan, brother
- Ferrier [Ferrarius] (the Catalan),  
OP, inquisitor, 40, 41 n. 30, 60,  
76; 30<sup>v</sup> n. 22, 36<sup>r</sup>, 87<sup>v</sup> n. 19, 119<sup>v</sup>  
n. 51, 131<sup>v</sup> n. 7, 134<sup>r</sup> n. 21, 172<sup>v</sup>  
nn. 4, 5, 193<sup>v</sup>, 193<sup>v</sup> n. 4, 268<sup>r</sup>  
n. 40, 295<sup>v</sup> n. 12, 5<sup>r</sup> n. 9, 50<sup>r</sup> n. 2,  
50<sup>v</sup> n. 6, 52<sup>r</sup> n. 20, 64<sup>v</sup> n. 7, 68<sup>v</sup>  
n. 26
- Figueira [Figuera], troubadour, see  
[William Figueira]
- Finas, wife of Canalar of Les Cassés  
[Finas, uxor de Canalar/Cabalar  
dels Cassers], 305<sup>r-v</sup>, 324<sup>r</sup>  
See Canalar of Les Cassés,  
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- Finas, wife of Adam Barta  
[Fizas/Fina, uxor Ade Barta],  
269<sup>r</sup>, 270<sup>r</sup>, 277<sup>v</sup>–278<sup>r</sup>, 281<sup>v</sup>  
See Adam Barta, husband
- Florentia, 132<sup>v</sup> n. 12  
See William of Gomerville, son
- Flors Belul, wife of William Belul  
[Flors Belula, uxor Guillelmi  
Belul], 62<sup>v</sup>  
See William Belul, husband
- Fogassiers of Toulouse  
[Fogacerii/Fogascerii/Fogas-  
serii/Fogacini/Fogatii de  
Tholosa], 44<sup>r</sup>, 45<sup>r</sup>, 45<sup>v</sup>, 47<sup>v</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>,  
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See Arnold Fogassier  
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See Fogassiers, mother of  
See Pons Fogassier
- Fogassiers, mother of [mater  
Fogaciorum/Fogacinorum], 40<sup>v</sup>,  
44<sup>r</sup>, 53<sup>r</sup>, 105<sup>r</sup>  
See Bartholomew, son  
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See Pons, son (?)
- Fort [Fortius], messenger, 80<sup>v</sup>, 81<sup>v</sup>,  
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See Bernard Garrigue of  
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- Fort Sabatier [Fortius Sabaterii],  
261<sup>v</sup>
- Fournier (the) Catalan [Furnerius  
Cathalanus], 303<sup>r</sup>
- Frederick II Hohenstaufen, emperor,  
143<sup>r</sup> n. 11, 199<sup>r</sup> n. 14
- Frescas, see Na Fresca
- Frisco Ricomman, professor of laws,  
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- Fura [Fura], 52<sup>v</sup>, 53<sup>v</sup>
- Galhard/Gerald/Guiraud  
Bonet of Villefranche  
[Galhart/Geraldus/Guiraldus  
Boneti de Villa Franca], fugitive,  
55; 8<sup>r</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup>, 190<sup>r</sup>, 191<sup>v</sup>  
—sister of<sup>28</sup> 190<sup>r</sup>, 191<sup>v</sup>
- Galhard Grimoard [Galhardus  
Grimoardi], 238<sup>r-v</sup>
- Galhard of Belaval, knight, 229<sup>r</sup> n. 5,  
229<sup>v</sup> n. 5  
See Guillelma, wife  
See Albara, daughter  
See Navarra, daughter  
See Nicola, daughter
- Galhard of Dreuilhe [Galhardus de  
Drulia], knight, 276<sup>v</sup>, 3<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Adalmurs, sister  
See Peter Raymond of Dreuilhe,  
brother (?)  
See Nigra, wife
- Galhard Ros of Montgaillard  
[Galhardus Rubei de  
Montegalhardo], knight, 53,

<sup>27</sup> Possibly the same as Fournier  
Cathala.

<sup>28</sup> This woman is described as  
married to a butcher.

- 72 n. 19, 75 n. 33; 317<sup>v</sup>, 54<sup>v</sup>–56<sup>r</sup>  
 See Aicelina, mother  
 See Bego of Roqueville, brother  
 See Bertrand of Roqueville, brother
- Galhard (the) Butcher of Rabastens  
 [Galhardus Macellarius de Rabastens], 319<sup>v</sup>–320<sup>r</sup>  
 See Raymonda, concubine, then wife
- Galharda, wife of Atho den Artigat  
 [Galharda, uxor Athonis den Artigat], 311<sup>r</sup>  
 See Atho den Artigat, husband
- Galharda of Lugan  
 [Galharda/Gualharda de Luganno/Luganh], 80<sup>r</sup>, 100<sup>v</sup>–101<sup>r</sup>  
 —mother or daughter of, 100<sup>v</sup>–101<sup>r</sup>
- Galharda, of the Sabarthès  
 [Gualharda, de Savartesi], weaver, fugitive, 143<sup>v</sup>, 304<sup>r</sup>  
 See Bernard Pelissier, father  
 See Sybil, wife of Arnold Lombard, sister
- Gardouch of Mauremont**  
 [Gardubius de Maurello Monte], knight,<sup>29</sup> 47 n. 56; 70, 75 n. 33; 63<sup>v</sup>–64<sup>v</sup>
- Gardouch of Montgaillard/Gardoz  
 [Gardubius de Monte Galhardo], knight, 325<sup>v</sup>–326<sup>r</sup>, 64<sup>r</sup> n. 3  
 See Matilda, mother
- Garmus the Burgundian [Garmus Burgundus], 13, 85; 10<sup>r</sup>
- Garnier of Cordes [Garnerius de Cordua], judge of Rodez, 177<sup>v</sup>–178<sup>r</sup>, 179<sup>r</sup>–180<sup>r</sup>
- Garsen [Garsendis], maid, 64<sup>v</sup>
- Gaubert Médecin of Roquevidal  
 [Gaubertus Medici de Rocavidal], 111<sup>r</sup>  
 See Bernarda Massarona, wife
- Gaubert of Aula of Bénas**  
 [Gausbertus de Aula de Benacio], 72 n. 19, 74; 23<sup>v</sup>–26<sup>r</sup>
- Gaubert Olric [Gausbertus Olrici], 76<sup>r</sup>
- Gaucelin, of Caraman [Gaucelinus, de Caramanno], H, 33<sup>r</sup>
- Gautier Bergonho  
 [Galterius/Gauterius Bergonho/Bergunho], 239<sup>r-v</sup>, 240<sup>v</sup>, 241<sup>r</sup>
- Geoffrey of Ablis, OP, 84; 38<sup>v</sup> n. 4
- Gerald [Guiraldus], fugitive, 143<sup>v</sup>
- Gerald Bonpain [Girardus Bonus Panis], friar of the Holy Cross of Toulouse, 117; 1<sup>v</sup>, 2<sup>v</sup> nn. 3 and 6  
 See Bernard, brother<sup>30</sup>
- Gerald Colom [Geraldus Colom], 238<sup>v</sup>  
 See William Colom, brother
- Gerald of Vacquiers, 93
- Gerald of Verdié [Geraldus de Viridario], 10<sup>v</sup>
- Gerald Segarelli, founder of the Pseudo-Apostles, 218<sup>v</sup> n. 4
- Gerald Unaud of Lanta [Guiraldus Unaudi de Lantar'], knight, H, 132<sup>v</sup>–133<sup>r</sup>, 140<sup>r</sup>, 142<sup>v</sup>, 145<sup>r</sup>, 303<sup>r</sup>, 33<sup>r</sup>, 41<sup>r</sup>  
 See William Bernard Unaud, father  
 See Jordan Unaud, brother  
 See Mirota, wife
- Germain, OP, prior of Pamiers, 84
- Giles of Lastours [Egidius de Turribus], n. 101; 66<sup>r</sup>
- Ginhosa, wife of William Pêcheur [Ginhosa, uxor Guillelmi Piscatoris], 278<sup>v</sup>  
 See William Pêcheur, husband
- Gitbert [Gatbertus], 322<sup>r</sup>  
 See Raymonda (Ricard), wife

<sup>29</sup> See 64<sup>r</sup> n. 3 on the possible identity of Gardouch of Mauremont and Gardouch of Montgaillard.

<sup>30</sup> Gerald was a copyist's error for Bernard.

- Gitbert of Blan [Gitbertus de Blanno], 280<sup>v</sup>  
 See Andrieu, wife
- Gitberta [Gitberta], H, 289<sup>r-v</sup>  
 See Bernard Gitbert, brother
- Gordona, wife of Pons of Gomerville [Gordana/Gordona/Goidona, uxor Pontii de Gomenvilla], fugitive, 46<sup>r-v</sup>, 47<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>, 49<sup>v</sup>, 53<sup>r</sup>, 54<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup>-73<sup>r</sup>, 106<sup>r</sup>, 247<sup>v</sup>  
 See Pons of Gomerville, husband
- Gras of Gauré, messenger (of Bernard and Pagesia of Rival) [Grassus de Gaure, nuntius], 12<sup>r-v</sup>
- Grazida of Las Touzeilles [Grasida/Grazida/Grazinda de Toell'/Toellis], 30<sup>r</sup>, 31<sup>v</sup>-32<sup>r</sup>, 33<sup>r</sup>, 263<sup>v</sup>-264<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>r-v</sup>, 14<sup>v</sup>, 22<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>r-v</sup>, 32<sup>r-v</sup>, 36<sup>r-v</sup>, 40<sup>v</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>, 43<sup>r</sup>, 44<sup>r-v</sup>  
 See Peter of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles, husband  
 See Aladaicis, wife of John of Bugarel, daughter  
 See Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles, son  
 See Raymond of Saint-Michel, son  
 See Bruna of Palajac, maidservant
- Gregory IX, pope, 36
- Gregory X, pope, 43, 109
- Grimald of Laumière [Grimaldus de Ulmeria], cleric, 21<sup>v</sup>-22<sup>r</sup>, 23<sup>r</sup>, 178<sup>r</sup>, 181<sup>r</sup>, 182<sup>r</sup>  
 See Guiraud of Laumière, father  
 See Guiraud of Laumière, nephew
- Gui Foulques [Guido Fulcodii], archbishop of Narbonne, later pope Clement IV, 43, 74, 184<sup>v</sup> n. 11, 272<sup>r</sup>, 274<sup>r</sup>
- Gui of Rheims, inquisitor, 14
- Guibert of Appelle [Guibertus de Apela], 245<sup>v</sup>
- Guilabert Alsieu [Guilabertus Alsevi], monk of Sorèze, 277<sup>r</sup>  
 See Alzeva, mother
- Guilabert of Cabanes [Guilabertus de Cabanis], 52<sup>r</sup>
- Guilabert of Castres, H, 119<sup>v</sup> n. 51, 163<sup>r</sup> n. 10
- Guilabert of Foissac [Guilabertus de Forsaco/Foissac], knight, 47, 75 n. 33, 85; 26<sup>v</sup>, 31<sup>r</sup>, 266<sup>v</sup>, 275<sup>r</sup>, 283<sup>v</sup>, 285<sup>r</sup>, 7<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>r</sup>  
 See Isarn of Foissac, son
- Guilabert of Roussilles [Guilabertus/Guilibertus of Rossiliis/Rossilhas], knight, 30<sup>v</sup> n. 19, 292<sup>r</sup>, 295<sup>v</sup>, 8<sup>r</sup>, 10<sup>v</sup>
- Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles [Guilabertus de St Michel de Thoelhs], 47 n. 55; 72 n. 19; 26<sup>v</sup>, 29<sup>r</sup>-35<sup>r</sup>  
 See Grazida, mother  
 See Peter, father  
 See Aladaicis, wife of John of Bugarel, sister  
 See Peter, brother  
 See Raymond, brother  
 See John of Bugarel, brother-in-law
- Guillelma (i)<sup>31</sup> [Willelma], 18<sup>r-v</sup>
- Guillelma (ii)<sup>32</sup> [Willelma], 18<sup>r-v</sup>
- Guillelma [Guillelma], 276<sup>r</sup>  
 See Bernarda, sister  
 See Raymond of La Sourde of Sorèze, brother  
 See Rixendis, sister
- Guillelma [Guillelma], 295<sup>r</sup>  
 See Raymonda Boer, mother  
 See Bernard Trilha, father
- Guillelma [Guillelma], 61<sup>r</sup>  
 See Bernard Bertier, brother
- Guillelma [Guillelma], 76<sup>v</sup>  
 See Bernard Barrau of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, son  
 See Pons Barrau of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, son  
 See Ponsa, daughter

<sup>31</sup> Two different women, both called Guillelma but without further specification, were remembered by the witness.

<sup>32</sup> As above.

- Guillelma, wife of Arnold of Saint-Quirin [Arnaldus de Sancto Quirino], 11<sup>r</sup>  
 See Arnold of Saint-Quirin, husband
- Guillelma, wife of Bertrand Roca [Guillelma, uxor Bertrandi Roca], lady, 58<sup>r</sup>  
 See Bertrand Roca, husband
- Guillelma, wife of Galhard of Belaval, 229<sup>r</sup> n. 5, 229<sup>v</sup> n. 5  
 See Galhard of Belaval, husband  
 See Navarra, daughter  
 See Nicola, daughter  
 See Albara, daughter
- Guillelma, wife of John Franc [Guillelma, uxor Iohannis Franc], 280<sup>v</sup>  
 See John Franc, husband
- Guillelma, wife of Peter Aurussa of Dourgne [Guillelma, uxor Petri Aurussa de Dornhano], 23<sup>r</sup>  
 See William Barta of Puylaurens, brother  
 See Peter Aurussa of Dourgne, husband
- Guillelma, wife of Peter Faure of Roquevidal [Guillelma, uxor Petri Faure/Fabri of Rocavidal], 111<sup>v</sup>, 112<sup>r</sup>, 182<sup>r</sup>  
 See Guirauda, wife of Durand of Rouffiac, mother  
 See Peter Faure of Roquevidal, husband
- Guillelma, wife of Peter of Beauville [Guillelma, uxor Petri de Beauvilla], 131<sup>v</sup>, 141<sup>v</sup>–142<sup>r</sup>, 302<sup>r-v</sup>, 305<sup>r</sup>, 310<sup>v</sup>–311<sup>r</sup>, 313<sup>r</sup>, 315<sup>r</sup>, 323<sup>r</sup>–324<sup>r</sup>, 330<sup>r</sup>, 16<sup>r</sup>, 70<sup>v</sup>  
 See Peter of Beauville, husband  
 See Arnold of Maillorgues, son
- Guillelma, wife of Peter Pons of Lempaut [Guillelma, uxor Petri Pontii de Empento], 34<sup>r</sup>  
 See William Andrew of Lempaut, father
- See Peter Pons of Lempaut, husband
- Guillelma, wife of Pons Faure of Lamothe [Guillelma, uxor Poncii Fabri de Mota], 285<sup>v</sup>, 308<sup>r</sup>, 308<sup>v</sup>  
 See Pons Faure of Lamothe, husband  
 See Aurenca, daughter
- Guillelma, wife of Stephen of *Leumer* [Guillelma, uxor Stephani de Leumer/Leumers], 85<sup>v</sup>, 86<sup>v</sup>, 127<sup>v</sup>  
 See Stephen of *Leumer*, husband
- Guillelma, wife of Stephen Roque [Guillelma, uxor Stephani Roca], 311<sup>r</sup>, 315<sup>r</sup>  
 See Stephen Roque, husband  
 See Guillelma, of Sorèze, daughter  
 See Peter Roque, son
- Guillelma, wife of Thomas of Saint-Flour, of Toulouse [Guillelma, uxor Thome de Sancto Flore, de Tholosa], 72 n. 19, 101, 112; 37<sup>v</sup>–43<sup>v</sup>, 45<sup>r-v</sup>**  
 See Thomas of Saint-Flour, husband
- Guillelma, wife of Vital of the *mas* of *Aurinhol* [Guillelma, uxor Vitalis de Manso de Aurinhol], 13<sup>v</sup>  
 See Peter (of the *mas* of *Aurinhol*), son  
 See Pons (of the *mas* of *Aurinhol*), son  
 See Brito, nephew
- Guillelma, wife of William Baudric (the elder) of Avignonet [Guillelma, uxor Guillelmi Baudrici senioris de Avinione], 327<sup>r</sup>  
 See William Baudric (the elder) of Avignonet, husband
- Guillelma, wife of William Corona of Rabat [Guillelma, uxor Guillelmi Corona de Ravato], fugitive, 143<sup>v</sup>, 304<sup>v</sup>  
 See William Corona of Rabat, husband

- Guillelma, wife of William of  
Saintes, 57<sup>r</sup> n. 5  
See William of Saintes, husband
- Guillelma Acier [Guillelma Aceria],  
242<sup>r</sup>
- Guillelma Aiberna [Guillelma  
Aib'na], 40<sup>v</sup>
- Guillelma Andrieu, wife of  
Raymond Bordier of Lavour  
[Guillelma Andrevia, uxor  
Raymundi Borderii de Vauro],  
74<sup>v</sup>  
See Raymond Bordier of Lavour,  
husband
- Guillelma Arimand of Cahuzac  
[Guillelma Arimanda de  
Causaco], 28<sup>v</sup>
- Guillelma Badoel of Cordes, see  
Guillelma Peignière
- Guillelma Bascol [Guillelma  
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See Aladaicis of the Estreits,  
aunt
- Guillelma Caucerca of Folcarde  
[Guillelma Caucerca de Folcarda],  
321<sup>v</sup>
- Guillelma Ciron [Guillelma Cirona],  
76<sup>v</sup>, 120<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Guillelma Galhota  
See Bernard of Mont Séran,  
husband  
See Raymond (of Mont Séran),  
son  
See William Terren, son-in-law
- Guillelma del Faure, H, 64<sup>v</sup> n. 7
- Guillelma del Sot of Saint-Paul  
[Guillelma del Sot de Sancto  
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- Guillelma Escafida of *La Escafavia*  
[Guillelma Escafida de la  
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- Guillelma Faure of Lamothe  
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64<sup>v</sup> n. 7
- Guillelma Folbasa/Folhosa  
[Guillelma Folbasa/Folhosa],  
99<sup>v</sup>–100<sup>r</sup>
- Guillelma Galhota, wife of Bernard  
of Mont Séran [Guillelma  
Galhota, uxor Bernardi de Monte  
Siron], see Guillelma Ciron
- Guillelma Guilaberta [Guillelma  
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- Guillelma Guitard [Guillelma  
Guitarda], 23<sup>r</sup>  
See William Raffard of Roquefort,  
lover
- Guillelma Guitberta [Guillelma  
Guitberta], H, 10<sup>r</sup>
- Guillelma, of Cailhavel [Guillelma,  
de Calhavello], 26<sup>r</sup>  
See William of *Balho* of Saissac,  
husband
- Guillelma of Les Cassés [Guillelma  
dels Cassers], maid, 314<sup>r</sup>  
See Papiers, employers
- Guillelma, of Sorèze [Guillelma, de  
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See Stephen Roque, father  
See Guillelma, wife of Stephen  
Roque, mother  
See Peter Roque, brother
- Guillelma Peignière, alias  
Guillelma Badoel of Cordes  
[Guillelma Pencheneria, alias<sup>33</sup>  
Badoela/Padoela de Cordua], 57<sup>r</sup>,  
58<sup>r-v</sup>
- Guillelma Pictavin [Guillelma  
Pictavina], 256<sup>v</sup>, 270<sup>r</sup>  
See Arnold of Cave, brother  
See Peter Pictavin, son
- Guillelma Roger, see 'the Rogers'
- Guillelma Valsora [Guillelma  
Valsora], maid, 167<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Guillelma Guilaberta  
See Padier of Puylaurens,  
employer
- Guiot of Provins, poet, 201<sup>r</sup> n. 5
- Guiraud Bonet of Lavour, 55
- Guiraud Brun [Guiraldus Bruni], 41<sup>r</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The second is the surname derived  
from her father.

- See Petrona Brun of Durfort,  
mother
- Guiraud Colomb [Guiraldus  
Columbi], priest, 228<sup>r</sup>
- Guiraud Coutelier [Guiraudus  
Cultollarius], fugitive, 299<sup>v</sup>  
See Dominic of Dry Elm [street],  
son
- See Comtors, concubine
- Guiraud Ferrier (of Sorèze)  
[Guiraudus Ferrerii (de  
Soricino)], 31<sup>v</sup>
- Guiraud of Averro, of the diocese  
of Cahors [Guiraldus de Averro,  
diocesis Caturcensis], squire, 75,  
76; 62<sup>v</sup>–63<sup>v</sup>**
- Guiraud of *Galhovilla* of  
Trébons [Guiraldus de  
Galhovilla/Galhevilla de  
Trebontio], 69<sup>r-v</sup>
- Guiraud of Gourdon [Guiraldus  
de Gordone], knight, lord of  
Saint-Germier, H, 3<sup>r</sup> n. 12, 64<sup>v</sup>  
n. 7, 65<sup>r</sup>
- Guiraud of Laumière (i)  
[Guiraldus/Guiraudus de la  
Olmeria/del Olmiera], 178<sup>v</sup>,  
181<sup>v</sup>–182<sup>r</sup>  
See Grimald of Laumière (ii),  
nephew
- Guiraud of Laumière (ii) [Guiraldus  
de Olmeria], 182<sup>v</sup>  
See Grimald of Laumière (i),  
uncle
- Guiraud Oth of Niort, 245<sup>r</sup> n. 3  
See Bernard Oth of Niort, brother
- Guiraud Sartre of Puylaurens  
[Guiraudus Sartre de Podio  
Laurentio], 265<sup>r</sup>  
See Aladaicis, wife
- Guiraud Sedacer of Laurac  
[Guiraldus Sedacerii de Lauraco],  
304<sup>r</sup>  
See Bernard Sedacer the elder,  
father
- See William Sedacer, brother  
See Bernard Sedacer, brother
- See Raymond Sedacer, brother  
See Raymonda Sedacer, sister
- Guiraud Terrier of  
Sorèze (i) [Guiraldus  
Terrerii/Terrerii/Terresii de  
Soricino],<sup>34</sup> 254<sup>v</sup>, 255<sup>v</sup>, 257<sup>v</sup>, 258<sup>v</sup>,  
261<sup>v</sup>, 270<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Guiraud Terrier of Sorèze (the  
elder), father
- See Petrona, wife
- Guiraud Terrier of Sorèze (ii)  
[Guiraldus Terreri de Soricino],<sup>35</sup>  
254<sup>v</sup>–255<sup>r</sup>, 262<sup>r</sup>, 267<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>, 30<sup>r-v</sup>, 42<sup>r</sup>  
See Guiraud Terrier of Sorèze (the  
younger), son
- Guirauda [Guirauda], exile, 316<sup>v</sup>–  
317<sup>r</sup>  
See Vierna, mother
- See William Raymond Golayrand,  
father
- See Raymond, brother
- See Raymonda, sister
- Guirauda [Guirauda], 25<sup>r</sup>  
See Berengaria, wife of William  
Robert, mother
- Guirauda, wife of Durand of  
Rouffiac of Laumière [Guirauda,  
uxor Durandi de Rofiac de  
Olmeria], 117 n. 7; 181<sup>r</sup>–182<sup>v</sup>**  
See Durand of Rouffiac of  
Laumière, husband
- See Guillelma, wife of Peter Faure,  
daughter
- Guirauda, wife of William Jordan  
[Guiralda/Guirauda, uxor  
Guillelmi Iordani], 188<sup>v</sup>  
See William Jordan, husband
- Guiraudet of Figeac [Guiraldetus de  
Figiac], 310<sup>r</sup>, 310<sup>v</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Specified as junior at 254<sup>v</sup>, 255<sup>v</sup>.  
Other references are attributed to 'the  
younger' according to the context.

<sup>35</sup> Specified as senior at 255<sup>r</sup>, 262<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>,  
30<sup>r-v</sup>. Other references are attributed to  
'the elder' according to the context.

- Helena of Castelnau-Montratier, lady, 58<sup>v</sup> n. 14
- Hélis of Mazerolles, 299<sup>r</sup> n. 13
- Hemeric del Abat/of Labat [Hemericus del Abat], 309<sup>v</sup>
- Henry [Henricus], Cathar bishop of Lombardy, 114; 145<sup>r</sup> n. 31, 15<sup>v</sup>
- See Andricus of Arosio
- Henry of Milan [Henricus de Mediolano], 145<sup>r-v</sup> n. 31, 328<sup>v</sup>, 329<sup>r</sup>
- wife of, 329<sup>r</sup>
- See John, son
- Honorius IV, pope, 218<sup>v</sup> n. 4
- Horombel, of Toulouse [Horombellus, de Tholosa], 196<sup>v</sup> n. 000, 197<sup>v</sup>
- Hugh Amiel [Hugo Amelii], OP, inquisitor, 11, 14, 19, 48–51, 78–82, 96, 107 n. 225, 110; 38<sup>v</sup> n. 4, 242<sup>v</sup>, 251<sup>v</sup>, 271<sup>r</sup>, 274<sup>v</sup>, 282<sup>v</sup>, 289<sup>r</sup>, 300<sup>v</sup>, 313<sup>v</sup>, 322<sup>v</sup>, 324<sup>v</sup>, 328<sup>r</sup>, 330<sup>v</sup>, 331<sup>v</sup>, 2<sup>r-v</sup>, 36<sup>r</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>
- Hugh (i) [Hugo],<sup>36</sup> 99<sup>r</sup>
- Hugh (ii) [Hugo], 192<sup>r</sup>
- brothers of, 192<sup>r</sup>
- Hugh den Galhard of Sorèze [Hugo den Galhard de Soricino], 258<sup>r</sup>, 261<sup>v</sup>, 283<sup>r</sup>, 292<sup>v</sup>
- Hugh Dominic [Hugo/Ugo Dominici], H,<sup>37</sup> 134<sup>r</sup>, 135<sup>r</sup>, 311<sup>r</sup>, 313<sup>r</sup>, 314<sup>v</sup>–315<sup>v</sup>, 316<sup>v</sup>, 319<sup>r</sup>, 322<sup>r</sup>, 324<sup>v</sup>–325<sup>r</sup>, 326<sup>r</sup>–327<sup>v</sup>, 328<sup>v</sup>, 2<sup>r</sup>, 55<sup>r</sup>
- Hugh Durand, of Avignonet [Hugo Durandi, de Avinione], butcher, 318<sup>r</sup>
- Hugh Faure of Montpellier [Hugo Fabri de Montepessulano], 41<sup>v</sup> n. 9, 207<sup>v</sup>–208<sup>r</sup>
- See Daide (Faure), son
- Hugh of Aragon [Ugo de Aragon], Brother of the Grammontine Order, 107; 26<sup>r</sup>
- Hugh of Born [Ugo de Born], Brother of the Grammontine Order, 107; 26<sup>r</sup>
- Hugh of Bouniols [Hugo de Boniolis/Boniol<sup>l</sup>], OP, inquisitor, 11, 18–19, n. 59, 48, 51, 60, 76, 82; 184<sup>v</sup> n. 9, 230<sup>r</sup>, 246<sup>v</sup> n. 9, 251<sup>v</sup>–252<sup>r</sup>, 255<sup>v</sup>, 265<sup>r</sup>, 303<sup>r</sup> n. 31, 309<sup>v</sup> n. 56, 15<sup>v</sup> n. 4, 50<sup>r</sup>, 50<sup>v</sup> n. 3, 54<sup>r</sup>
- Hugh of Caraman [Hugo de Caramanno], H,<sup>38</sup> 313<sup>v</sup>–314<sup>r</sup>, 318<sup>r-v</sup>
- Hugh, of Gardouch [Hugo, Gardubii]**, archpriest, 214<sup>r</sup>–215<sup>v</sup>
- See Isarn Pictavin, brother
- Hugh of Paillayrols [Ugo de Palharels], 21<sup>r</sup>
- Hugh of Rivals [Hugo de Rivali], squire, 132<sup>v</sup>
- Hugua, wife of Bernard of Campes [Uga, uxor Bernardi de Campas], 57<sup>v</sup>
- See Bernard of Campes, husband
- Hugua, wife of Peter Roque [Uga, uxor Petri Roca], 62<sup>v</sup>
- See Peter Roque, husband
- Hugua, wife of Stephen Lobet [Uga, uxor Stephani Lobet], 57<sup>v</sup>
- See Stephen Lobet, husband
- Hugua of *Bertran*, wife of Durand Molinier of Cordes [Hugua/Uga de Bertran, uxor Durandi Molinerii de Cordua], 59<sup>r-v</sup>
- See Durand Molinier, husband
- Innocent IV, pope, 172<sup>r-v</sup> n. 3
- Irlanda, wife of William of Villèle [Irlanda, uxor Guillelmi de Villela]**, lady, 72 n. 18, 72 n. 19, 75 n. 33; 60<sup>r</sup>–62<sup>v</sup>
- See William of Villèle, husband

<sup>36</sup> Here a surname.<sup>37</sup> Possibly the same as Hugh of Caraman.<sup>38</sup> Possibly the same as Hugh Dominic.

- Isambard of Saint-Antonin in the Rouergue** [*Isambardus de Sancto Antonio Ruthene*], 74, 75 n. 33; 206<sup>v</sup>–208<sup>v</sup>  
 See Joanna, wife
- Isarn Amiel of Blan** [*Isarni Amelii de Blanno*], 32<sup>r</sup>  
 See Cerdana, wife
- Isarn Bonhomme, of Hautpoul** [*Isarnus Boni Hominis, de Altopullo*], knight, lord, 47, 75 n. 33; 171<sup>v</sup>–173<sup>r</sup>, 173<sup>r</sup> n. 1, 178<sup>r</sup> n. 1  
 See Peter Raymond Bonhomme, brother
- Isarn Boquer**, 112<sup>v</sup> n. 37, 117<sup>v</sup> n. 46
- Isarn Capel**, deacon, 229<sup>r</sup> n. 5
- Isarn Ferrand** [*Isarnus Ferrandi*], 184<sup>v</sup>
- Isarn Lord** [*Isarnus Dominus*], 85<sup>v</sup> n. 6
- Isarn of Corneilhan** [*Isarnus de Corneliano, de Toellis*], squire of Las Touzeilles, 47; 260<sup>v</sup>, 268<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>v</sup>–6<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup> n. 2  
 See William of Corneilhan, father  
 See Arnold of Corneilhan, brother
- Isarn of Dourgne** [*Isarnus de Dornhano*], knight, 49<sup>v</sup>, 50<sup>r</sup> n. 2, 53<sup>v</sup>  
 See Sicard of Puylaurens, father  
 See Jordan of Saissac, brother
- Isarn of Foissac, of Blan** [*Isarnus de Foissaco/Fossato, de Blanno*], noble of Puylaurens, 27<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>–33<sup>r</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup>, 275<sup>r</sup>, 285<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>v</sup>, 6<sup>v</sup>  
 See Guilabert of Foissac, father
- Isarn of Fontenilles**, 62
- Isarn of Puy (of Prades)** [*Isarnus de Podio (de Pradis)*], 84<sup>r</sup>  
 See Bernard of Puy of Prades, brother
- Isarn of Quié** [*Isarnus de Quaerio/del Quier*], fugitive, exile, 8<sup>v</sup>–9<sup>r</sup>, 189<sup>v</sup>
- Isarn of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux** [*Isarnus de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis*], lord, 47; 119<sup>v</sup>, 212<sup>r</sup>, 212<sup>v</sup>  
 See Stebor, wife  
 See Peter Raymond, son
- Isarn of the Razès, of Fanjeaux** [*Isarnus de Rezis, de Fanoiovis*], 301<sup>r</sup>
- Isarn of Villetravers** [*Isarnus de Villa Tram[er]o*], 51<sup>r</sup>  
 See Ermengardis, sister
- Isarn Pagèse of Blan** [*Isarnus Pagesii de Blanno*], 260<sup>v</sup>, 288<sup>r</sup>–289<sup>r</sup>  
 See William Pagèse, brother  
 See Ermengardis, wife
- Isarn Pictavin** [*Isarnus Pictavini*], 215<sup>r</sup>  
 See Hugh, of Gardouch, brother
- India, wife of Bertrand of Roqueville** [*India, uxor Betrandi de Rocovilla*], 317<sup>r</sup>, 322<sup>r</sup>, 1<sup>r</sup>, 55<sup>v</sup>, 71<sup>r-v</sup>  
 See Bertrand of Roqueville, husband
- Jacques Fournier**, Cistercian, bishop of Pamiers, later Pope Benedict XII, 9; 42<sup>v</sup> n. 14, 170<sup>v</sup> n. 12
- Jacquet** [*Iaquetus*], gaoler, 59, 97, 108, 111; 14<sup>v</sup>, 49<sup>r</sup>, 66<sup>r</sup>, 67<sup>r</sup>, 82<sup>r</sup>, 134<sup>r</sup>, 170<sup>v</sup>
- James** [*Iacobus*], 2<sup>v</sup>
- James** [*Iacobus*], exile, 185<sup>r-v</sup>
- James Loutrier** [*Iacobus Lutarius*], OP, 106 n. 217; 73<sup>r</sup>
- James Marquès**, notary, 84
- James of Cunno Faureio/Faverio** [*Iacobus de Cunno Faberio*], OP, 106 n. 217; 32<sup>r</sup>, 36<sup>r</sup>
- James of Martesana of Cuneo/ from Milan** [*Iacobus de Martesana de Cuni/ de Mediolano*], 328<sup>v</sup>–329<sup>v</sup>
- James of Odars**, 61
- James of Saumeri/Savineri** [*Iacobus de Saumeri/Savineri*], keeper



- of the prison, 59, 97, 108, 111;  
274<sup>r-v</sup>, 48<sup>r39</sup>
- James the Conqueror, king of  
Aragon, 143<sup>r</sup>
- Jeanne, wife of Alphonse of Poitiers,  
36, 42, 109  
See Raymond VII of Toulouse,  
father  
See Alphonse of Poitiers, husband
- Joanna [Iohanna], waiting-woman,  
215<sup>r</sup>  
See Hugh, of Gardouch, employer
- Joanna, wife of Isambard of Saint-  
Antonin in the Rouergue  
[Iohanna, uxor Isambardi de  
Sancto Antonio Ruthene], 208<sup>r</sup>  
See Isambard of Saint-Antonin in  
the Rouergue, husband
- Joanna, wife of Raymond John, 13<sup>v</sup>  
n. 19
- Joanna, wife of William Gaubert  
[Iohanna, uxor Guillelmi  
Gausberti], 113<sup>r</sup>  
See William Gaubert, husband
- Joanna Capolia [Iohanna Capolia],  
190<sup>v</sup>
- Joanna of Pexiora, 45<sup>r</sup> n. 21
- Joanna Roger [Johanna Rogeria], 76<sup>r</sup>
- John (Astre of Fanjeaux) [Iohannes  
(Astre de Fanoiovis)], 146<sup>v</sup>–147<sup>r</sup>  
—wife of, 147<sup>r</sup>  
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- John Barrau [Iohannes Barravi],  
fugitive, exile, 186<sup>v</sup>, 188<sup>r</sup>–189<sup>r</sup>,  
191<sup>v</sup>–192<sup>r</sup>  
See Arnold, brother-in-law
- John Bergonho (the Burgundian)  
[Iohannes Bergonho], 232<sup>r</sup>, 233<sup>v</sup>,  
239<sup>r-v</sup>, 240<sup>v</sup>
- John Blancard, Auvergnat** [Iohannes  
Blancardus, Alvernus], 85; 10<sup>r-v</sup>
- John Board [Iohannes Board/Boart],  
232<sup>r</sup>, 233<sup>v</sup>, 235<sup>v</sup>, 236<sup>v</sup>, 239<sup>v</sup>
- John Botoner [Iohannes Botoner],  
226<sup>v</sup>
- John Brun of Durfort [Iohannes  
Bruni de Duroforti], 265<sup>v</sup>, 18<sup>v</sup>,  
24<sup>r</sup>, 30<sup>v</sup>, 33<sup>v</sup>  
See Petrona, wife
- John Clerc (i) [Iohannes Clerici], 27<sup>r</sup>  
See Pons Clerc, father
- John Clerc (ii) [Iohannes  
Clericus/Clerici]**, <sup>40</sup> 72 n. 19,  
75 n. 33; 286<sup>v</sup>, 288<sup>r</sup>, 2<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>  
See Raymond of Tréville, father
- John Clerc of Roquefort [Iohannes  
Clerici de Ruppeforti], 17<sup>v</sup>,  
18<sup>v</sup>–19<sup>r</sup>, 33<sup>r-v</sup> <sup>41</sup> 43<sup>v</sup>
- John Dulcis [Iohannes Dulcis], OP,  
106 n. 217; 25<sup>r</sup>
- John de Na Arnauda [Iohannes  
den Arnauda/Arnalda/de Na  
Arnalda], *inponerius*, <sup>42</sup> fugitive,  
143<sup>v</sup>, 304<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Thomasia, wife
- John Elias of Sorèze [Iohannes  
Helias/de Helias de Soricino],  
43<sup>v</sup>–44<sup>r</sup>  
See Elias, brother
- John Falgous/of Falgous [Iohannes  
Falgesii/Felgons], OP, 106 n. 217;  
265<sup>r</sup>, 54<sup>r</sup>
- John Faure [Iohannes Fabri], 19<sup>r-v</sup>
- John Franc of Blan [Iohannes Franc  
de Blanno], 280<sup>v</sup>, 289<sup>r</sup>  
See Guillelma, wife
- John Galand [Iohannes Galandi],  
OP, inquisitor, 11, 14, 19, 48, 50,  
51 n. 72, 79, 80; 35<sup>v</sup> n. 4, 38<sup>v</sup> n. 4,  
41<sup>v</sup> n. 8, 265<sup>r</sup> n. 32, 271<sup>r</sup>, 309<sup>v</sup>  
n. 56, 2<sup>v</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>, 45<sup>r</sup>
- John Garrigue, of Rodez [Iohanne  
Guarrigua, Rodesio], fugitive,  
143<sup>v</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Here only 'James the keeper of the prison.'

<sup>40</sup> Possibly the same as John Clerc of Roquefort.

<sup>41</sup> Here not specified 'of Roquefort', but clearer from the context.

<sup>42</sup> Unidentified job.

- John Gauz of La Cassaigne  
[Iohannes Gauzii de La  
Cassanha], 148<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Arnold Gauz, brother  
See Bernard Gauz, brother  
See William Gauz, brother
- John Leros, Burgundian [Iohannes  
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<sup>45</sup> Possibly the same as Peter Andrew of Labecède.

<sup>46</sup> Possibly the same as Peter Andrew.

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(Cimordani)], 224<sup>r</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Possibly the same as Peter Boer of  
Varennes. See 304<sup>r</sup> n. 35.

<sup>48</sup> Here 'Petrus Borrelli de Verduno'.

- See Arnold Cimordan of  
Gascogne, father
- Peter Clerc [Petrus Clerici], 27<sup>r</sup>  
See Raymond Clerc, father
- Peter Corona of Rabat [Petrus  
Corona de Ravato], fugitive,  
143<sup>v</sup>–144<sup>r</sup>, 304<sup>v</sup>  
See William, father
- Peter Cort of La Doux [Petrus Cort  
de Lados], 47<sup>r-v</sup>
- Peter Dolsai' of Dourgne [Petrus  
Dolsai' de Dornhano], 22<sup>v</sup>  
See Bernarda, wife
- Peter Donat of Montgaillard [Petrus  
Donati de Montegalhardo], 130<sup>v</sup>,  
132<sup>r</sup>, 327<sup>v</sup>  
See Stephen Donat, brother  
See William Donat, brother
- Peter Durand, OP, inquisitor, 68<sup>v</sup> *n.*
- Peter Escolau of Saint-Paul-Cap-  
de-Joux [Petrus Escola/Scolani  
de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis],  
fugitive, 144<sup>v</sup>, 243<sup>v</sup>–244<sup>v</sup>, 300<sup>r</sup>,  
303<sup>v</sup>, 305<sup>r</sup>, 307<sup>r</sup>, 329<sup>v</sup>, 16<sup>r49</sup>  
See Astruga of Prades, concubine  
See Bernard Escolau, son
- Peter Escrivà [Petrus Escrivà], OP,  
106 *n.* 217; 322<sup>v</sup>
- Peter Eugilbert of Lavaur [Petrus  
Eugelberti de Vauro], 125<sup>r</sup>  
See Tolsan Eugilbert, son
- Peter Eugrin of Puydaniel [Petrus  
Augerii de Podio Danieli]**, 101;  
217<sup>v</sup>–218<sup>r</sup>  
See Sicarda, wife
- Peter Faure of Roquevidal [Petrus  
Faure/Faber de Rocavidal], smith,  
111<sup>v</sup>–112<sup>r</sup>, 182<sup>r</sup>  
See Guillelma, wife
- Peter Fazenda, of the Agenais  
[Petrus Fazenda de Agennesio],  
H, 305<sup>v</sup>
- Peter Feltrier [Petrus Feltrerii], OP,  
106 *n.* 218; 246<sup>r</sup>, 252<sup>r</sup>, 255<sup>v</sup>, 259<sup>r</sup>
- Peter Ferrand [Petrus Ferrandi], OP,  
106 *n.* 217; 80<sup>v</sup>, 84<sup>v</sup>, 124<sup>v</sup>, 128<sup>r</sup>,  
154<sup>v</sup>, 156<sup>r</sup>, 158<sup>r</sup>, 171<sup>v</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>
- Peter Ferrol of Trébons [Petrus  
Ferroli de Trebontio]**, 72 *n.* 19,  
75 *n.* 33, 81, 82; 63<sup>v</sup>–69<sup>v</sup>
- Peter Fogasset, 134<sup>r</sup> *n.* 21, 229<sup>v</sup> *n.* 5
- Peter Fogier, of Lamothe [Petrus  
Fogerii, de Mota], 286<sup>v</sup>
- Peter Fournier [Petrus Fornerii], 68<sup>v</sup>,  
71<sup>r</sup>  
See Bona, wife
- Peter Galhard [Petrus Galhardi],<sup>50</sup>  
16<sup>v</sup>, 18<sup>v</sup>  
See Peter Maurel, brother  
See Bernard Maurel, brother
- Peter Galhard of Saint-Martin-  
Lalande [Petrus Galhardi de  
Sancto Martino de Landa],<sup>51</sup> 301<sup>r</sup>,  
307<sup>r</sup>  
See Peter, son
- Peter Gardouch [Petrus Gardog], 80;  
110<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Arnold Gardouch, brother
- Peter Garin [Petrus Garini], 325<sup>v</sup>
- Peter Gasc of Sabarthès [Petrus Gasc  
de Savartesio], H, 143<sup>r-v</sup>
- Peter Gaubert, H, 45<sup>r</sup> *n.* 21
- Peter Gaubert [Petrus Gausberti],  
112<sup>v</sup>–113<sup>r</sup>  
See William Gaubert, brother  
See Bernarda, wife
- Peter Gaubert of Puylaurens [Petrus  
Gausberti de Podio Laurentio],  
lord, 47; 30<sup>v</sup>  
See Bernarda, maid
- Peter Gautan [Petrus Gautani], 76<sup>v</sup>
- Peter Gerald of Montgey [Petrus  
Geraudi de Monteiovis]**, 54, 72  
*n.* 18, 75 *n.* 33, 81, 82; 8<sup>r</sup>–10<sup>r</sup>  
See Bernard Guiraud, father
- Peter Grieu of Fanjeaux [Petrus  
Grivi de Fanoiovis], 301<sup>r</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Here Peter Escola of Toulouse.

<sup>50</sup> Possibly the same as Peter Galhard  
of Saint-Martin-Lalande.

<sup>51</sup> Possibly the same as Peter Galhard.



- Peter Grimaud of Montgey [Petrus Gimaudi de Monteiovis], 9<sup>r-v</sup>, 10<sup>v</sup>
- Peter Gui of Sorèze [Petrus Guidonis de Soricino], 41<sup>v</sup>-42<sup>r</sup>
- Peter Guiraman [Petrus Guiraman], weaver, 189<sup>r-v</sup>
- Peter Guiraud of Sorèze [Petrus Guiraudi de Soricino], H, 267<sup>r</sup>, 41<sup>v</sup>-42<sup>r</sup>
- Peter Isarn of Cestayrols [Petrus Isarni de Sestairol/Sestarlo], knight, 95; 55<sup>r</sup>, 59<sup>v</sup>, 61<sup>r-v</sup>, 164<sup>v</sup>  
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See Martha, mother-in-law
- Peter John of Lagarde [Petrus Iohannis de Garda], 141<sup>r</sup>, 142<sup>r-v</sup>  
See William John, father
- Peter Jordan [Petrus Jordani], marked with a cross for heresy, 31<sup>v</sup>  
See Bernarda Jordan, mother
- Peter Lobet of Cordes [Petrus Lobeti de Cordua], 56<sup>v</sup>  
See Esclarmonda, wife
- Peter Mans of Sorèze [Petrus Mancii de Soricino], 267<sup>r</sup>, 287<sup>v</sup>  
—wife of, 287<sup>v</sup>  
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- Peter Marvada of Quercy [Petrus Marvada de Caturcino], 245<sup>v</sup>
- Peter Massa of Montauriol [Petrus Massa de Monte Aurioli], weaver, fugitive, 143<sup>v</sup>, 304<sup>v</sup>
- Peter Massabeu [Petrus Massabeu/Massabueu], chaplain of Espinas, 179<sup>v</sup>, 181<sup>v</sup>
- Peter Matthew of Montmaur [Petrus Mathei de Monte Mauro], 307<sup>r</sup>
- Peter Maurel of Auriac [Petrus Maurelli de Auriaco], fugitive, messenger of the Lombard heretics, 16<sup>v</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>, 18<sup>r-v</sup>, 38<sup>r</sup>, 46<sup>r-v</sup>, 47<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>, 76<sup>v</sup>, 100<sup>v</sup>, 122<sup>v</sup>, 244<sup>v</sup>, 307<sup>v</sup>, 15<sup>r</sup>, 21<sup>v</sup>-22<sup>v</sup>, 24<sup>v</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>, 29<sup>r</sup>, 31<sup>v</sup>, 33<sup>r</sup>, 34<sup>r</sup>, 35<sup>v</sup>  
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- See Peter Galhard, brother  
See Peter Raymond.
- Peter Mercadier [Petrus Mercaderii], 13<sup>r-v</sup>, 26<sup>v</sup>-27<sup>r</sup>  
See Auger Mercadier, brother  
See Bernard Peter (Mercadier), brother
- Peter Moiss of Garrevaques [Petrus Moiss de Engarravacas], 37<sup>v</sup>  
See Aladaicis, wife of Raymond Foguet, sister
- Peter Mulatier [Petrus Mulaterii], 306<sup>v</sup>
- Peter of Algans of Roquevidal, the elder [Petrus de Algarius/Dalgarns de Rocavidal], 124<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Peter of Algans of Roquevidal the younger, son
- Peter of Algans of Roquevidal (the younger) [Petrus de Algarius de Rocavidal], 124<sup>r</sup>  
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- Peter of Area of Sorèze [Petrus de Area de Soricino], H, 281<sup>v</sup>  
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See Raymonda, wife
- Peter of Beauville of Avignonet [Petrus de Buevilla/Bouvilla/Beuvila de Avinione]**, fugitive, 31, 72 n. 18, 72 n. 19, 73, 75 n. 33, 76, 78, 85, 103, 113-114; 131<sup>v</sup>, 141<sup>v</sup>, 144<sup>r-v</sup>, 146<sup>r</sup>, 245<sup>v</sup>, 297<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>, 16<sup>r</sup>, 21<sup>v</sup>, 55<sup>v</sup>-56<sup>r</sup>, 70<sup>v</sup>  
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See Arnold of Maillorgues, son  
See Ermengardis, wife of Paul, daughter  
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See Paul, son-in-law
- Peter of Biules of Sorèze [Petrus de Biules de Soricino], 270<sup>v</sup>
- Peter of Bauzelle [Petrus de Bosaucela], 261<sup>v</sup>

- Peter of Bugat of Roquevidal [Petrus de Bugato/Bugat de Rupe Vital'], 73<sup>v</sup>–74<sup>r</sup>, 74<sup>v</sup>, 75<sup>v</sup>, 77<sup>r</sup>, 79<sup>r</sup>, 80<sup>r</sup>, 81<sup>v</sup>–82<sup>r</sup>, 93<sup>v</sup>, 106<sup>v</sup>–107<sup>r</sup>, 110<sup>v</sup>, 123<sup>v</sup>  
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- Peter of Cahors [Petrus de Caors], H, 307<sup>r</sup>
- Peter of Caussère [Petrus de Caucer'], H, 292<sup>r</sup>, 295<sup>r</sup>
- Peter of Cahuzac of Saint-Antonin [Petrus de Causaco de Sancto Antonino], 207<sup>v</sup>
- Peter of Corneilhan [Petrus de Corneliano], monk of Sorèze, 268<sup>r</sup>, 277<sup>r</sup>, 292<sup>r</sup>, 294<sup>v</sup> n. 11, 295<sup>v</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup> n. 3, 9<sup>v</sup>, 30<sup>r</sup>  
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- Peter of Dreuilhe (i) [Petrus de Drulia], knight, 267<sup>v</sup>–268<sup>r</sup>, 295<sup>v</sup>, 30<sup>r</sup>  
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- Peter of Dreuilhe (ii) [Petrus de Drulia], knight, 267<sup>v</sup>  
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- Peter of Frouzins [Petrus de Frosenxs], 8<sup>v</sup>
- Peter of Garrissou [Petrus de Garrisso], 39<sup>r-v</sup>
- Peter of Graissens of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux [Petrus de Graissenx de Sancto Paulo (de Cadaiovis)], 32<sup>r</sup>
- Peter of Juzes [Petrus de Iusa], 292<sup>v</sup>
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- Peter of La Rivière, of Saint-Paul [Petrus de Ripparia, de Sancto Paulo], 29<sup>v</sup>  
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- Peter of Laroque [Petrus de Ruppe], master, 228<sup>r</sup>
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- Peter of Laurac of Roumens [Petrus de Lauraco de Romenx], 26<sup>r-v</sup>, 27<sup>r-v</sup>, 28<sup>v</sup>, 30<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>r-v</sup>  
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 See Aladaicis, mother-in-law  
 See Stephen Roger, brother-in-law
- Peter of Laures [Petrus de Lauris], OP, 106 n. 217; 2<sup>v</sup>, 44<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>, 68<sup>r</sup>
- Peter of Le Moulin of [S]aissac [Petrus de Molino de [S]axiaco], 50<sup>v</sup>, 51<sup>r-v</sup>
- Peter of Lugan, of Lavaur [Petrus de Luganno, de Vaure], notary, 10<sup>v</sup>
- Peter of Mazerolles [Petrus de Maiorol'], lord, exile, 316<sup>v</sup>
- Peter of Mas of Fajac [Petrus de Manso de Faiaco], 73<sup>v</sup>–74<sup>r</sup>  
 See Pons of Mas of Fajac, brother
- Peter of *Miras* [Petrus de Miras], messenger, 42<sup>v</sup>
- Peter of Montégut [Petrus de Monte Accuto], see Berengar of Montégut

<sup>52</sup> Could be the same as Peter of Dreuilhe (ii).

- Peter of Moussoulens [Petrus de Mossolenx/Maisisolenx], *bailli* of the lord Loubens, 286<sup>v</sup>–287<sup>r</sup>  
 —sister of, 286<sup>v</sup>–287<sup>r</sup>  
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- Peter of *Mulceone*, OP, inquisitor, 12; 38<sup>v</sup> n. 4
- Peter of Paulhac [Petrus of Paholhaco], knight, scribe, money-lender and chest-maker, by repute lord of Paulhac, 144<sup>v</sup>
- Peter of Pech-Rodil [Petrus de Podio Rodelli], 10<sup>r</sup>
- Peter of Pexiora of Saissac [Petrus de Podio Suirano de Saxiaco], messenger, 273<sup>r</sup>
- Peter of Pont [Petrus de Ponte], 254<sup>r</sup>
- Peter of Pradines, official, 55
- Peter of Prat [Petrus de Prato], H, 103; 301<sup>v</sup>, 314<sup>r-v</sup>, 317<sup>r</sup>, 322<sup>r-v</sup>, 328<sup>r-v</sup>, 1<sup>r</sup>, 71<sup>r-v</sup>
- Peter of *Rabiaco* [Petrus de Rabiaco], 53<sup>r</sup>
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- Peter of *Roco Vilata*, of Le Carla [Petrus de Roco Vilata, de Castlario], 55<sup>v</sup>  
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- Peter of Roquefort, 260<sup>r</sup> n. 22
- Peter of Rouffiac [Petrus de Rofiac], 23<sup>v</sup>  
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- Peter of Roumégoux [Petrus de Romegos], exile, 184<sup>v</sup>–185<sup>v</sup>, 187<sup>r</sup>, 191<sup>v</sup>
- Peter of Rouzet, of Ladoux [Petrus de Roseto, de Lados], 186<sup>r</sup>–187<sup>v</sup>, 188<sup>v</sup>–189<sup>r</sup>, 191<sup>v</sup>–192<sup>r</sup>, 45<sup>v</sup>–47<sup>v</sup>, 48<sup>v</sup>–49<sup>r</sup>  
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- See Bernard, brother  
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- Peter of *Rubeo* [Petrus de Rubeo], H, 63<sup>v</sup>, 63<sup>v</sup> n.,<sup>53</sup> 64<sup>r-v</sup>, 67<sup>v</sup>  
 See Na Dias, sister  
 See Raymonda, wife of Arnold Taravel of Cessales, sister
- Peter of Sauzet of Lanta [Petrus de Sauzeto de Lantar], H, 300<sup>r</sup>, 301<sup>v</sup>
- Peter of Sella, of Monferrato in Lombardy** [Petrus de Sella, de Monte Ferrato Lombardie], of the order of the Apostles, 74; 218<sup>r</sup>–219<sup>v</sup>, 220<sup>r</sup> n. 2, 225<sup>v</sup> n. 1
- Peter of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles [Petrus de St Michael de Thoelhs/Thoellis/Toellis], 26<sup>v</sup>, 29<sup>r</sup>, 30<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup>, 263<sup>v</sup>–264<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>r</sup>, 9<sup>v</sup>, 10<sup>r</sup>  
 See Grazida, wife  
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- Peter of Saint-Pierre, of Sorèze [Petrus de Sancto Petro, de Soricino], 270<sup>v</sup>
- Peter of the Ispani [Petrus de Ispanis], OP, 107 n. 225; 177<sup>v</sup>, 192<sup>r</sup>, 199<sup>v</sup>, 201<sup>r</sup>
- Peter (of the *mas* of *Aurinhol*),<sup>54</sup> alias Tolsan [Petrus (de Manso de Aurinhol) qui alias vocatur Tholosanus], 13<sup>v</sup>–14<sup>r</sup>  
 See Guillelma wife of Vital of the *mas* of *Aurinhol*, mother  
 See Pons (of the *mas* of *Aurinhol*), brother  
 See Brito, cousin
- Peter of Toulouse [Petrus de Tholosa], *viguier* of Toulouse, 316<sup>r</sup>
- Peter of Vacquiers [Petrus de Vaqueriis], notary, 86–87, 88 n. 92, 91–93, 96, 108; 172<sup>v</sup>, 176<sup>v</sup>–

<sup>53</sup> Here 'Peter Rog'.<sup>54</sup> Name derived from his father's name; he is not explicitly named thus.

- 177<sup>v</sup>, 202<sup>v</sup>, 204<sup>v</sup>, 208<sup>v</sup>, 221<sup>v</sup>, 230<sup>r</sup>,  
251<sup>v</sup>, 265<sup>v</sup>  
 Peter of Vaure [Petrus de Baure],  
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 211<sup>r</sup>–212<sup>r</sup>, 213<sup>r-v</sup>  
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 295<sup>v</sup>, 296<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>v</sup>, 28<sup>r</sup>  
 See Guillelma Pictavin, mother  
 See William Peitavin, brother  
 See Fabrissa, wife  
 See Raymond Rociner, uncle  
 See William Pêcheur, nephew  
 Peter Pictavin of Toulouse [Petrus  
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 303<sup>r-v55</sup>  
 See Pictavin  
 Peter Pons of Lempaut [Petrus Pontii  
 de Empento], 34<sup>r</sup>  
 See Guillelma, wife  
 See William Andrew, father-in-  
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 Peter Pons of Roqueville, lord, 131<sup>v</sup>  
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 Peter Polhan [Petrus Polhani],  
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 Peter Ralph, notary, 84, n. 60  
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 216<sup>v</sup>, 268<sup>v</sup>  
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 221<sup>v</sup>, 224<sup>v</sup>, 242<sup>v</sup>, 247<sup>v</sup>, 251<sup>v</sup>, 259<sup>v</sup>,  
 274<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>r</sup>  
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 See William Hugh, nephew  
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 33<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>r</sup>, 36<sup>v</sup>

<sup>55</sup> At 303<sup>v</sup>, only Peter Peitavi.

- Peter Raymond Mercadier  
(*continued*)  
See Ermengardis, wife of  
Raymond Mercadier, mother  
See Raymond Mercadier, father  
See Fabrisa, wife
- Peter Raymond of Dreuilhe, of  
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- Peter Rey [Petrus Regis], weaver, 307<sup>v</sup>
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- Peter Vipat [Petrus Vipatus], of Issel,  
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<sup>56</sup> Here only 'Peter of Dreuilhe.'

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<sup>57</sup> Possibly the same as Petrona Brun of Durfort.

<sup>58</sup> Possibly the same as Petrona, wife of John Brun of Durfort.

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- Pons Firmin [Pontius Firmini], cowherd, 314<sup>r</sup>
- Pons Fogassier of Toulouse [Poncius Fogasserii/Fogacerii de Tholosa], cleric, fugitive, (H), 47<sup>v</sup>, 72<sup>r</sup>, 74<sup>r</sup>, 94<sup>r-v</sup>, 104<sup>v</sup>–105<sup>r</sup>, 106<sup>v</sup>–107<sup>r</sup>, 146<sup>v</sup>  
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- Pons Got of Les Cassés [Poncius Got dels Cassers], 307<sup>r</sup>  
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- Pons Grimaud [Pontius Grimaudi], H, 11<sup>r</sup>
- Pons Hugh (the elder), of Roquevidal [Poncius Hugonis], 70<sup>v</sup>, 93<sup>r</sup>, 97<sup>r</sup>, 116<sup>r</sup>  
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- Pons Martin of *Pech Bertan* [Pontius Martini de Podio Bertano], 312<sup>v</sup>
- Pons Maurel of Roquevidal [Poncius Maurelli de Rocavidal], 97<sup>r</sup>, 109<sup>v</sup>  
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- Pons of Gomerville of Toulouse [Pontius de Gonnivilla/Gomevilla/Gomen-villa/Gomervilla de Tholosa], H, fugitive, 126; 3<sup>v</sup>, 40<sup>v</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>, 44<sup>r</sup>, 46<sup>r</sup>, 47<sup>r</sup>–48<sup>v</sup>, 49<sup>v</sup>, 50<sup>r</sup>, 51<sup>r-v</sup>, 53<sup>r</sup>, 54<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup>, 105<sup>r</sup>, 106<sup>r</sup>, 107<sup>r</sup>, 118<sup>v</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup>, 132<sup>v</sup> n. 12, 247<sup>r-v</sup>  
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<sup>59</sup> Possibly the same as Pons Faure of Lamothe, who also had a sister called Ermengardis.

<sup>60</sup> Probably William of Gomerville.



- Pons of Livron of Caylus [Poncius de Liuron' de Caslutio], 21<sup>r</sup>
- Pons of *Magrefort*, of *Agudanis* [Pontius de Magrefort, de Agudanis], knight, 73<sup>r-v</sup>, 77<sup>r</sup>
- Pons of Maillorgues [Pontius de Malhorgas], monk of Feuillants, 308<sup>v</sup>–309<sup>r</sup>
- See Arnold of Maillorgues, brother
- See Guillelma, wife of Peter of Beauville, mother
- See Peter of Beauville, father
- Pons of Mas of Fajac [Pontius de Manso de Faiaco], 73<sup>v</sup>–74<sup>r</sup>, 75<sup>v</sup>
- See Peter of Mas of Fajac, brother
- Pons of Mons [Pontius de Montibus], 12<sup>v</sup>
- Pons of Mons of Lagarde [Poncius de Montibus de Garda], 226<sup>v</sup>, 227<sup>r</sup>, 228<sup>r</sup>
- Pons of Mourières [Pontius de Moreriis], OP, 107 n. 219; 318<sup>v</sup>, 61<sup>v</sup>
- Pons of Parnac [Poncius de Parnaco/Parnacho], OP, inquisitor, 10–14, 17, 18 n. 54, 19, 44, 46–49, 51–52, 55–57, 60, 62–63, 65–66, 78–79, 83, 87, 89, 94, 96, 98, 107, 110, 114; 14<sup>r</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>, 44<sup>r</sup>, 52<sup>r-v</sup>, 55<sup>r</sup>, 58<sup>r-v</sup>, 61<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>r</sup>, 63<sup>v</sup>, 64<sup>v</sup>, 66<sup>r</sup>, 67<sup>r</sup>, 68<sup>r</sup> n. 4, 78<sup>r</sup>, 82<sup>r</sup>, 84<sup>v</sup>, 87<sup>v</sup>, 89<sup>v</sup>, 95<sup>v</sup>, 114<sup>r</sup>, 124<sup>v</sup>, 130<sup>r</sup>, 133<sup>v</sup>, 139<sup>r</sup>, 147<sup>r</sup>, 149<sup>r</sup>, 151<sup>r</sup>, 155<sup>r</sup>, 158<sup>r-v</sup>, 162<sup>r</sup>, 170<sup>r</sup>, 171<sup>v</sup>, 173<sup>r</sup>, 176<sup>v</sup>–177<sup>v</sup>, 180<sup>v</sup>, 192<sup>r</sup>, 195<sup>v</sup>, 199<sup>v</sup>, 201<sup>v</sup>, 202<sup>v</sup>, 204<sup>v</sup>, 205<sup>v</sup>, 209<sup>r</sup>, 211<sup>r</sup>, 212<sup>r</sup>, 214<sup>r</sup>, 215<sup>v</sup>, 217<sup>r</sup>, 218<sup>v</sup>, 221<sup>r</sup>, 224<sup>r</sup>, 228<sup>v</sup>, 230<sup>r-v</sup>, 231<sup>r</sup>, 233<sup>r</sup>, 242<sup>v</sup>, 246<sup>r</sup>, 247<sup>v</sup>, 251<sup>v</sup>–252<sup>r</sup>, 255<sup>v</sup>, 258<sup>r</sup>, 273<sup>v</sup>, 274<sup>v</sup>, 282<sup>v</sup>–283<sup>r</sup>, 290<sup>v</sup>, 300<sup>v</sup>, 313<sup>v</sup>, 318<sup>v</sup>, 324<sup>v</sup>, 328<sup>r</sup>, 19<sup>v</sup>, 32<sup>r</sup>, 36<sup>r</sup>, 44<sup>r</sup>, 45<sup>v</sup>, 47<sup>v</sup>–48<sup>r</sup>, 56<sup>r</sup>, 68<sup>r</sup>, 70<sup>r</sup>, 77<sup>r</sup>, 78<sup>r</sup>
- Pons of Pouget [Pontius de Poieto], OP, inquisitor, 11, 38, 39 n. 14, 40, 62, n. 14; 35<sup>v</sup> n. 4, 59<sup>v</sup>, 70<sup>v</sup>, 72<sup>r</sup>
- Pons of Prat [Pontius de Prato], OP, 106 n. 217; 4<sup>v</sup>
- Pons of Puylaurens of Villeneuve [Pontius de Podiol' de Villanova], 286<sup>v</sup>–287<sup>r</sup>
- Pons of Sainte-Foy of Lanta [Pontius de Sancta Fide, Lantarus], H, deacon of the heretics of Lanta, 103; 3<sup>r</sup> n. 12, 10<sup>v</sup>, 12<sup>v</sup>, 13<sup>v</sup>, 135<sup>v</sup>, 314<sup>r</sup>, 314<sup>v</sup>, 317<sup>r</sup>, 322<sup>r</sup>, 326<sup>r</sup>, 328<sup>r</sup>, 1<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>r</sup>, 71<sup>r-v</sup>
- Pons of Saint-Germier [Pontius de Sancto Germerio], knight, 63<sup>v</sup>–64<sup>v</sup>
- See Dias, wife or concubine
- Pons of the Albigeois of Lavaur [Pontius de Albigesio de Vauro], 75<sup>v</sup>
- Pons (of the *mas* of *Aurinhol*),<sup>61</sup> [Poncius (de Manso de Aurinhol)], 14<sup>r</sup>
- See Brito, cousin
- See Guillelma wife of Vital of the *mas* of *Aurinhol*, mother
- See Peter (of the *mas* of *Aurinhol*), brother
- Pons of Villeneuve, of Lasbordes [Poncius of Villanova, de Bordis], knight, 193<sup>r-v</sup>, 194<sup>v</sup>, 72<sup>v</sup>–73<sup>r</sup>, 75<sup>r</sup>, 76<sup>v</sup>
- See Brunissen, mother
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- Pons of Villeneuve of Lavaur, H, 220<sup>v</sup> n. 5
- Pons Oliba [Poncius Oliba], H, 244<sup>r</sup>, 246<sup>r-v</sup>, 15<sup>v</sup>
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- Pons Papier of Avignonet [Poncius Papier de Avinione], fugitive, 133<sup>v</sup>, 303<sup>r</sup>, 308<sup>v</sup>
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<sup>61</sup> Name derived from his father's name; he is not explicitly named thus.

- Pons Pinel, of Puylaurens [Poncius Pinelli de Podio Laurentio], H, 277<sup>v</sup>
- Pons Raffard [Pontius Rafardi], 18<sup>v</sup>  
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- Pons Ramfred of Sorèze [Pontius Ramfre/Ramfredi de Soricino], H, 250<sup>r-v</sup>, 254<sup>v</sup>-255<sup>v</sup>, 256<sup>v</sup>-257<sup>v</sup>, 262<sup>v</sup>, 261<sup>v</sup>, 267<sup>r</sup>, 269<sup>v</sup>-270<sup>v</sup>, 277<sup>v</sup>, 278<sup>v</sup>, 283<sup>r</sup>, 293<sup>r</sup>-294<sup>r</sup>, 296<sup>r</sup>  
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- Pons Rastel [Poncius Rastelli], 12<sup>v</sup>-13<sup>v</sup>  
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- Pons Raugin of Avignonet [Pontius Raugini de Avinione], 320<sup>v</sup>, 321<sup>r</sup> n. 92  
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- Pons Raymond of Beauteville [Poncius Raymundi de Bautevilla], 193<sup>v</sup>, 195<sup>r-v</sup>  
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- Pons Reynold of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux [Pontius Raynaldi/Raginaldi, de terra Sancti Pauli/de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis], 101<sup>r-v</sup>, 153<sup>v</sup>
- Pons Rigaud, 134<sup>v</sup> n. 22, 193<sup>v</sup> n. 8
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- Pons Sira [Poncius Sira], H, 112<sup>v</sup>
- Pons Tilhol [Poncius de Tilhol], fugitive, 49<sup>r</sup> n. 37, 110<sup>r</sup>, 112<sup>v</sup>-113<sup>v</sup>  
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- Pons Verrier [Pontius Vitrearius], 41<sup>v</sup>-42<sup>r</sup>
- Ponsa [Pontia], 76<sup>v</sup>, 77<sup>v</sup>  
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- Porcel of Labecède [Porcellus de Boceta], 254<sup>r</sup>  
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- Prebondes of Mireval [Prebonde/Preboide/Prebondes de Miravalle], knight, 49<sup>v</sup>, 51<sup>r</sup>, 52<sup>r</sup>, 52<sup>v</sup>
- Querier of Roumens [Querierius de Romenx], 30<sup>r</sup>  
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<sup>62</sup> At 15<sup>r-v</sup> as 'Ranulph of Gaillac', copyist's error.

- Ranulph of Plassac (*continued*)  
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- Raymond [Raymundus], of the  
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- See Raymond Baussan, father  
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<sup>63</sup> Possibly the same as Raymond Barta, of the Lauragais.

<sup>64</sup> Possibly the same as Raymond Barta of Laurac.

- Raymond Baussan, see Raymond Arquier
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- Raymond Bernard, H, 73<sup>r</sup> n. 4
- Raymond Bernard, lord of Cambon, 283<sup>r</sup> n. 13
- Raymond Bernard of Sorèze  
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- Raymond Bordier of Lavour/of Marseille<sup>66</sup> [Raymundus Borderii de Vauro/de Marsilio], animal trader, 74<sup>v</sup>–75<sup>r</sup>, 108<sup>r</sup>, 109<sup>r-v</sup>  
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- Raymond Calvet of *Tulh*  
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- Raymond Carbonel [Raymundus Carbonelli], marked with the cross for heresy, 138<sup>r</sup>–139<sup>r</sup>, 167<sup>r</sup>–169<sup>r</sup>, 170<sup>v</sup>–171<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond Cartière [Raymundus Carteria], 168<sup>r</sup>, 170<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond Clerc [Raymundus Clerici], 27<sup>r</sup>  
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- Raymond Coton of Saint-Romain  
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- Raymond Cougotte of Lacougotte  
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- Raymond Darasa of Cordes  
[Raymundus Darasa de Codua], 55<sup>v</sup>  
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- Raymond David [Raimundus David], H, 10<sup>v</sup>, 11<sup>v</sup>–12<sup>v</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Possibly the same as Raymond of Andorra.

<sup>66</sup> The two places of origin are explained at 108<sup>r</sup>.

- Raymond Dauzet [Raymundus Dauzeti], H, 319<sup>v</sup>–320<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond den Arnalda of Saint-Germier [Raymundus den Arnalda/Arnauda/de Na Arnauda de Sancto Germerio], 66<sup>r</sup>–67<sup>v</sup>, 69<sup>r-v</sup>
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- Raymond Escarantel of Blan [Raymundus Escarantelli de Blanno], 287<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond Faure of *Casmors* [Raymundus Fabri de Casmors], 287<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond Faure of Lamothe [Raymundus Faber de Mota], 280<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond Faure, of Palajac [Raimundus Fabri, de Plaiaco], weaver, 32<sup>v</sup>
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- Raymond Gros, H, 275<sup>v</sup> n. 2
- Raymond Gualtero, Lombard [Raimundus Galterius, Lombardus], 18<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond Guilabert [Raymundus Guilaberti], OP, 107 n. 220; 284<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond Guiraud of Roquevidal [Raymundus Guiraudi/Guiraldi de Rupe Vitalis/Rocavidal], 73<sup>v</sup>, 95<sup>r-v</sup>, 110<sup>v</sup>, 155<sup>v</sup>–156<sup>r</sup>  
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- Raymond Imbert, of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux [Raymundus Ymberti/Imberti de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis], shoemaker, 154<sup>r-v</sup>, 155<sup>v</sup>

- Raymond Isarn of Saint-Martin-Lalande [Raymundus Isarni de Sancto Martino de Landa], digger, fugitive, 144<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond John of Albi, 303<sup>v</sup> n. 33
- Raymond John of Saint-Martin-Lalande [Raymundus Iohannis de Sancto Martino de Landa], H, 141<sup>r</sup>, 142<sup>r-v</sup>
- Raymond Laget [Raymundus Lageti], H, 66<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond Lombard [Raymundus Lombardi], H, 245<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond Mans [Raymundus Mansi], OP, 107 n. 220; 270<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond Martin [Raymundus Martini/Mortini], H, 311<sup>v</sup>, 325<sup>r</sup>  
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- Raymond of Bassens of Lasbordes [Raymundus de Bassenx/Bacenx/Batenx de Bordis], 13<sup>r-v</sup>, 24<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>r-v</sup>, 39<sup>r</sup>  
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- Raymond of Camis, of Montgey [Raymundus de Camis/Camiss', de Monte Iovis], 267<sup>r</sup>, 8<sup>r</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup>–10<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond of *Candeno* [Raymundus de Candeno], 74<sup>v</sup>–75<sup>r</sup>
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- Raymond of Carlipa [Raymundus de Carlipaco], H, 3<sup>r</sup> n. 12, 283<sup>r-v</sup>, 286<sup>r</sup>, 51<sup>v</sup> n. 18

<sup>67</sup> Possibly the same as Raymond Boer of Andorra.

- Raymond of Caubous [Raymundus de Caubonis], OP, prior of Toulouse, 231<sup>r</sup>, 330<sup>v</sup>, 331<sup>v</sup>, 57<sup>v</sup>, 59<sup>v</sup>–60<sup>r</sup>
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- Raymond of Connac alias William of Tresmézes [Raimundus de Connaco qui alio nomine vocatur Guillelmus de Tresmesinas], 8<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond of Couiza [Raymundus de Couizano], H, 26<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond of Dugny, master, procurator for the confiscations for heresy (county of Toulouse), 54, 55
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- Raymond of Gandels [Raymundus de Gaudels], H, 254<sup>r-v</sup>
- Raymond of Gibel [Raymundus de Guibello], cleric, 228<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond of Gomerville [Raymundus de Gamevilla], 105<sup>r</sup>, 119<sup>r</sup>, 125<sup>r</sup>  
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- Raymond of Labatut of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux/of Teyssode [Raymundus de Labatut de terra Sancti Pauli (de Cadaiovis)/de Thaishshode], fugitive, 101<sup>v</sup>, 153<sup>r-v</sup>
- Raymond [of] Labège [Raymundus Labegia], H, 220<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond of Lafont [Raymundus de Fonte], OP, 106 n. 217; 211<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond of La Nauze (the younger) [Raymundus de Lanauza], 16<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>r</sup>  
See Aladaicis, mother  
See Raymond of La Nauze (the elder), father  
See Bernard of La Nauze, brother  
See William of La Nauze, brother
- Raymond of La Nauze (the elder) [Raymundus Nauza/de Lanauza/de la Nauza], 16<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>r</sup>  
See Aladaicis, wife  
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- Raymond of Laroque of the Agenais [Raymundus de Ruppe Agennensi], OP, 106 n. 217; 4<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond of *Las Conquas* of Montgey [Raymundus de Las Conquas de Monte Iovis], 11<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond of La Selve [Raymundus de Silva], notary, 83; 235<sup>v</sup>, 237<sup>r</sup>, 238<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond of La Sourde of Sorèze [Raymundus de la Sorda de Soricino], 262<sup>r</sup>, 276<sup>r-v</sup>, 279<sup>v</sup>  
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- Raymond (of Le Fauga) [Raymundus], OP, bishop of Toulouse, 91; 83<sup>r</sup>, 87<sup>r</sup>, 271<sup>v</sup>, 274<sup>r-v</sup>
- Raymond of Levensenq [Raymundus del Eversen], exile, 190<sup>v</sup>–191<sup>r</sup>  
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- Raymond of Limoux [Raymundus de Limoso], weaver, 19<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond of Livron [Raymundus de Liurano], 178<sup>r</sup>

- Raymond of Mas-Saintes-Puelles [Raimundus de Manso], H, deacon of the heretics of Vielmur, 61; 3<sup>r</sup> n. 12, 26<sup>v</sup>, 29<sup>v</sup>, 248<sup>r</sup>, 260<sup>r</sup>, 264<sup>r</sup>, 275<sup>r</sup>, 280<sup>r</sup>, 283<sup>v</sup>, 285<sup>r</sup>, 286<sup>v</sup>, 287<sup>v</sup>, 76<sup>r</sup>, 77<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond of Mazères [Raymundus de Mazers], 261<sup>v</sup>  
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- Raymond of Muret, of Toulouse [Raymundus de Murello, de Tholosa], 196<sup>v</sup> n. 4, 197<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond of Padiès, 136<sup>v</sup> n. 6
- Raymond of Palajac [Raymundus de Palaico], 50<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond of Pexiora [Raymundus de Podio Siurano], 50<sup>v</sup>
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- Raymond of Pouts of Sorèze** [Raymundus de Puteo de Soricino], augur, 74, n. 33; 122<sup>v</sup>–123<sup>r</sup>, 271<sup>v</sup>–274<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>r-v</sup>
- Raymond of Puy, of Saint-Martin-Lalande [Raymundus de Podio, de Sancto Martino de Landa], 145<sup>v</sup>  
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- Raymond of *Roco Vilata*, of Le Carla [Raymundus de Roco Vilata, de Castlario], 55<sup>v</sup>  
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- Raymond of Roqueville [Raymundus de Rocovila], lord, H, 131<sup>v</sup> n. 3, 135<sup>r</sup>, 301<sup>r</sup>, 311<sup>v</sup>, 30<sup>r</sup>  
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- Raymond of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles [Raimundus de Sancto Michaelae], fugitive, 30<sup>r</sup>, 33<sup>r</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup>, 263<sup>v</sup>, 23<sup>r</sup>, 25<sup>r-v</sup>, 30<sup>v</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>, 38<sup>v</sup>, 43<sup>r</sup>  
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- Raymond VI of Toulouse, count, 298<sup>v</sup> n. 8
- Raymond VII of Toulouse [Raymundus de Tholosa], count, 36–37; 161<sup>v</sup> n. 5, 210<sup>r</sup>, 298<sup>v</sup>, 298<sup>v</sup> nn. 5, 8, 309<sup>r</sup>, 42<sup>r</sup>  
See Jeanne, wife of Alphonse of Poitiers, daughter

<sup>68</sup> Here also specified 'of Gandels'.



- Raymond of *Traspont* from the Sabarthès [Raymundus de Traspont de Savartes], 330<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond of Tréville [Raymundus de Tricivilla/Triervilla/Tirevilla], chaplain of Sorèze, 286<sup>v</sup>, 288<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>  
 See John Clerc, son  
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- Raymond of Vaux [Raymundus de Bautio/Baucio/Bautoa/Bauto/Bauto'], H, 246<sup>v</sup>, 299<sup>r</sup>–300<sup>r</sup>, 303<sup>v</sup>, 307<sup>v</sup>, 309<sup>r-v</sup>, 319<sup>v</sup>, 328<sup>v</sup>–330<sup>r</sup>, 48<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond of Verdî [Raymundus de Viridario], 325<sup>r</sup>  
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- Raymond Orfan of Saint-Paul(-Cap-de-Joux) [Raymundus Orfani de Sancto Paulo (de Cadaiovis)], miller, 209<sup>v</sup>–210<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond Pagèse of Sorèze [Raymundus Pagesii de Soricino], 254<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond Papier of Avignonet [Raymundus Paperii de Avinione], 114; 144<sup>v</sup>–145<sup>r</sup>, 146<sup>r</sup>, 245<sup>v</sup>, 247<sup>r</sup>, 303<sup>r</sup>, 305<sup>r</sup>, 308<sup>v</sup>, 314<sup>r</sup>, 324<sup>r</sup>, 330<sup>r</sup>, 16<sup>r-v</sup>  
 See Aurenca, mother  
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- Raymond Peitavin of Roquevidal [Raymundus Pectavi de Rocavidal], 121<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond Peter of Dreuilhe [Raymundus Petri de Drulia], H, 300<sup>r</sup>, 301<sup>v</sup>–302<sup>r</sup>, 30<sup>v</sup> n. 50
- Raymond Peter of Sorèze [Raymundus Petri Sartor/de Soricino], tailor, 252<sup>r</sup>, 253<sup>r-v</sup>, 256<sup>r</sup>, 257<sup>v</sup>–258<sup>v</sup>, 261<sup>v</sup>, 270<sup>r</sup>, 277<sup>r</sup>, 43<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond Peyrole of Boissézon [Raymundus Peyrola/Peirola/de Peirola/Bairola de Boissazone], 51<sup>r</sup>–52<sup>v</sup>
- Raymond Raffard [Raymundus Rafardi/Raffardi/Raffredi], 11<sup>v</sup>–12<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>r</sup>–14<sup>r</sup>, 17<sup>r</sup>–18<sup>r</sup>, 19<sup>v</sup>–20<sup>r</sup>, 21<sup>r</sup>, 26<sup>v</sup>, 28<sup>r</sup>–29<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>r</sup>, 36<sup>v</sup>, 43<sup>r-v</sup>  
 See Bernard Raffard (the elder), father  
 See Raymonda, mother  
 See William Raffard of Roquefort, brother  
 See Richardis, wife  
 See Bernard Raffard (the younger), son  
 See Petronilla, daughter  
 See Pons Raffard, son  
 See William Raffard, son
- Raymond Raversa, see alias, Raymond of *Abbas* of Merville
- Raymond Resplandi, inquisitor, 275<sup>v</sup> n. 2
- Raymond Reynold of Sorèze [Raymundus Raynaldi de Soricino], 252<sup>r</sup>, 270<sup>v</sup>  
 See Adam Reynold, brother
- Raymond Riberia of Sorèze [Raymundus Riberia de Soricino], 266<sup>r-v</sup>  
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- Raymond Rich of Sorèze [Raymundus Rich de Soricino], 256<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond Richard [Raymond Ricard], 221<sup>r</sup>
- Raymond Rigaud, H, 134<sup>v</sup> n. 22
- Raymond Rociner of Sorèze [Raymundus Rocinerii de Soricino], 252<sup>r-v</sup>, 258<sup>v</sup>–259<sup>r</sup>, 261<sup>v</sup>–263<sup>r</sup>, 270<sup>v</sup>, 294<sup>v</sup>, 295<sup>v</sup>  
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<sup>69</sup> Here 'Trelha'.<sup>70</sup> Here 'Raymond William of Saint-Félix'.

- Raymonda (*continued*)  
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- Raymonda, wife of Bernard Raffard [Raymunda, uxor Bernardi Rafardi], H, 13<sup>r-v</sup>  
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- Raymonda, wife of Bernard Reynold of Sorèze [Raymunda, uxor Bernardi Raynaldi de Soricino], 295<sup>v</sup>  
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- Raymonda, wife of Daide Roque [Raymunda, uxor Deodati Roca], 62<sup>v</sup>  
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- Raymonda, wife of Durand of *Four* [Raymonda, uxor Durandi de Furno], 187<sup>v</sup>  
 See Durand of *Four*, husband
- Raymonda, concubine, then wife of Galhard (the) Butcher of Rabastens [Raymunda, concubina, uxor Galhardi Macellarii de Rabastenx], 320<sup>r</sup>  
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- Raymonda, wife of Nicholas Roger of Roquevidal [Raymunda, uxor Nicholaii Roger de Rocavidal], 97<sup>r-v</sup>  
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- Raymonda, wife of Peter Oliba, of Fanjeaux [Raymunda, uxor Petri Oliba, de Fanoiovis], 144<sup>v</sup>, 303<sup>v</sup>  
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- Raymonda, wife of Peter of *Area* of Sorèze [Raymunda, uxor Petri de Area de Soricino], <sup>71</sup> 281<sup>v</sup>, 284<sup>r-v</sup>, 294<sup>r</sup>  
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- Raymonda, wife of Pons Maurel of Roquevidal/Maurel woman [Raymonda, uxor Pontii Maurelli de Rocavidal/Maurela], 97<sup>r</sup>, 109<sup>v</sup>–110<sup>r</sup>  
 See Pons Maurel of Roquevidal, husband
- Raymonda, wife of Raymond Favar of Veilhes [Raymunda, uxor Raymundi Favar de Velhas], 111<sup>v</sup>  
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<sup>71</sup> Later wife of William Espanhol.

- Raymonda, wife of Raymond  
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- Raymonda, wife of Raymond of  
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Raymonda, wife of Peter of *Area*  
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- Raymonda, wife of William Faure  
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- Raymonda Arimand of Saissac, alias  
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34<sup>v</sup>–35<sup>r</sup>, 39<sup>v</sup>, 40<sup>v</sup>, 41<sup>v</sup>  
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- Raymonda Ceiara [Raymonda  
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- Raymonda of *Brugalenas*  
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- Raymonda of Dreuilhe [Raymonda  
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- Raymonda of La Combe [Raymunda  
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- Raymonda of La Garde, 39 n. 14
- Raymonda of Renneville of Toulouse  
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- Raymonda Pradier [Raymunda  
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<sup>72</sup> The deponent is not sure whether  
she is married to one or the other of the  
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- Raymonda Rama [Raymunda Rama], 241<sup>v</sup>–242<sup>r</sup>
- Raymonda (Ricard) [Raymunda (Ricard)], 322<sup>r</sup>  
 See Gitbert, husband  
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- Raymonda Roger [Raymunda Rogeria], 126; 76<sup>r</sup>  
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- Raymonda, sister of Peter of Moussoulens [Raymunda, soror Petri de Mossolenx/Moisisolens], H, 287<sup>r-v</sup>
- Raymonda Terrena of Roquevidal [Raymunda Terrena de Rupe Vitali], maid,<sup>73</sup> 72<sup>v</sup>, 98<sup>r</sup>, 105<sup>v</sup>–106<sup>v</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup>–122<sup>v</sup>  
 See Fabrissa, mother  
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- 'las Raynaldas', of Dreuilhe [las Raynaldas, de Drulia], H, 5<sup>r</sup>
- Raynaldet of Sorèze [Raynaldetus de Soricino], H, 252<sup>r</sup>  
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- Reginald of Chartres [Reginaldus], OP, inquisitor, 10, 40, 50, 89; 86<sup>v</sup>, 87<sup>v</sup>, 127<sup>v</sup>, 271<sup>v</sup>–272<sup>r</sup>, 54<sup>v</sup> n. 3, 55<sup>r</sup>, 64<sup>r</sup>
- Reginald/Reynard of Palajac [Reginaldus/Raynardus de Palaiaco], knight, 30<sup>v</sup> n. 22, 151<sup>v</sup>, 154<sup>r</sup>, 173<sup>r</sup>, 174<sup>r</sup>, 50<sup>v</sup> n. 6, 52<sup>r</sup>, 52<sup>r</sup> n. 20, 52<sup>v</sup> n. 23, 53<sup>r</sup> n. 28, 54<sup>r</sup>  
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- Ric of Ribaura of *La Seu*, of Milan [Ric de Ribaura de Laseu, de Mediolano], 329<sup>r-v</sup>
- Rica, wife of Roger Major [Rica, uxor Rogerii Maioris], 39<sup>r</sup>, 40<sup>v</sup>  
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- Richa Pechavin [Richa Pechavina], H, 77<sup>r</sup>, 110<sup>v</sup>  
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- Richardis, wife of Arnold Gardouch [Ricarda/Richarda, uxor Arnaldi Gardog], lady of Roquevidal, 109<sup>v</sup>–110<sup>r</sup>, 115<sup>v</sup>–116<sup>v</sup>  
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- Richardis, wife of Raymond Arquier, alias Baussan [Richardis, uxor Raymundi Arquerii, alias Baussani], 280<sup>v</sup>  
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- Richardis, wife of Raymond Raffard [Richardis/Richarda, uxor Raymundi Rafardi], 18<sup>v</sup>, 20<sup>r-v</sup>, 29<sup>r</sup>, 36<sup>v</sup>  
 See Raymond Raffard, husband  
 See Bernard Raffard, son  
 See Petronilla, daughter  
 See Pons Raffard, son  
 See William Raffard, son
- Richardis Borrel [Ricardis Borrella], 39<sup>r-v</sup>

<sup>73</sup> At 122<sup>r</sup>, only 'Terrena.'

<sup>74</sup> Raymonda was Morlana's maid, 'ancilla.'

- Richards of Avignonet [Ricards de Avinione], 322<sup>r</sup>, 327<sup>v</sup>  
 See Bernard Richard  
 See Raymonda (Richard)  
 See William Richard
- Rixendis [Rixendis], 276<sup>r</sup>  
 See Bernarda, sister  
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 See Raymond of La Sourde, brother
- Rixendis, wife of [?] of Puybégon [Rixendis, que habet virum apud Podium Bego], 111<sup>v</sup>  
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- Rixendis, wife of Raymond of *Plausolas* [Rixenda, uxor Raymundi de Plausolas], 124<sup>r</sup>  
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- Rixendis Baussan of Sorèze [Rixendis Baussana de Soricino], H, 100; 249<sup>v</sup>, 275<sup>v</sup>–276<sup>r</sup>, 277<sup>v</sup>–280<sup>r</sup>, 281<sup>r</sup>–282<sup>r</sup>, 283<sup>r</sup>–284<sup>v</sup>, 286<sup>r</sup>, 287<sup>v</sup>–288<sup>r</sup>, 290<sup>v</sup>–291<sup>r</sup>, 293<sup>r</sup>, 294<sup>r</sup>, 295<sup>v</sup>, 2<sup>v</sup>, 3<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>r</sup>  
 See Raymond Baussan, brother  
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- Rixendis Cibrand [Rixendis Cibranda], maid, 5<sup>r</sup>  
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- Rixendis Hugh [Rixenda/Rixendis Ugon], 68<sup>r</sup>, 90<sup>v</sup>, 92<sup>v</sup>, 108<sup>r</sup>  
 See William Hugh of Roquevidal (i), husband  
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- Rixendis of La Borie [Rixenda/Ricsendis de Laboria/Laborta], see Rixendis of Mireval of Graulhet
- Rixendis of Mireval of Graulhet, who is also surnamed of La Borie [Ricsendis de Miravalle de Graulheto quæ aliter cognominatur de Laboria], 72 n. 17; 154<sup>r</sup>, 155<sup>r</sup>, 173<sup>r</sup>–177<sup>v</sup>, 178<sup>r</sup> n. 1  
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 See Becsendis of *Bonaria* of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux  
 See Peter, son  
 See Fays, wife of Reginald of Palajac, employer
- Rixendis of *Vueiasac* [Rixendis de Vueiasac], H, 10<sup>r</sup>
- Robin [Robinus], servant of the keeper of the prisoners, 59, 97, 108, 111; 64<sup>v</sup>
- the Roca brothers of Berlan [Roca fratres de Berlan], 183<sup>v</sup>
- Rodrigo Fernandes [Rodoricus Ferrandi], Portugese priest, 226<sup>v</sup>–228<sup>v</sup>
- Roger [Rogerius], H,<sup>75</sup> 13<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>r</sup>, 41<sup>v</sup>–42<sup>r</sup>
- Roger IV, count of Foix, 36; 77<sup>r</sup>
- Roger Argenti of Milan [Rogerius Argenti de Mediolano], 329<sup>r</sup>
- Roger-Bernard III, count of Foix, 36, 42; 77<sup>r</sup>
- Roger of Lasbordes, of Lauragais [Rogerius de Bordis, Lauraguesio], H, 24<sup>r-v</sup>  
 See 'the Rogers', sisters
- Roger of *Montserrat*, 52<sup>v</sup> n. 23
- Roger Major of Roquefort [Rogerius Maior de Ruppeforti], 13<sup>r</sup>, 39<sup>r</sup>,<sup>76</sup> 40<sup>v</sup>  
 See Rica, wife
- Roger Pascal [Rogerius Pascalis], 296<sup>v</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Probably the same as Roger of Lasbordes.

<sup>76</sup> Here referred to as from Roquefort, who now lives at Cabrespine in the Cabardès.

- 'the Rogers' [las Rogerias], H, 24<sup>r-v</sup>, 42<sup>r</sup>  
 See Roger of Lasbordes, brother
- Saix Brostalho [Saxius Brostalho], H, 14<sup>r-v</sup>
- Sans of Palinières [Sancius de Palineriis], Cistercian monk, 223<sup>r</sup>
- Saix of Puylaurens [Saxius de Podio Laurentio], of Montesquieu, knight, 45; 82<sup>v</sup>, 87<sup>v</sup>, 125<sup>r</sup>, 128<sup>v</sup>, 159<sup>r-v</sup>, 283<sup>r</sup> n. 13, 286<sup>r</sup> n. 22, 65<sup>r</sup> n. 9  
 See Berengaria, wife of Bernard Audebaud of Algans, sister  
 See Bernard of Montesquieu, son
- Saura, H, 193<sup>v</sup> n. 4
- Saurina Rigaud, H, 134<sup>v</sup> n. 22, 193<sup>v</sup> n. 8, 26<sup>v</sup> n. 39
- Sazia of Bugat of Roquevidal [Sazia/Sasia de Bugato de Rocavidal], 79<sup>v</sup>, 106<sup>v</sup>–107<sup>r</sup>  
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<sup>79</sup> Possibly the same as William of Belleserre, cleric.

- Galhardo], 134<sup>r</sup>, 298<sup>r-v</sup>, 1<sup>r</sup>,  
71<sup>r</sup>–72<sup>r</sup>  
See Donat, brother  
See Peter Donat, brother  
See Stephen Donat, brother  
William Dural/Durand of Poulan,  
51 n. 72; 184<sup>v</sup> n. 9, 246<sup>v</sup> n. 9, 303<sup>r</sup>  
n. 31  
William Espanhol of Sorèze  
[Guillelmus Espanhol de  
Soricino], 261<sup>v</sup>, 276<sup>r</sup>, 279<sup>r</sup>, 281<sup>v</sup>,  
284<sup>v</sup>, 286<sup>v</sup>,<sup>80</sup> 293<sup>v</sup>, 294<sup>v</sup>, 295<sup>v</sup>, 3<sup>v</sup>,  
4<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>r</sup>  
See Raymonda, wife  
William Faure [Guillelmus Faure],  
91<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Amiel Faure of Saint Alain,  
father  
William Faure Chaplain [Guillelmus  
Fabri Capellani], armourer, 314<sup>v</sup>  
See Raymonda of Renneville of  
Toulouse, wife  
William Faure of Lavaur [Guillelmus  
Faber/Fabri de Vauro], 69<sup>r-v</sup>, 70<sup>r</sup>,  
71<sup>v</sup>–72<sup>r</sup>, 73<sup>r-v</sup>, 74<sup>r</sup>, 75<sup>r</sup>, 81<sup>v</sup>, 104<sup>v</sup>,  
108<sup>v</sup>–109<sup>r</sup>  
See Raymonda, wife  
See William (of Lavaur), son  
William Faure of Toutens  
[Guillelmus Fabri de  
Torenx/Totenx], 67<sup>r</sup>, 69<sup>r</sup>  
See Arnold Faure, brother  
William Ferrand of the Lauragais  
[Guillelmus Ferrandi de  
Lauraguesio], money-lender,  
fugitive, 144<sup>r</sup>  
[William] Figueira, troubadour,  
199<sup>r</sup>, 199<sup>r</sup> n. 14  
William Fogier of Lamothe  
[Guillelmus Fogerii de Mota],  
289<sup>r-v</sup>  
William Foguet [Guillelmus  
Fogueti], 37<sup>v</sup>  
See Aladaicis, wife of Raymond  
Foguet, mother  
See Raymond Foguet, father  
**William Fournier [Guillelmus  
Fornerii]**, 95; 15<sup>r</sup>–16<sup>r</sup>  
William (from Lavaur) [Guillelmus  
... de Vauro], 73<sup>v</sup>, 74<sup>v</sup>  
See Raymonda, mother  
See William Faure of Lavaur,  
father  
William Galos of Montesquieu  
[Guillelmus Galofi de Monte  
Esquivo], 203<sup>r</sup>  
See Adémar Galos, son  
William Garsias, knight, 65<sup>v</sup> n. 3  
William Garnier of Calmont  
[Guillelmus Garnerii de  
Calvomonte], 56<sup>v</sup>, 57<sup>v</sup>  
William Garrigue of Dreuilhe  
[Guillelmus Garriga de Drulia],  
22<sup>r</sup>, 31<sup>v</sup>  
William Gaubert [Guillelmus  
Gausberti], 113<sup>r</sup>  
See Peter Gaubert, brother  
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William Gauz of La Cassaigne  
[Guillelmus Gauzii de La  
Cassanha], 147<sup>v</sup>–148<sup>v</sup>  
See Arnold Gauz, brother  
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William Gros of Montmaur  
[Guillelmus Grossi de Monte  
Mauro], 306<sup>v</sup>–307<sup>v</sup>  
See Arnold, nephew  
William Guiraud, of Avezac  
[Guillelmus Guiraudi, qui  
moratur apud Avesetum], 80<sup>v</sup>–81<sup>r</sup>  
William Hugh [Guillelmus  
Hugonis], 178<sup>r</sup>  
See Peter Raymond Magreta,  
uncle  
William Hugh [Guillelmus  
Hugonis], *bailli* of Avignonet,  
298<sup>v</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Here only 'Espanhol'.

- William Hugh, *bailli* of Fanjeaux, 298<sup>v</sup> n. 6
- William Hugh of La Cassaigne [Guillelmus Hugonis de La Cassanha], 80; 147<sup>v</sup>, 148<sup>r</sup>
- William Hugh of Roquevidal (i) [Guillelmus Hugonis de Roca Vidal], 94; 90<sup>r</sup>, 90<sup>v</sup>  
 See Rixendis Hugh, wife  
 See Bernard Hugh of Roquevidal, son  
 See Raymond Hugh of Roquevidal, son  
 See Petrona, wife of Peter Bertrand of Lavaur, daughter
- William Hugh of Roquevidal (ii), 12; 49<sup>r</sup> n. 37, 68<sup>r</sup> n. 4, 14<sup>r</sup> n. 10  
 See Arnalda, wife of Raymond Hugh of Roquevidal, mother  
 See Raymond Hugh of Roquevidal, father  
 See Bernard Tilhol, uncle  
 See Pons Tilhol, uncle
- William Inard [Guillelmus Inardi], 74<sup>v</sup>  
 See Petrona, wife
- William Isarn of Varennes [Guillelmus Isarni de Varenis], 66<sup>v</sup>, 69<sup>r-v</sup>
- William John [Guillelmus Iohannis], merchant, 94; 196<sup>v</sup>, 196<sup>v</sup> n. 3  
 See Bernard Raymond Baranhon, son
- William John [Guillelmus Ioannis], H, 3<sup>r</sup> n. 12, 10<sup>v</sup>, 11<sup>r</sup>, 12<sup>v</sup>, 13<sup>v</sup>
- William John of Lagarde [Guillelmus Iohannis de Lagarda], H, 141<sup>r</sup>  
 See Peter John, son
- William Jordan [Guillelmus Iordani], 188<sup>v</sup>  
 See Guirauda, wife
- William le Gran of Toulouse [Guillelmus le Gran de Tholosa], 74; 225<sup>r</sup>–226<sup>v</sup>
- William Lobat, squire, 53<sup>v</sup> n. 30
- William Lococ [Guillelmus Lococ/Locot/lo Coc], 235<sup>v</sup>, 236<sup>v</sup>, 240<sup>r</sup>
- William Martin [Guillelmus Martini], 235<sup>v</sup>, 236<sup>v</sup>, 240<sup>r</sup>
- William Matfred Padier [Guillelmus Matfredi Paderius], knight,<sup>81</sup> 47; 30<sup>v</sup> n. 22, 136<sup>r</sup>, 137<sup>r</sup>, 138<sup>r</sup>–139<sup>v</sup>, 149<sup>v</sup>–151<sup>r</sup>, 157<sup>v</sup>,<sup>82</sup> 166<sup>r</sup>, 167<sup>r</sup>, 168<sup>v</sup>–169<sup>r</sup>  
 See Padier of Puylaurens, father  
 See Arnold of Le Gua, brother  
 See Philippa, wife
- William Médecin of Roquevidal [Guillelmus Medici de Rocavidal], 98<sup>r</sup>, 106<sup>r</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup>  
 See Bernarda of Pujol, wife  
 See Raymonda Terrena, wife
- William Mercadier [Guillelmus Mercaderii], 300<sup>v</sup>, 27<sup>r</sup>  
 See Peter Arnold Mercadier of Banquets, father  
 See Aladaicis Arnalda, mother  
 See Michael, nephew
- William Moco [Guillelmus Moco], 19<sup>r</sup>  
 See Raymond Saix, son-in-law
- William Monier of Montgaillard [Guillelmus Monerii de Monte Galhardo], 319<sup>r</sup>
- William of [?], of Montgaillard [Guillelmus de (?), de Monte Galhardo], knight, 322<sup>r</sup>
- William of Aignan, OP, prior of Toulouse, 84
- William, from near Albi [Guillelmus, de prope Albia], 4<sup>v</sup>  
 —sister of [soror sua], 4<sup>v</sup>  
 —brother-in-law of [vir eius [sororis]], 4<sup>v</sup>
- William of *Balho* of Saissac [Guillelmus de Balho de Saxiaco], 26<sup>r</sup>  
 See Guillelma of Cailhavel, wife

<sup>81</sup> At 166<sup>r</sup>, 167<sup>r</sup>, 168<sup>v</sup>–169<sup>r</sup>, 279<sup>r</sup> he is only 'William Matfred.'

<sup>82</sup> Here simply 'William.'

- William of Bassens of Lasbordes  
[Guillelmus de Bacenx/Batenx de  
Bordis], 24<sup>v</sup>, 34<sup>r</sup>, 34<sup>v</sup>  
See Aladaicis, wife of William  
Arimand, sister  
See Raymond of Bassens, brother
- William of Belleserre<sup>83</sup> [Guillelmus  
de Bela Serra], chaplain, 278<sup>r</sup>
- William of Belmontet, H, 220<sup>v</sup> n. 5
- William of Berga[mo] [Guillelmus  
de Berga[mo]], inquisitor, 114; 146<sup>r</sup>
- William of *Biulés* of Sorèze  
[Guillelmus de Biulés de  
Soricino], 264<sup>v</sup>  
See Bruna, wife
- William of *Caceto* [Guillelmus de  
Caceto], lord, 133<sup>v</sup>
- William of Cailhau [Guillelmus de  
Calhavo], prior of Serres, once  
monk, 4<sup>r</sup>
- William of Cailhavel of Avignonet  
[Guillelmus de Calhavello de  
Avinione], 193<sup>v</sup>–194<sup>r</sup>, 316<sup>v</sup>
- William of *Capellan* of Montgaillard  
[Guillelmus de Capellano de  
Monte Galhardo], chaplain of  
Trébons, 323<sup>r-v</sup>
- William of Castanet of Verfeil  
[Guillelmi de Castaneto de Viridi  
Folio], 6<sup>r</sup>–7<sup>r</sup>, 8<sup>r</sup>–9<sup>r</sup>  
See Petronilla, wife
- William of Castelnau [Guillelmus de  
Castronovo], 80; 224<sup>r</sup>
- William of Concots [Guillelmus de  
Cumcouts/Concoutz], procurator  
of heresy,<sup>84</sup> 54, 109, 115; 14<sup>r</sup>, 23<sup>r</sup>,  
95<sup>v</sup>, 137<sup>v</sup>, 147<sup>r</sup>, 155<sup>r</sup>, 162<sup>v</sup> n. 7
- William of *Contour* [Guillelmus de  
Contour],<sup>85</sup> 54, 98, 109, 105; 162<sup>v</sup>,  
162<sup>v</sup> n. 7
- William of Cordes, of Fanjeaux  
[Guillelmus de Cordoa, de  
Fanoiovis],<sup>86</sup> 301<sup>r</sup>
- William of Corneilhan of Las  
Touzeilles [Guillelmus de  
Corneliano de Toelhis/Toellis]  
knight, H, monk, 248<sup>r</sup>, 259<sup>r</sup>  
n. 22,<sup>87</sup> 259<sup>v</sup>, 260<sup>r</sup>, 260<sup>v</sup>, 264<sup>r</sup>,  
292<sup>r</sup>, 295<sup>v</sup>, 8<sup>r</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup>, 9<sup>v</sup>, 10<sup>v</sup>, 12<sup>r</sup>, 26<sup>r</sup>,  
30<sup>r</sup>  
See Peter of Corneilhan, brother  
See Aicelina, wife  
See Bernarda of Camis, wife  
See Arnold of Corneilhan, son  
See Isarn of Corneilhan, son
- William (of) Corona of Rabat  
[Guillelmus Corona/de Corona  
de Ravato], fugitive, 143<sup>v</sup>, 304<sup>v</sup>  
See Guillelma, wife  
See Peter, son
- William of Gomerville of  
Montgaillard [Guillelmus de  
Gomervilla de Montegalhardo],  
fugitive, 132<sup>v</sup>, 303<sup>r</sup>, 325<sup>v</sup>  
See Florentia, mother  
See Pons of Gomerville, father
- William of Fanjeaux [Guillelmus de  
Fanoiovis],<sup>88</sup> 303<sup>v</sup>
- William of Labarthe [Guillelmus de  
Barda], OP, 97, 106 n. 217; 4<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>v</sup>,  
7<sup>v</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup>, 17<sup>v</sup>, 19<sup>v</sup>, 23<sup>r</sup>
- William of Lafont, of Caucalières  
[Guillelmus de Fonte, de  
Cantaleriis], miller, 209<sup>r</sup>  
See Bernarda, wife
- William of Lamothe [Guillelmus de  
Mota], H, 69<sup>r</sup>
- William of La Nauze [Guillelmus de  
la Nauza/de Lanauza], 16<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>r</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Possibly the same as William  
Bernard of Belleserre, cleric.

<sup>84</sup> Possibly the same as William of  
*Contour*.

<sup>85</sup> Possibly the same as William of  
Concots.

<sup>86</sup> Perhaps the same as William of  
Fanjeaux.

<sup>87</sup> Here 'Guillelmus de Corneliano  
miles de Montioi qui manet a las  
Thoellas'.

<sup>88</sup> Perhaps the same as William of  
Cordes of Fanjeaux.

- See Aladaicis, mother  
 See Raymond of La Nauze (the elder), father  
 See Bernard of La Nauze, brother  
 See Raymond of La Nauze (the younger), brother  
 William of La Prieuresse, of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux [Guillelmus Prioissa, de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis], fugitive, 300<sup>r</sup>  
 William of Laroque of Lapenche [Guillelmus de la Roca de la Pencha], 46<sup>v</sup>–47<sup>r</sup>  
 William of La Soulade [Guillelmus de la Solada], squire, 176<sup>v</sup>–177<sup>r</sup>  
 William of Les Combelles of Arifat [Guillelmus Combelas de Rupe Ariffati], fugitive, exile, 187<sup>v</sup>  
 William of Levensenq [Guillelmus del Eversen], exile, 190<sup>v</sup>–191<sup>r</sup>  
 —sister at Albi 191<sup>r</sup>  
 —sister at Dénat 191<sup>r</sup>  
 See Raymond, brother  
 William of Moismoreno [Guillelmus de Moismoreno], 28<sup>v</sup>  
 See Poma, wife  
**William of Molières [Guillelmus de Moleriis]**, priest, 1<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>r</sup>  
 William of Montclar [Guillelmus de Monteclaro], OP, 106 n. 218; 212<sup>r</sup>  
 William of Montmaur, of Sorèze [Guillelmus de Monte Mauro, de Soricino], 5<sup>v</sup>  
 William of Montreveil [Guillelmus de Monte Revelli], OP, inquisitor, 17 n. 53, 18, 38, 40; 132<sup>v</sup> n. 15, 133<sup>r</sup>  
 William of Nangis, chronicler, 42  
 William of Niort, lord, 272<sup>v</sup> n. 7  
 See Esclarmonda of Laurac, wife  
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 William of Pelhissou, OP, 8; 87<sup>r</sup>  
 n. 15, 157<sup>v</sup> n. 5  
 William of Péreille [Guillelmus de Parelha], digger, fugitive, 143<sup>v</sup>  
 See Ermengardis, wife  
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 William of Pont [Guillelmus de Ponte], 254<sup>v</sup>  
 William of Puy, from Durfort [Guillelmus de Podio], 247<sup>r</sup>, 254<sup>r</sup>  
 See Arnold of Puy, brother  
 William of Puy [Guillelmus de Podio], OP, 67<sup>r</sup>  
 William of Puy [Guillelmus de Podio], OP, prior of Toulouse, 107 n. 225; 201<sup>v</sup>, 205<sup>r</sup>  
 William of Puy, of Saint-Martin-Lalande [Guillelmus de Podio, de Sancto Martino de Landa], H, elder son (Cathar rank), 145<sup>v</sup>, 247<sup>r</sup>, 301<sup>v</sup>  
 See Bernard of Puy, brother  
 See Raymond of Puy, brother  
 William of Puy, from Varennes [Guillelmus de Podio, de Varenis], 66<sup>r-v</sup>, 69<sup>r</sup>  
 William of Puy-laurens [Guillelmus de Podio Laurentio], master, vice-inquisitor, 52, 55, 85, 108, 110, n. 230; 157<sup>v</sup> n. 5, 161<sup>v</sup>, 162<sup>v</sup>  
 William of Raissac, H, 301<sup>v</sup> n. 23  
 William of Rive [Guillelmus de Rippa], 237<sup>v</sup>  
 William of Roumégoux [Guillelmus de Romegos], fugitive, exile, 189<sup>v</sup>  
 William of Rouzet [Guillelmus de Roseto], 186<sup>v</sup>–187<sup>r</sup>  
 See Bernard, brother  
 See Peter, brother  
**William of Rosergue [Guillelmus de Rosergue]**, master, 47 n. 56, 85; 36<sup>v</sup>–37<sup>v</sup>, [delete] 36<sup>v</sup> n. 000  
 William of Rouvenac [Guillelmus de Rovenato], 319<sup>v</sup>  
 William of Saintes, of Préserville [Guillelmus de Sanctis, de Presevilla], knight, lord of Préserville, H, 55; 56<sup>v</sup>, 57<sup>r</sup>  
 See Guillelma, wife  
 See Raymond of Auterive, son



- William of Saint-Geniès [Guillelmus de Sancto Genesio], OP, 107, 114; 147<sup>r</sup>
- William of Saint-Laurent, of the land of Lavaur [Guillelmus de Sancto Laurentio de terra Vauri], 146<sup>v</sup>, 306<sup>v</sup>
- William of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux [Guillelmus de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis], rector of the leprosary of Laurac, 22<sup>r-v</sup>
- William of Seilh of Toulouse [Guillelmus de Suelh de Tholosa], 330<sup>r</sup>
- William of the Sabarthès [Guillelmus de Savartesio], 145<sup>r</sup>  
See Vital, nephew
- William of Tresmézes [Guillelmus de Tresmesinas], see Raymond of Connac
- William of Villèle, of Montesquieu [Guillelmus de Villela, de Montesquivo], knight, 60<sup>r-v</sup>  
See Irlanda, wife
- William Olric [Guillelmus Olrici], squire, 47; 285<sup>v</sup>
- William Olric (of Roquevidal) [Guillelmus Olrici de Rocavidal], 97<sup>v</sup>–98<sup>r</sup>  
See Arnold Olric, father
- William Orset of Espinas** [Guillelmus Orseti de Spinacio], 177<sup>v</sup>–181<sup>r</sup>
- William Pagèse of Falgayrac [Guillelmus Pagesii de Falgairaco], 192<sup>v</sup>, 288<sup>v</sup>–289<sup>r</sup>  
See Isarn Pagèse of Blan, brother
- William Papier [Guillelmus Paperii], 314<sup>r</sup>  
See Papiers  
See Aurenca, mother  
See Arnold Papier, brother  
See Raymond Papier, brother  
See Guillelma of Les Cassés, maid
- William Pastre of Avignonet [Guillelmus Pastre de Avinione], 324<sup>v</sup>
- William Pêcheur of Durfort [Guillelmus Piscator de Duroforti], fisherman, 254<sup>v</sup>, 278<sup>v</sup>  
See Ginhosa, wife  
See Peter Pictavin of Sorèze, uncle
- William Pelissier of Figeac [Guillelmus Pellicerii de Figiaco], 309<sup>v</sup>–310<sup>v</sup>
- William Peter of Beyssac [Guillelmus Petri de Bayxiaco/Rayxiaco], 171<sup>r</sup>  
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- William Peter of Roquefère [Guillelmus Petri de Rocafera], H, disinherited knight, 26<sup>v</sup>
- William Peter of Verona [Guillelmus Petri de Verona], Cathar bishop of France, 3<sup>r</sup> n. 11, 15<sup>v</sup>
- William Peter of Villotte [Guillelmus Petri de Villeta/Villota], 51<sup>r-v</sup>,<sup>89</sup> 52<sup>v</sup>, 53<sup>v</sup>
- William Peter Rafegat [Guillelmus Petri Rafegat], 217<sup>r</sup>
- William Peitavin of Roquevidal, of Toulouse [Guillelmus Pechavi, Peichavi, Peitavi, Peitavin], smallholder, 93<sup>r</sup>, 121<sup>r</sup>, 122<sup>v</sup>  
See Raymonda Terrena, mother  
See Jordana, sister  
See Maina, wife
- William Pictavin, of Sorèze [Guillelmus Pictavini], 263<sup>v</sup>–264<sup>r</sup>, 270<sup>r</sup>, 271<sup>r</sup>, 294<sup>v</sup>–296<sup>v</sup>  
See Peter Pictavin of Sorèze, brother  
See Raymond Rociner of Sorèze, uncle
- William Pierre of Toulouse [Guillelmus Petri de Tolosa], OP, 106 n. 217; 67<sup>r</sup>
- William Polier [Guillelmus Polerii], 211<sup>v</sup>  
See Anthioca, wife

<sup>89</sup> At 51<sup>v</sup>, only 'in domo den Villota de Podio Laurentio'.

- William Pons [Guillelmus Pontii], H, 245<sup>r</sup>  
 See Ermengaud of Auvezines, brother  
 See William Bernard of Sorèze, uncle
- William Pons [Guillelmus Pontii], 279<sup>v</sup>
- William Pons [Guillelmus Pontii], 74<sup>v</sup>, 76<sup>v</sup>, 77<sup>v</sup>  
 See Anglesia, mother  
 See Pons of Villeneuve, brother  
 See Cunhata of Villeneuve, wife  
 See Cunhadeta of Villeneuve, daughter  
 See Michaela, of Villeneuve, daughter
- William Pons [Guillelmus Pontii], chaplain of Verdun, 14<sup>v</sup>
- William Prunel of Saint-Paul [Guillelmus/Vuillelmus Prunelli de Sancto Paulo], H, 45–46; 30<sup>r</sup>, 33<sup>v</sup>–34<sup>r</sup>, 49<sup>r</sup>, 68<sup>r</sup>, 70<sup>r</sup>, 73<sup>r</sup>, 80<sup>v</sup>, 82<sup>v</sup>–83<sup>r</sup>, 84<sup>v</sup>, 87<sup>v</sup>, 89<sup>r</sup>, 90<sup>r-v</sup>, 92<sup>r</sup>, 95<sup>r</sup>, 99<sup>v</sup>–100<sup>r</sup>, 101<sup>r</sup>, 102<sup>v</sup>–103<sup>v</sup>, 104<sup>r</sup>, 105<sup>r</sup>, 113<sup>r</sup>, 114<sup>v</sup>, 115<sup>v</sup>, 116<sup>v</sup>, 117<sup>v</sup>, 119<sup>r-v</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup>, 125<sup>v</sup>, 127<sup>v</sup>, 128<sup>v</sup>, 151<sup>v</sup>–152<sup>r</sup>, 153<sup>v</sup>–154<sup>r</sup>, 155<sup>r</sup>, 156<sup>r-v</sup>, 157<sup>v</sup>, 159<sup>r</sup>, 160<sup>r</sup>, 163<sup>r-v</sup>, 164<sup>r</sup>, 173<sup>r-v</sup>, 174<sup>v</sup>–175<sup>r</sup>, 247<sup>v</sup>, 14<sup>v</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup>, 22<sup>v</sup>, 23<sup>v</sup>, 29<sup>r-v</sup>, 30<sup>v</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>, 35<sup>v</sup>, 41<sup>r</sup>, 44<sup>v</sup>  
 See Adam, uncle  
 See Bruna of Palajac, kinswoman
- William Quideria/Quiriès [Guillelmus Quideria], H, 320<sup>v</sup>
- William Raffard [Guillelmus Rafardi], 18<sup>v</sup>  
 See Raymond Raffard, father  
 See Richardis, mother  
 See Bernard Raffard, brother  
 See Petronilla, sister  
 See Pons Raffard, brother
- William Raffard of Roquefort [Guillelmus Rafardi de Rocaforti], H, 72 n. 19, 73, 76, 79, 87, 93 n. 139, 99, 109; 145<sup>r</sup> n. 31, 305<sup>v</sup>, 306<sup>v</sup>, 324<sup>r</sup>, 11<sup>v</sup>–45<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>r</sup> n. 1  
 See Bernard Raffard, father  
 See Raymonda, mother  
 See Raymond Raffard, brother  
 See Aladaicis, wife of Raymond of La Nauze (the elder), sister  
 See Guillelma Guitard, concubine
- William Ramfred [Guillelmus Ramfredi], 277<sup>v</sup>, 278<sup>v</sup>, 283<sup>r-v</sup>, 293<sup>v</sup>–294<sup>r</sup>, 296<sup>r</sup>  
 See Bona, mother  
 See Pons Ramfred, brother
- William Raseire of Sorèze [Guillelmus Raseire de Soricino], 27<sup>v</sup>–28<sup>r</sup>
- William Raymond [Guillelmus Raymundi], 316<sup>v</sup>  
 See Vierna, mother  
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 See Guirauda, sister  
 See Raymond, brother  
 See Raymonda, sister
- William Raymond [Guillelmus Raymundi] (i), H, 73<sup>v</sup>, 74<sup>v</sup>, 75<sup>v</sup>  
 See Pomella, mother
- William Raymond [Guillelmus Raymundi] (ii), H, 311<sup>v</sup>, 318<sup>r</sup>, 328<sup>v</sup>  
 See Pons Faure of Avignonet, father
- William Raymond Baranhon [Guillelmus Raymundi Baranhonis], 197<sup>r</sup>  
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## INDEX OF PLACE-NAMES, PRE-1500\*

This index does not include place-names mentioned in discussions of post-medieval history and scholarship in the introductory chapters.

Upright font is used for those names whose modern forms can be identified, and these names are given as they appear in the English translation. Italic font is used for those whose modern forms cannot be identified, and these names are given as they appear in the Latin text of Doat 25–26.

On its first appearance, a name is provided with a footnote in the English translation, and this note usually registers that the name falls into one of three groups. The first group is of those names whose location and modern form are known, and here the note states the modern French administrative location. The second is of those names whose modern form is known, but not the location, and here the note points to several possibilities or says that the place-name is common. The third is that of those names where the modern form is not known, and here the note simply says ‘not identified’.

The reader should take note of two pit-falls in the index. First, where place-names have been used to identify individuals, the distinction between surname (‘Pons of ...’) and description (‘Pons who came from ...’) is not always clear. Noting the first occurrences of both, the index therefore contains many place-name surnames. Secondly, typical in the second group of place-names listed in the previous paragraph is a common place-name, such as Villa Nova/Villeneuve (new town), where the deposition in which Villeneuve occurs does not indicate the particular Villeneuve that is in question. A consequence for the index is that the single entry for a common place-name may include different places.

Place-names and their identification are discussed at greater length above, pp. 122–124.

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\* This index was compiled by Peter Biller.

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